274.1505
.I68
Ser.4
v.15-16
1904

UNIVERSITY
OF FLORIDA
LIBRARIES



GREENE & Co.
New & Second-Hand Booksellers
16, CLARE STREET,
DUBLIN


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2015

https://archive.org/details/irishecclesiast4151unse_0

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

A Monthly Journal, under Episcopal Sanction

VOLUME XV.

JANUARY TO JUNE, 1904

Fourth Series

DUBLIN
BROWNE & NOLAN, LIMITED, NASSAU-STREET
1904
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Nihil Obstat.

GIRALDUS MOLLOY, S.T.D.,
CENSOR DEP.

Imprimatur.

✠ GULIELMUS,
Archiep. Dublin., Hiberniae Primas.

BROWNE AND NOLAN, LTD., NASSAU-STREET, DUBLIN.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

Apostolic Union of Secular Priests and Pius X. By Rev. James Busher, M.SS. - - - - - - - - 535
Bibliotheca Alphonsiana. By Rev. J. Magnier, C.SS.R. - - 419
Bossuet, the Centenary of. By Very Rev. P. Boyle, C.M. - - 315, 402
Case of Ireland against the Science and Art Department. By George F. Fleming - - - - - - 128
Catholic Religion, A Parody of the. By Rev. Francis Woodlock, S.J. 114
Code of Pius X. By Right Rev. Mgr. P. O'Kelly, D.D. - - 511

Correspondence:—

Altar Stones without Relics - - - - - 264
Altar Wine - - - - - - - - 78
Educated Laity in Parochial Associations - - - - 555

Dawn of the Century. By Very Rev. P. A. Canon Sheehan, D.D., P.P. - - - - - - - - - 5
Definition of the Immaculate Conception. By Right Rev. Mgr. Hallinan, P.P., V.G. - - - - - - - 494
Dr. McDonald's 'Principles of Moral Science.' By Rev. T. Slater, S.J. - - - - - - - - - - 385

Documents:—

Allocution of His Holiness Pope Pius X. - - - - 81
Apostolic Union of Secular Priests praised by Pope Pius X. - 460
Apostolic Visitation of Roman Churches - - - 558
Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, Indulgences for the - - 556
Decree on Restoration of Sacred Music - - - - 266
Decrees of the Sacred Congregation of the Index - - 183
Encyclical Letter of His Holiness Pope Pius X. on the Thirteenth Centenary of St. Gregory the Great - - - - 445
Encyclical Letter of His Holiness Pope Pius X. on the Jubilee of the Immaculate Conception - - - - - 364
Immaculate Conception, Jubilee of - - - - 265
Indulgence for Little Office of the Blessed Virgin - - 182
Institute of Charity, Letter of Pope Pius X. to the General of the 556
Instruction on Sacred Music - - - - - 163
Masses for the Dead and Singing of Gospel, distribution of Holy Communion: Solution of Questions regarding - - 570
Motu Proprio of Pope Pius X. on Catholic Action - - 175
Motu Proprio of Pope Pius X. on the Appointment of Italian Bishops - - - - - - - - 280
Motu Proprio of Pope Pius X. on Sacred Music - - - 161

PAGE

DOCUMENTS—*continued.*

Office and Mass for Feast of all the Saints of the Society of Jesus - - - - - - - - - 267
Offices for Irish Patron Saints - - - - - 80
Privileges of Apostolic Protonotaries - - - - 471
Privileges of the Priests who attended the Conclave - - 464
Papal Letter to Cardinal-Vicar of Rome on Church Music - 170
Pope Leo XIII. and the proposed Catholic University of Austria 568
Pope Pius X. and the Cecilia Society - - - - 180
Roman Churches, Faculties for the Visitation of - - - 560
Sacred Heart, Little Office of - - - - - 469
Validity of Rescripts of the Holy See - - - - 181

Education, Technical: Some Queries and Replies. By Rev. P. J. Dowling, C.M. - - - - - - - - 412
Franciscan Families, The. By Montgomery Carmichael - - 235
French Revolution, The Irish College in Paris during the. By Very Rev. P. Boyle, C.M. - - - - - - - - 48
Higher Criticism, Rise and Progress of. By Rev. Reginald Walsh, O.P. - - - - - - - - - - 27
Immaculate Conception, The Definition of the. By Right Rev. Mgr. Hallinan, P.P., V.G. - - - - - - - - 494
Inishowen, A Martyr for the Faith in. By Most Rev. Dr. O'Doherty, Bishop of Derry - - - - - - - - 481
Irish College in Paris during the French Revolution. By Very Rev. P. Boyle, C.M. - - - - - - - - 48
Irish Hierarchy's Address to Pope Pius X. and His Holiness's Reply 1
Martyr for the Faith in Inishowen. By Most Rev. Dr. O'Doherty, Bishop of Derry - - - - - - - - 481
'Moral Science, Principles of,' Dr. McDonald's. By Rev. T. Slater, S.J. - - - - - - - - - 385
'Moral Science, Principles of.' By Rev. Walter McDonald, D.D. - 520

Notes and Queries:—

LITURGY (By Rev. Patrick Morrisroe):—

Altar Stones without Relics - - - - - 157, 384
Baptismal Font, Blessing of, on Holy Saturday - - - 361
Calendar to be followed where an Order exercises Chaplaincy - 553
Custom regarding St. John's Gospel - - - - 158
Decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites - - - 74
Faculties of Bishops to Grant Indulgences - - - 155
Interment, Rite of, in Particular Cases - - - - 260
Jubilee of Definition of Immaculate Conception - - - 74
Mass *de Communi*, Saying of, when *proper* is wanting; whether *Votive* is lawful in case - - - - - 550
Notes on Decrees of Sacred Congregation of Rites - - 76
Old Roman Stational Mass, The - - - - - 440
Patronus Loci, Commemoration of - - - - 158

PAGE

NOTES AND QUERIES—*continued.*

Preface to be said in Votive Masses during Octaves - - 74
Reverences at mention of Saint's Name - - - - 75
Stational Mass, The Old Roman - - - - - 440
St. John's Gospel, Custom regarding - - - - 158
Varia Dubia - - - - - - - 154
Votive Mass of the Immaculate Conception. May it be said on June 8th? - - - - - - - 552

THEOLOGY (By Rev. J. M. Harty):—

A Matrimonial Case - - - - - - 255
Curates, Power of, to assist validly at Marriages - - - 357
Domicile, when Gained and Lost - - - - 255
Jubilee of the Immaculate Conception - - - - 352, 436
Jubilee, The—Use of Probable Opinions - - - - 547
Obligation of Travellers to Observe Saturday Abstinence - 549
Pious Bequests, Validity of - - - - - 257
Privileges of the Jubilee - - - - - - 436
Saturday Abstinence, Obligation of Travellers to Observe the - 549
Validity of Pious Bequest - - - - - - 257

Notices of Books:—

A History of Modern England, 283; A Manual of Mystical Theology, 378; Aphorismi Eucharistici, 287; Beginnings of Christianity, 94; Christian Apologetics, 186; Das Rosenkranzgebet, 384; Die deutschen Dominikaner im Kampfegegen Luther, 576; Editio Solesmensis, 473; Geschichte der Altkirchlichen Literatur, 93; Gospels of the Sundays and Festivals, 285; Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, 89; Histoire des Livres du Nouveau Testament, 191; Histoire de l'Ancien Testament, 192; History of Ireland, 91; In Paths of Peace, 287; Ireland's Renaissance, 571; Lex Orandi, 187; Monasteries and Religious Houses of Great Britain and Ireland, 288; Mystical Theology, Manual of, 378; O'Growney Memorial Volume, 574; Pentateuchfrage, 185; Poems of James Clarence Mangan, 383; Salvage from the Wreck, 382; Sermon Plans, 480; Schriften und Einrichtungen zur Bildung der Geistlichen, 380; St. Cuthbert's, 96; Sti Alphonsi Mariae de Liguorio *Opera Dogmatica*, 189; Studies in the Gospels, 86; The Friars, and how They came to England, 380; The Blessed Virgin in the Nineteenth Century, 90; The Life and Pontificate of Pope Leo XIII., 95; The Principles of Moral Science, 377; The Shakspeare Enigma, 382; The Squire's Grand-daughters, 381; Youthful Verses, 191.

Origin of the Scapular. By Rev. Benedict Zimmerman, O.C.D. 142, 206, 331
Parody of the Catholic Religion, A. By Rev. Francis Woodlock, S.J. 114
Pastoral Office, St. Chrysostom on the. By Rev. T. P. Gilmartin - 193
Pius X. and the Apostolic Union of Secular Priests. By Rev. James Busher, M.SS, - - - - - - - - 535

PAGE

Pius X.'s Reply to the Address of the Irish Hierarchy - - 1
Pius X., The Code of. By Right Rev. Mgr. P. O'Kelly, D.D. - 511
'Principles of Moral Science.' By Rev. Walter McDonald, D.D. - 520
Rise and Progress of Higher Criticism. By Rev. Reginald Walsh, O.P. - - - - - - - - - - 27
Scapular, The Origin of the. By Rev. Benedict Zimmerman, O.C.D. 142, 206, 331
Schism, The Great Western. By Rev. James McCaffrey, S.T.L. - 97
Science and Art Department, Case of Ireland against the. By George F. Fleming - - - - - - 128
Sir Horace Plunkett's Lecture. By Rev. J. F. Hogan, D.D. - - 289
St. Chrysostom on the Pastoral Office. By Rev. T. P. Gilmartin - 193
Technical Education: Some Queries and Replies. By Rev. P. J. Dowling, C.M. - - - - - - - - 412
Western Schism, The Great. By Rev. James McCaffrey, S.T.L. - 97

REPLY OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. TO THE ADDRESS OF THE IRISH HIERARCHY

DILECTO FILIO NOSTRO MICHAELI TIT. S. MARIA DE PACE S.R.E. PRESB. CARD. LOGUE, ARCHIEPISCOPO ARMACANO, CETERISQUE VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS ARCHIEPISCOPIS ET EPISCOPIS HIBERNENSIBUS

PIUS PP. X.

DILECTE FILI NOSTER, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM. Solemne pietatis officium quod Hibernenses sacrorum antistites Te, dilecte Fili Noster, præeunte in Nos ob nuper delatos summi pontificatus honores edere voluerunt, effusi gaudii Nobis attulit causam. Porro istius gentis memoriam ultimam repetentes resque pari consilio et felicitate ad religionis bonum ab ea olim gestas considerantes, facere non possumus quin singulare latemur obsequium erga hanc Apostolicam Sedem animis vestris alte impressum et his temporibus Catholicæ virtuti infensis, magis magisque firmatum. Singulare obsequium diximus, Hibernensibus majorum traditione inditum ac semper ad commune decus enixe custoditum: ex quo illud prospere factum est ut eorum insula, S. Patritii Apostolicis exculta laboribus et sudore irrigata, alma sanctorum virorum parens et altrix appellari meruerit. Quo majori gratulatione igitur communes litteras vestras accepimus, eo libentius prolixiusque mutuæ benevolentiæ Nostræ rependimus sensus, quibus

omnes in Christo complexi, cœlestium munerum auspicem et Vobis et gregi curis vestris concredito Benedictionem Apostolicam amantissime impertimur.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum die XVI. Novembris, MCMIII., Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

PIUS PP. X.

The following is the text of the Address of the Irish Hierarchy:—

PIO PP. X.

BEATISSIME PATER,—Majorum nostrorum vestigiis inhærentes, Nos, Hiberniae Archiepiscopi et Episcopi, unacum Clero nostro universo, et devotis gregibus nostris, ad pedes B.T. provoluti, pignora nostrae fidelitatis, observantiae et obsequii in S. Sedem; solemniter et ex corde renovamus.

Mirum quidem est quam suaviter et fortiter, a fine usque ad finem pertingens, Deus et Domnius noster vicissitudines hujus vitæ terrestris misericorditer disponit. Ingens enim illa lamentatio per orbem terrarum exorta in morte gloriosi Praedecessoris Tui, Leonis XIII., sanctae et imperiturae memoriae, cito convertitur in gaudium ineffabile vix ac proclamatio illa saecularis—'Habemus Pontificem,'—gentes certiores fecerat, quod Proceres Ecclesiae, afflante Spiritu Sancto, Te, B.P. in primam sedem elegerant. In hoc gaudio universali Nos et populi nostri,—Divi Patritii filii fideles,—nos participes esse ultro fatemur. Te Pontificem ex hominibus assumptum, apud Deum pro hominibus constitutum, et super Sion Montis Sancti apicem sublimatum, acclamamus. Te, Vicarium Christi in terris humiliter et reverenter veneramur. Te, Successorem Divi Petri in regimine animarum cum potestate suprema solvendi et retinendi, obsequamur. Te, Custodem gregis,—Doctorem universalem,—lampadem ardentem, oleo sacrae doctrinae omnique venustate refertam, in lacuna superiori constitutam, ut igne divinitatis accensa, non diutius lucernae ipsius claritas, sub minoris status modio celaretur abdita, sed, ut

luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt, poneretur super candelabrum, agnoscimus et profitemur. Sit vita Tua longa in terris et merces in coelis magna nimis.

Nec immemores immanis illius ponderis,—summarum videlicet clavium—Tibi B.P. etiam renuenti impositi, preces effundimus et effundere prosequemur, ut ad mentem universalis Ecclesiae, Deipara intercedente, et B. Petro suffragante, Omnipotens et Misericors Dominus, apprehensa manu dextera Te custodiat in via, Te roborare et confortare dignetur, ita ut accinctis lumbis semper fiducialiter agas, Ecclesiam Sanctam Dei sapienter regas et custodias, pauperculos Christi pascas et enutrias, et gloriam Christiani Nominis per multos annos adhuc extollas et amplifices.

Interim efflagitamus enixe Apostolicam Benedictionem.

✠ Michael Cardinalis Logue, Archiepiscopus Armacanus, Totius Hiberniae Primas.
✠ Gulielmus, Archiep. Dublinensis, Hiberniae Primas.
✠ Thomas Fennelly, Archiep. Cassilensis.
✠ Joannes, Archiep. Tuamensis.
✠ Franciscus Josephus, Episcopus Galviensis, Duacensis ac Adm. Apost. Finaborensis.
✠ Fr. Thomas Alphonsus, Ord. Praed., Episcopus Corcagiensis.
✠ Jacobus, Episcopus Fernensis.
✠ Abraham Brownrigg, Epus. Ossoriensis.
✠ Edvardus Thomas, Epus. Limericen.
✠ Patritius, Episcopus Rapotensis.
✠ Joannes Lyster, Episcopus Achadensis.
✠ Eduardus, Episcopus Kilmorensis.
✠ Joannes Coffey, Epus. Ardfertensis et Aghadoensis.
✠ Thomas M'Redmond, Episcopus Laonensis.
✠ Joannes K. O'Doherty, Episcopus Derriensis.
✠ Ricardus Alphonsus, Epus. Waterfordiensis.
✠ Joannes Conmy, Epus. Alladensis.
✠ Robertus Browne, Epus. Cloynensis.
✠ Ricardus Owens, Epus. Clogherensis.
✠ Josephus, Epus. Ardac. et Cluan.
✠ Joannes, Epus. Elphinensis.
✠ Henricus Henry, Episcopus Dunen. et Connoren.
✠ Patritius Foley, Epus. Kildar. et Leighl.

✠ Dionysius, Ep. Rossen.
✠ Matthieus Gaffney, Episcopus Midensis.
✠ Henricus O'Neill, Episcopus Dromorensis.
✠ Thomas, Clonfertensis.
✠ Nicolaus Donnelly, Episc. Tit. Canensis, Vic. Gen., Dublinensis, olim Auxiliarius Emi. M'Cabe.

Die 14 *Octobris*, 1903.

THE DAWN OF THE CENTURY [1]

I.

I PROPOSE this evening to put before you a limited, but let me hope, a clear, well-defined view of that outer intellectual world, in which you will soon be called to take your place, and an important one; and with that view to stimulate you to more zealous and earnest preparation for the part you will have to perform. For it is sometimes wise for us all to pause and think and look around us; to wait till the smoke clears away from the fieldof battle, that we may the better see the alignments of the enemy, arrange our own forces, and make such dispositions that we may gain at least an advantage; for the ultimate victory, I presume, is not for us, nor for any soldiers of Christ, until the day when the great Captain Himself shall come. And measuring as I do the vast energies that lie hidden, and as yet bounded and locked, in the assemblage which I have the honour to address to-night, I feel a certain sense of responsibility—so great, that were it not for the deference I owed to the courteous invitation of your late President, repeated by your present Superior; and at the same time an ambition, I hope a lawful one, of addressing at least once in my life, the young minds and hearts, that are to control the future destinies of the Church in Ireland, I should have hesitated about assuming a duty, which might be left in more capable and zealous hands. Nevertheless, I may be able to give you a glance into the outer world, its forces, its movements, its processes of thought, which may awaken new ideas, and perhaps larger conceptions of your vocation; and with these, fresh determinations that in the serious and solemn duties that lie before the Catholic priesthood in our time, you at least will quit yourselves like men.

All life is a process. Things do not hurry, neither do they

---

[1] An Address, delivered to the Maynooth Students in the *Aula Maxima* of the College, December 1st, 1903, by the Rev. P. A. Sheehan, D.D.

pause. But, from time to time, there is just a rush as of forces breaking their bounds; and then again a lull in human affairs—a little breathing time for poor humanity, wherein it stops suddenly, and as if, through sheer exhaustion, refuses to be swept along on the eternal currents of thought. Just such a breathing time we have in the intellectual world of to-day. There is no great 'movement,' as it is called, going on in the world outside. The chief revolutions of the nineteenth century ran through their little cycles and ceased. And we, who have seen them, and been blinded by their dust, and stunned by their noise, now look back with a certain kind of wondering humiliation, that we could ever have allowed ourselves to be even temporarily disturbed by such feeble and transitory things. And if we needed a proof of that Divine arrangement in the economy of life, by which truth is safeguarded in the custody of an unerring Church, surely we may find it in the swift judgment that Time has passed upon the insolent assumptions of the century that has just expired. Not that these systems and movements are forgotten. Nay, it is only now they are being studied in detail. There is a curious leisure and repose in the thought of the world of to-day. It is not fretted by any particular system of philosophy. Over there, on the sands of Brighton, Herbert Spencer is rolled up and down in a bath-chair, speaking to no one, looking out with dimmed eyes on the unfathomable sea. He has left a fair amount of printed formulas which no one reads. In that highest domain of philosophic thought, I know no other name that men would care to remember. Science has passed from great principles into mere experiment. Instead of being mistress of great minds, she has become an artificer of toys for men's hands and human convenience. The discovery of the new metals, 'uranium' and 'radium,' is heralded as a revolution in Science. But we are too much accustomed to these revolutions to heed them. Darwin and Owen, Huxley and Tyndall have vanished, and Edison and Marconi remain. Great principles, for right or wrong, are no longer laid down, fought for, assailed, accepted, or rejected. The dog listening for his dead master's voice in

the phonograph, and the group around the Marconi wires in the saloon of a Transatlantic steamer, eager to catch the gossip of two continents, are types of the present. The great voice of poetry has died down into a few artificial notes, that have neither the vigour, nor the secret of inspiration. All the chief singers of the Victorian era, except one, are hushed in death. Swinburne lives, but is silent. The Poet-Laureate seems to have already passed out of public consideration. There are but two names before the world to-day, and they are called by the damning term of 'minor poets,'—Stephen Phillips and William Watson. There is one great poet—a Catholic—Francis Thompson; but he, having given to men of all he was worth, and they were unworthy, has flung his two volumes, with a kind of disdain, at the world's feet, and passed, like a wise man, into the peace and seclusion of a Fransciscan monastery. Mr. Lecky, representing history, has just passed away; and amongst the vast crowd of writers, who come under the general designation of 'Men of Letters,' and the great majority of whom are mere magazine writers with but ephemeral reputations, there seems but one, who will conquer the neglect of time, and the indifference and coquetry of fame—and that, too, is a Catholic—Dr. William Barry. Ireland alone appears to be alive amidst the general torpor. The breath of life that seems to have abandoned a dead world is passing through her veins.

What, then, has the 'Dawn of the Century' to show? What are the manifestations that we have to study; and how are we to forecast the future from the symptoms of the present?

Travellers who have ventured to climb the steep ascent and dread escarpments of Vesuvius tell us of the feeling of utter solitude and desolation they experience when they have reached half-way up the mountain. They walk ankle-deep in hot ashes; the half-cooled streams of lava, ridged and smooth, are here and there on every side; the air is dark and sulphurous, and difficult to breathe; the guides are timid and uncertain about proceeding further. All around is horror upon horror; and their hearts are chilled with a sense of loneliness and fear. Yet, looking upward

and onward, there is something more terrible. The cloud that ever hangs above the crater is lurid from the sulphurous fires beneath, and now and again the mountain is shaken by the deep reverberations of the terrible forces that are trying to free themselves there beneath the surface, and high into the air is flung a burning shower of ashes and scoriæ and red-hot stones, and new streams of molten lava are poured down the mountain side. Here is desolation; but there is death. The frightened travellers dare not look upwards; they look around them and behind them, and ask many questions of their guides as to how best they may retrace their steps. Such is the attitude of the intellectual world of to-day. All around it is desolation—the desolation of abandoned spirits on the lonely heights. It dares not look forward. There is but death. Its guides—the prophets of agnosticism—are dumb. All it can do is to stop and look back, and try to see if haply the past can be any guide to the future. Its attitude then to-day is essentially retrospective. It is wearied and tired and frightened. Nothing remains but to study the past, and see is there a gleam of hope, a guidance of life for the enigmatic future that lies before it. Let us, for our own wise ends, follow the example, looking through its eyes, and see what were the forces that guided the world into its present perilous condition, and leave it there with the ashes of dead faiths about its feet.

The great intellectual forces of the nineteenth century resolved themselves into two movements, known to historians as the transcendental and empirical. The former sprang from the writings of Rousseau; affected, even created, the French Revolution, broadened out and developed into the great German systems of philosophy, passed into England and coloured the poetry of Wordsworth and Coleridge, generated in France a whole tribe of soliloquists and dreamers, and finally was caught up and crystallised in the half-prophetic, half-delirious preachings and rantings of Carlyle. Thence it crossed the Atlantic, inspired and originated New England Transcendentalism through the Concord School of philosophy, of which Emerson, a pupil of Carlyle's, was chief prophet. The essential characteristics

of this school were vagueness and abstraction. It took its very name from the fancy that this new knowledge *transcended* all experience, and was quite independent of reason, authority, the testimony of the senses, or the testimony of mankind. Its knowledge was intuitive and abstract. It despised definition. It taught the swift and immediate grasping of a something unrevealed and indefinite, which had hitherto eluded all human effort to compass, embrace, or define. Hence its terminology was vague. It spoke freely of the Infinite, the Infinite Nothing, the Infinite Essence of Things. Then the Germans invented a more prosaic name—the thing that is NOT-I. Coleridge made sub-divisions and introduced the now well-worn words, subjective and objective knowledge. Carlyle spoke of Eternal Verities, the Immensities, the Infinite, the Eternal Silences, etc. Emerson wrote of it as the Over-Soul, the Spirit of the Universe. How far all this differed from pure Pantheism it were difficult to say; but it permeated all literature—history was studied by its light, poetry was inspired by it, it ran through all fiction, became a religious creed, until men everywhere sought the Secret of Being in the question put by Coleridge:—

> And what if all of animated nature
> Be but organic harps diversely framed,
> That tremble into thought, as o'er them sweeps,
> Plastic and vast, one intellectual breeze,
> At once the Soul of each, and God of all?

Then, somewhere about the middle of the century, men began to ask whether there was any rule of conduct, any code of ethics, under all this cloudy verbiage. Men are known by their works. Systems are judged by their results. What have you to show for all this transcendentalism? How does it affect human life, human relations, human progress? How do such doctrines influence the political commonwealth by educating statesmen into higher ideas of political advancement and social amelioration? What do your prophets say? And lo! it began to be whispered that the sentimental Rousseau did actually send his children away to be shut up in an orphan asylum; and that Carlyle,

interpreting the Infinite Verities as merely brute, blind force, did defend the man who broke his word of honour hundreds of times, and carried fire and sword into every valley and hamlet and town in Ireland; and honoured the Governor who scourged with whips of wire the naked slaves of Jamaica; and wrote his 'Iliad in a nutshell' to condemn the Northern States of America for the emancipation of the Negro. And yet, it would be unjust not to say that Transcendentalism did raise men's minds above a sordid level. If its dogmas were vague, at least it appealed to the higher instincts and emotions. It certainly rated spiritual and mental life above the adjuncts of mere material existence. It took men away from mammon-worship and self-seeking; and by insisting on the paramount importance of Duty, and the vast responsibilities of our short, but sublime existence on this planet, it gave the young particularly higher conceptions of their calling, and put many on the high road towards nobler and sweeter lives. In Fichte's *Nature of the Scholar;* in Carlyle's *Past and Present;* and in Emerson's *Address to the American Scholar*, you will find all this exemplified. Yet, men were not satisfied. All these nebulous hypotheses about Over-Souls and Immensities could not satisfy the imperious demand of the ever-impatient mind of man for something more structural and solid. The eternal question arose as to the First Principles; and reason and logic alike declared the fundamental truth: No Dogma; no Ethics! A rule of life for men and nations must be founded on something more solid than mere verbal abstractions. Yet, all this time, de Maistre in France, Newman in England, were thundering this very truth into the ears of the multitude; but the multitude looked everywhere for illumination, except from the central sun.

Suddenly, a momentous change swept over human thought. With one bound, it leaped to the opposite extreme. 'We are tired of abstractions,' it cried. 'We want facts! No more intuition, but demonstration! Reason shall be omnipotent. There is Nature under our eyes and hands. We will question her; and she will

answer. She will give up her secrets to us, and we will build our systems upon them. We will tear open the bowels of the mountains, and read their signs, as the haruspices of old read the entrails of the sacred, sacrificial fowl, and augured well or ill from the revelation. We will pull down the stars from the skies, weigh them, and test their constituents. We will seek the elemental forces of Nature, and there we shall find the elemental truths. We will pry into all things and everywhere, dredge the seas, sweep the rivers, drag fossils out of Mammoth Caves, construct the forms of dead leviathans from one bone, examine the dust of stars in shattered ærolites, and the structure of the animal creation in the spawn of frogs by the wayside pool, or the tadpoles in the month of May. And we shall find that all things are made for man; and that man alone is the Omnipotent and Divine.' Poets took up the pæan of the New Era, and sang it in verse that is more immortal than the cause. Tennyson laid aside his Higher Pantheism, and all the idealizations of youth to chaunt the praises of the new pioneers of humanity. And the world took up the cry. Through the steamship, the telegraph, distance was annihilated. Mankind was shaken by new emotions. The world was moved from its solid basis; and began to shift its centres of population. Old countries were dispeopled; and new states formed, out of a curious congeries of mixed and very dissimilar nationalities. The agricultural masses began to sweep into the towns which rapidly grew into cities under the increase of population. Vast buildings were flung into the sky, filled with all modern appliances and conveniences; and in the exultation of the moment, men looked back upon the past with a kind of pitying ridicule. 'We are done with cloud-building and abstractions for ever,' they said. 'We have facts instead of faith. This is our earth, our world; and we want no other. The ultimate triumph of humanity is at hand!'

And then?—well, then, at the very height of all this pride, men suddenly discovered that under all this huge mechanism and masonry, they had actually driven out the soul of man; and they began to ask themselves: Is this

the result? And is it a result that we can boast of? Empiricism has triumphed. But is the building of sky-scrapers, the slaughter of so many million of hogs, the stretching of wires across our cities, our underground railways, our sea-tunnels—is all this a substitute or compensation for all the ideals we have sacrificed and lost? And when men began to see that beneath all this material splendour, every noble quality that distinguishes man was utterly extinguished; when they saw the horrors of their midnight streets, the masses festering in city slums, the great gulf broadening between the rich and poor, selfishness, greed, Mammon-worship, the extinction of the weak, the sovereignty of the strong, the cruelty, the brutality, that are ever latent in the human heart, developed by the new civilization, they began to shrink back appalled from their own creation, and to think that after all, 'man liveth not by bread alone.' And if for a moment they hesitated about this new belief in the terrible destructiveness of a Godless science, there came, ever and anon, the deep mutterings of a new terror, the very offspring of the science they had worshipped—the spectre of socialism and anarchy. 'Yes,' cried the latter, 'we, too, are the children of science. Nay more, we are its servants and ministers; we feed its furnaces with shades over our eyes to protect them from the blinding glare; we work ten hours a day, stripped to the waist, and buckets of water have to be flung over us from time to time to cool our burning flesh; and you, dressed in your silks, with your Turkish baths and servants to fan you from the slightest breath of a summer wind! Who hath decreed this inequality? It is our labour and sweat that have built up your eighty millions of dollars, and our guerdon is barely a dollar a day. You roll by in your Pullman, whilst we keep the road clear for you under a tropical sun. Your children are absolutely weakened with excessive luxury; ours are starving, body and soul, in the slums. And after all, where is the difference between you and us? You doubt it. We'll prove it. You are the same clay as we. Mark you, this dagger will pierce your flesh, this tiny bullet will extinguish your life. You have whipped us

with scorpions. But we hereby order that you shall sleep beneath the crossed bayonets of your soldiers; that your mightiest Emperor and Czar shall never enter Rome; and you must draw a cordon of soldiers around the quays of New York to save your President's life from the pious vengeance of our emissaries.' So says, in unmistakable language, the latest creation of Empiricism, and the poets take up the cry; and the prophetic voice that chaunted the glories of science in 'Locksley Hall,' grows hoarse in its wailings over a lost world in the 'Locksley Hall Sixty Years After.' Yes! Science hath wrested all its secrets from Nature, but one, the great secret, which she never reveals but to the children of faith.

The attitude of the intellectual world to-day, then, is an attitude of waiting; and in waiting, an attitude of indifferentism. Not indifference, because it is actually aware of its critical condition, and looks forward with anxious eyes. Nay, from time to time, it turns around and gazes towards the Eternal City and the Supreme Pontiff; and in view of the powerlessness of states and governments to conquer the anarchy that seethes in every Empire, it is watching the Church with a 'perhaps' upon its lips. Great Kings have already gone thither, and their royal pilgrimages were universally interpreted as an admission that Rome alone could battle with the new forces which irreligion had let loose on the world; and the peoples, following their royal masters, and in view not only of shattered faith, but of shattered beliefs in human systems, that promised so much and performed so little, are beginning to ask if, after all that has been said and suggested, Rome alone held the secret of the stability of Empires, and the safety and happiness of the individual in those doctrines and precepts which she preaches so uncompromisingly to an unbelieving and scoffing world. Across the Atlantic, where she has more freedom than in older and more conservative states, she is making rapid progress. There, too, the distinction of classes is more sharply drawn, because there wealth and poverty reach greater extremes than in older countries. And there is wanting in America that

strong conservatism, born of traditional feudalism, that is saving, in some measure, the thrones of Europe. And the non-Catholic world of America is beginning to perceive that should the forces of Anarchy and Socialism ever break bounds and attempt revolution, there is no moral force to stop the outbreak but the Catholic Church. Hence, statesmen and Presidents court friendship, if not alliance, with the American hierarchy; and the advance of education, wherein our Catholic schools take a leading place, is gradually acting as a solvent on ancient prejudices brought from the mother country, and fostered by designing and militant controversialists.

But you will reasonably ask, what has all this to do with us who are destined to work within the four seas of Ireland? Tell us something about our own country, its wants, its aspirations, its capabilities, its dangers. We pity the world, stranded there on the mountain heights, unable to go backward, afraid to go forward, its guides dumb and impotent under the spell of modern agnosticism. But we are more deeply concerned about our own people with whom all our best interests are identified. Well, you have a right to ask the question, although, as I shall show you, you have need, too, to be much interested in the attitude of the intellectual world beyond the seas.

I have said, that the breath of a new life has been breathed on our old land. The eternal vitality of our race, not to be extinguished by rack or gibbet, Penal Law or Grecian gift, has broken out these last few years in a vast intellectual revival, the consequences of which it would be difficult to measure to-day. It would seem as if whilst the population waned, the intellectual forces of the country became concentred in a great effort towards national regeneration. All the best elements of the country seem to unite in a forward movement, that promises well for the future of our country and our race. Our poets have given up the ballads and battle-songs which were so familiar a half-century ago; and gone back to Pre-Christian times for inspiration. A National Theatre has been established for the stage reproduction of dramas, founded on the epics, or

history, or legends of the past ; and the race is more interested with the wars of the Firbolgs and Danaans than with the struggles of the Gael and the Pale. And the attempt to save from extinction that greatest heirloom of the race—our National language—has eventuated in an all-round revival of national sports and pastimes, music and literature, which to one, who witnessed the apathy of a dozen years ago, must seem phenomenal. Yet, there is just a discordant and dangerous note even here. If some Hellenists in England and France have raised the cry : Back to Greece from Christianity ! Back to the beautiful physical life, the art, the drama, the music, the freedom of ancient Hellas, from the restraints and asceticism of Christianity ; there are not wanting amongst ourselves, a certain class of art-worshippers and nature-worshippers, who seem to prefer the free unlicensed Pagan freedom of our forefathers to the sweeter influences which Christianity introduced. I do not regard this, however, as a dangerous symptom. I do not think the work of St. Patrick and fourteen centuries of Saints and Scholars is likely to be frustrated by a few Neo-Pagans and Æsthetes in our time.

Then, of course, with the advance of education, and the creation of the class of the 'educated-unemployed,' there must be a certain amount of restlessness, and chafing under control, and a spirit of criticism and censoriousness, which can only be dissipated by larger educational training, or the judicious employment of those who have won distinction in our Colleges and Intermediate Schools. A few weeks ago, on the occasion of the apostasy of a certain realistic novel-writer, one of our Irish papers had the following paragraph :—

> The personality of Mr. Moore would not be worth even a contemptuous reference, were it not that there are thousands of young Irishmen in some of our big cities, whose minds are being slowly and gradually, and very surely, poisoned by influences which lead directly towards the abysmal gulf of George Mooreism. Speeches have been delivered and paragraphs have been printed quite recently which indicate that the speakers and writers are drifting, perhaps imperceptibly, but none the less

steadily, towards a frame of mind, doubting, carping, hypercritical, which will not in the end be distinguishable from Continental Atheism.

And as if to emphasize and corroborate these words, we had, a few days after they appeared, an expression of opinion from the highest quarters to the same effect—that there were probably here amongst ourselves certain thinkers, too small of stature and too limited in numbers to form a school, but whose antipathies and desires seem to run parallel with those of the unhappy men who are bringing ruin upon Catholic France. These things are not alarming, but significant. They are symptoms which we cannot disregard.

II

Such then is the vision of the world as it is shown to us here in the dawn of our century. But I should not have travelled one hundred and eighty miles to reveal to you what might be unfolded from every page of modern literature, if I had not the larger object of applying to your own needs the lessons that may be derived from such a review of modern fact and thought; and of forecasting your own part in their future developments. In making such a practical application, I should feel less scrupulous if I were speaking to older heads than yours. Mind I do not say ' wiser ' heads, for I am one of those who think that sometimes the splendid disdain of youth is more than the cautious and careful feeling forward of age. But I should feel then that my words were merely tentative and experimental. But here I feel that I am casting seminal ideas into souls whose principles have not yet hardened in the mould of experience; and which, therefore, owing to this very plasticity, need to be formed on lines that shall be drawn altogether right and fair and well-proportioned. I feel, too, that, as time goes by, each of you will be perforce compelled to try my words at the bar of experience; and there are many counsellors there, and in the multitude thereof there is not much wisdom. Nay, you will be tossed hither and thither by every wind of opinion in your latter lives. You will have to see principles

which you deemed irrefragable, ruthlessly challenged and set aside; and you will have to face the worst of all mental trials—the adjustment of your conduct to lofty ideals, which, however, will be altogether inconsistent with your interests and immediate happiness. Amidst this eternal fluctuation of human opinion, and rushing together of thoughts, feelings, and principles, chaotic and confusing enough—one star shines, ever fixed, immovable, shedding its soft, lambent light across your life-way, fixed as the Polar Star, and bright as Phosphor—the Star of Duty. There is no drawing the curtains across its light, no seeking to shut out its piercing rays. It will shine through darkness as of Erebus; and pierce even through recesses where the soul seeks to hide itself from itself. And what is that Duty?

I doubt if there be a more dramatic scene in all human history than that which took place on a certain mountain in Judæa some twenty centuries ago. A young man, apparently a mere carpenter's son, had just dismissed a wondering, admiring crowd, who had begun to speak of Him as the 'Prophet of Nazareth'; and had gathered around Him a few of His disciples, to whom He had to say more solemn and sacred things. They, that handful of men, were raw, illiterate, unkempt, half-naked; their hands rough from toil, their scanty clothes glistening with the scales of the fish they had pulled from the lake beneath them. And what was his message? After quietly setting aside all hitherto-recognised principles of human wisdom, He suddenly addressed them:—

> You are the light of the world! You are the salt of the earth!

What! A lot of half-clad, semi-savage Israelites—the light of the world? Hear it, O ye sophists over there in Athens, listening to the calm, cultured wisdom of one of your rhetoricians, as he expounds and develops the ever-new beauties of the master-minds of Greece! And hear it, O ye Romans, listening in your white togas in the Forum to the greatest of your orators, and the most profound of your philosophers! Hear and wonder at this sublime audacity—

a young tradesman in one of your conquered provinces is telling a handful of fishermen that they are 'the light of the world.' Not you Plato, nor you Socrates; not you Cicero or Seneca; but Peter, the fisherman, and Matthew, the publican; and this boy whom they call John—these are the light of the world! Who could believe it? Well, we, taught by Revelation, by history, by the subversion of an intellectualism that was Pagan, and the substitution of a folly that is Divine—we believe it, and we know it.

And if our Lord were justified in pronouncing and prophesying such a sublime vocation for His disciples, am I not right in saying to you, the future priests of Ireland: You are the Light of the World! You are the Salt of the Earth? Yes! the pure white light that strikes here from Rome is broken up into a hundred, a thousand rays that penetrate even to the ends of the earth. Maynooth is the Propaganda of the West, and you are its Apostles! Now what does that connote?

Although primarily intended for t he training of priestsof the Irish mission, this great College has become of late years as much a Foreign College as All Hallows,—it is, let me repeat it, for I glory in the title and all its vast significances —the Western Propaganda! Yes! we cannot suppress our instincts—we cannot deny our vocation—we cannot refuse our mission. We are the Apostles of the world to-day. Even in my own remote village, within the last few months, we had three or four deputations of nuns from Cape Colony, from Dakota, from Los Angeles, seeking amongst our Irish children what apparently cannot be found elsewhere on this planet—those pure minds, that keen intelligence, and that personal love of God, that are the constituents of a religious vocation. The same is true all over Ireland. And you, gentlemen, many of you, may—must go abroad, to other countries, and amidst a people different from your own. Instead of the happy, religious, sunny children of Faith, you will have to speak to the people on the gloomy hillside, their feet in the hot ashes, the desolation of unfaith around them, and their guides as dumb and panic-stricken as themselves. You will meet them everywhere. They will come

to hear your sermons in some English church, and to challenge you about your faith on Monday morning. They will cry to you through the Press; and half insolently, half pleadingly, they will ask for light. You will meet them at dinner tables in country houses, and they will ask you, amid the dinner courses, strange questions about modern beliefs or disbeliefs. And if you are the light of the world remember the solemn injunction: Let your light shine before men! Now, these strange, sad people, to whom you, a Catholic priest, are a mysterious, solemn, unintelligible anachronism, will speak to you, not in your language—the language of faith, but in their own tongue; and that you must set yourselves to understand and interpret. If you care to influence them you must go over to their side, stand on their platform, look through their eyes. They know nothing of you—your philosophy, your theology; but if you let them see that you know all about them, it gains their confidence, lessens their pride, shows them that you have seen all, understand all, and that your light is not a shaded lamp, but a sun that penetrates every corner and recess of the human heart. Hence, in pursuing your philosophical or theological studies, you need to have an objective before your mind. Rid yourselves of the idea that yours is routine work. Study that you may know, know that you may understand, understand that you may communicate your knowledge to others. 'Let your light shine before men!'

In one of Rudyard Kipling's earliest books he tells of how a raw regiment of British troops was brought up from the lowlands to the Afghan hills to break up and destroy an Afghan horde that were hidden in a gut or ghaut of the mountains. They marched gaily, to the sound of fife and drum, into the valley, deployed, advanced in close formation, saw the enemy grouped ahead, were ordered to fire. They shut their eyes and fired—a half ton of lead into—the bodies of the Afghans? No! Into the ground! In an instant the Afghans were upon them, slashing them, right and left with their terrible triangular knives, and in a moment the British regiment was in full flight, whilst the

those who were involved in her future fate—friends and enemies, French and English alike. As prisoner of war she was sent from Compiegne to the castle of Beaulieu, and thence after about two months to the castle of Beaurvoir. It was while here that she leaped from the castle walls to escape from the hands of her enemies, and to fly again to the relief of Compiegne. The unsuccessful but daring act was afterwards distorted into a groundless charge of attempted suicide.

According to the laws and usages of war the utmost punishment that could be inflicted on the Maid was imprisonment. The English, however, were determined to have her in their own grasp, and to the disgrace of John of Luxembourg, he sold her to the enemy whom she had so often defeated and humiliated on the battlefield. The price paid would amount in our present money to about £20,000, and it is lamentable to add that the base transaction on the part of the English was carried out by a dignitary of the Church, a man of evil memory, Peter Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais. When the English had been driven out of Beauvais by Joan, this wretched traitor to Church and country, fled with his friends, vowing vengeance against his conqueror. Now he is able to carry out his threats. The vanquished heroine is in the power of her pitiless enemies. The English will not be content with her death; they will rob her of her honour as well as of her life, and will blacken her memory before committing her to the grave. They cannot, moreover, put her to death because she had fought against them and conquered them. To satisfy their cowardly lust for revenge, they will have her tried by an ecclesiastical tribunal on charges of sorcery, heresy, and impiety of every sort. Cauchon, if not the prime mover, is, at least, the pliant instrument of the foreigner in this infamous proceeding. He is to be the presiding judge; all his fellow judges are to be creatures of the English faction—most of them in the pay of the English. Bedford, uncle of Henry VI., summons this court in the name of his nephew, the 'King of England and France.'

It held its first meeting in Rouen (whither Joan had been taken) on the 21st February.

To read the authentic report of this trial is to inflict a shock on all our feelings of justice and humanity. In mercy to the reader I pass over the details and refer briefly only to a few of the chief incidents of the cruel tragedy. From her arrival in Rouen until the commencement of the judicial proceedings, Joan was treated with savage barbarity —locked up in a cage both day and night, heavy chains binding her neck and hands and feet. At the commencement of the trial this cruelty was somewhat relaxed, but she was still kept chained in a small cell, with five coarse-featured, coarse-natured Englishmen to guard her, or rather to jeer at and insult her with their ribald jokes.

Cauchon's court, while observing certain legal formalities trampled on every rule of justice and fair play. 'Guilty' was a foregone conclusion. To hesitate, on the part of the judges, was to incur the deadly wrath of their English masters. Warwick during the trial had threatened two of them with instant death, because they had shown some little sympathy with the prisoner. It was clearly stated moreover, that no matter what the verdict, the Maid was to be put to death—the purchasers were to have value for their money.

The trial dragged on for months. The chief charges against the Maid were that she was an emissary of the devil, and a schismatic. Day after day, alone, unaided, friendless, she was examined, riddled, and worried with abstruse and cunningly devised questions, ordered to account for every act and incident of her life—from her childhood dance under the 'fairy tree,' of Domremy, to her 'attemped suicide' in Beaurvoir castle. Thus brow-beaten, insulted, threatened with torture and death, she displayed to her judges the same intrepid spirit which she had so often shown to her enemies on the battlefield. The court, however, was determined by every means, fair and foul, to shake her magnificent fortitude, to make her admit that her whole life was an impious lie, and that the 'voices' which she believed were from God, were merely hallucina-

lives are not modelled on Christian principles, and your life is a perpetual protest against theirs. Your sermons, your life, your insistence on the great Christian Verities fret them beyond endurance, and they hate you. *Odit vos mundus*! There is another class, which is not irreligious, but which seems to blot out of their mental horizon any one under the rank of an Archdeacon. These may be good Catholics, but they do not concern us here. They are not an appreciable quantity, so far as we are concerned. There is a third class, and to these I direct your special attention, as they touch closely on that intellectual, godless world of which I have already spoken, There is no use in our trying to close our eyes to the fact that many of our young Catholics have imbibed the Continental spirit, and set themselves up as judges, not only of individuals, even those in the highest offices in the Church, but even of the dogmas of Catholic Faith. These are the people who will tell you that the Dreyfus case was urged on by the Catholic Bishops of France, that persecution of the Religious Orders to-day is not the work of Combes, but has arisen from the jealousies between the regular and the secular clergy in France, that the Bishops were even compelled to call in the aid of the Government to save them from the encroachments of monks and nuns. The same class will coolly tell you that all the evils of Ireland can be traced to the action of the Catholic Church ; and if you question them about their authorities, they will quote the infidel papers of Paris ; or such a historian as Froude. Then they pass to dogma. Indulgences, Prayers for the Dead, the sacramentals of the Church, the little devotions of the faithful, are *anathema maranaiha* to these highly cultivated folk, who condescend to go to Mass, and, under a certain tacit coercion of public opinion, to attend to the Easter Duty.

With that class, and, indeed, with all others, one safe principle may be laid down—that the Irish priest must be in advance of his people, educationally, by at least fifty years. The priests have the lead, and they must keep it. But the right of leadership, now so often questioned, must be supported by tangible and repeated proofs; and these proofs

must concern not only your spiritual authority, but your intellectual superiority. The young priest who has lectured on 'Hamlet' in the town hall on Thursday night, is listened to with deeper respect on Sunday morning. The priest who conducts a long and laborious experiment before a literary and scientific society in any of our cities is, henceforward, an acknowledged and unquestioned guide in his village. And the priest who, quietly and without temper, overthrows one of those carping critics at a dinner-party, may confirm, without the possibility of its being disturbed again, the faith of many who were present, and whose beliefs, perhaps, were rudely shaken by the impertinence of the shallow criticism to which they had just been listening. No, in Ireland at least, gentlemen, we must not hide our light under a bushel. Our national Church must be the 'city built on the high mountains.' And we must not grovel, nor make excuses, nor apologise for our existence. We have the lead, and we must keep it! What all that connotes and signifies I must leave to yourselves to imagine and develop.

But there is one thing in which, above all others, we must keep ahead of our people—the supreme matter of priestly holiness. And this takes me away from your outer duties to address yourselves. I have kept the good wine to the last; and, alas! I have left you but little time to drink it. But, probably, these, my first, will also be my last words to you; and I desire to throw into them all the emphasis of which I am capable. In after life you will increase your intellectual stores; you will enlarge your intellectual horizon. By large reading and much reflection you will find yourselves, in ten or twenty years, in quite a different sphere of thought from that in which you are placed to-day. Your education will only commence the day you leave college and enter the larger life. But in one department you shall never advance or improve—I mean the department of spiritual science. The principles taught now by your professors and spiritual guides are fixed and unchangeable; if ever you change or abandon them, it will be to your temporal detriment and eternal ruin. What do I mean?

You are taught now that on the day when the Pontiff

places his hands on your heads, and your fingers clasp the chalice, you are raised to the highest dignity on earth. That is true. You are taught that you are more than kings on their thrones, or ministers in their cabinets. That is true. You are taught that you are more than the angels or archangel. That is true. Furthermore, you are instructed that it is by no choice of yours, or your parents, that you are raised to the sacerdotal dignity. That is true. For you are instructed that the Divine Master applies to you the words He applied to His Apostles: 'You have not chosen Me; but I have chosen you.' You are also warned that no sanctity, however great, can be deemed commensurate with so high an office; and that your lives, and all that is connected with them, your talents, abilities, mental and spiritual faculties, are also placed in pledge with Christ for the fulfilment of your sublime vocation. Why do I insist on such patent and palpable truths? Because you will be tempted to deny them. Experience, so much lauded as a successful master, is also a most dangerous master. It teaches, we know; but often it teaches perilous and subversive doctrines. And the worst and most deadly temptation of your lives will come from experience the day that, looking around you and watching the ways and lives of men, you will utter that word of the Psalmist: *Omnis homo mendax!* or the more melancholy verdict of St. Paul: 'All seek their own interests; not the interests of Jesus Christ!' Beware of that moment; for it is in that moment you will be tempted to forget, or deny, the sacred principles you have learned in these halls. You will be tempted to believe that your sacred office is not a mission and vocation, but a mere profession; and that you are at liberty to introduce the language, and the customs, and the principles of the world into that sanctuary, where the maxims of the Gospel alone should be recognised and accepted. You will stand for a moment half-paralysed with the spectacle of men rushing wildly into forbidden paths, and then, panic-stricken, you will be tempted to follow the herd with its treasonable cry: *Ego et Rex Meus!* If you harbour that temptation for a moment, in that

moment you have bartered and forfeited your birthright; you have cancelled the charter of your nobility; you have revoked your oath of ordination; and from being a *miles et amicus Christi* you have descended to be the slave and sycophant of self.

Hence the necessity of acquiring here, and developing hereafter, a certain phase of character, which I can only designate as 'individualism.' You must study to be self-centred, self-poised on the strong summits of conscience, not moving to left or right at every breath of opinion. This is quite compatible with that modesty, that humility, that gentleness that always characterize thoughtful minds—minds that move on a high plane, and that will not descend to the vulgarities or commonplaces of ordinary men. Priests of this class or calibre never forget their college lessons. But whilst striving in remote hamlets, as Workhouse Chaplains, or even in the slums of large cities, to develop themselves intellectually by wholesome and judicious studies, they are ever sensible of the gentle whispers of their Master, first heard here, never to be stifled in after life—'You are the light of the world! You are the salt of the earth.' 'You have not chosen Me, but I have chosen you!' 'I do not any longer call you servants, but friends.' 'Filioli mei.' Ah, these are the 'burning and shining lights' of the Church of Christ, within whose rays men shelter themselves for warmth and illumination; who cannot be extinguished in life by envy or hatred or criticism; who even in Death leave behind them in memory a certain twilight or aurora, for their words and works survive them; and many a soul, recalling them from the peace of eternity, justifies the presumption in the words of the Psalmist:—

> Thy Word was a lamp to my feet;
> And a light along my ways!

Here is what you have to strive after; here is what you have to attain, if you desire to maintain the traditions of the Irish Church; and to be, in very deed, the leaders of your people, the shepherds of your flock!

And so I, passing rapidly into the evening of life, say

this farewell word to you in the morning of your days, and in the dawn of the century, where your life-work shall be placed. The intellectual and spiritual energies, gathered into this hall to-night, must exercise a tremendous influence in that future, when emancipated, they will have free play, and a boundless sphere of action. It is a pathetic, yet consoling thought that, when, far out in the century, our faces shall be upturned to the stars, you will be striving for the same eternal cause as that for which we shall have spent ourselves. Nor have I a moment's doubt, that when the torch falls from our feeble hands, you will take it up and carry it forward through all those years that are sweeping towards us from Infinity, and that come fraught with such solemn issues for the country we love, the Faith to which we cling, the Church, which is our Mistress and our Queen, and Him, who is our Captain and our *King*.

THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF HIGHER CRITICISM

ELOHIM AND JEHOVA

AN incident connected with these words occupies a unique position in the history of modern rationalistic misinterpretation of Scripture. As we saw already, it was the regular appearance of the one and the other alternately in certain passages of Genesis that suggested to the unconscious founder of higher criticism the central idea or the germ of his dangerous theory. Astruc, indeed, was not the first to notice this frequent recurrence, but he was the first to make it the basis of a system. He thought that the two largest and most important among the numerous documents from which he supposed Moses to have compiled Genesis, could be distinguished from the rest and from each other by means of the names which they respectively employed to denote God. His hypothesis was that the series of Elohim passages, if put together, would form one document, which he called 'A'; and in the same way that the scattered Jehova passages would, if recombined, represent another document to which he gave the title of 'B.'

In our Vulgate version almost everywhere the first of these names is represented by *Deus*, and the second by *Dominus*. Of course we know that only He is *Dominus* Who is *Deus*, and conversely, hence when speaking Latin we may often use these divine appellations indiscriminately yet there are special occasions when we feel the need of speaking precisely, or circumstances in which we employ these words respectively in order to connote different attributes or distinct aspects of the One Supreme Being. We then select the fit word and call God *Deus* for one reason, and *Dominus* for another. Long ago the first of the Latin Fathers observed that in the version of Genesis which he

was accustomed to read, a distinction of this kind was made. In his treatise against Hermogenes he says :—

Scriptura nobis patrocinatur, quae utrumque nomen ei distinxit et suo tempore ostendit. Nam Deus quidem, quod erat semper, statim nominat ; in *principio fecit Deus cœlum et terram :* ac deinceps, quamdiu faciebat quorum Dominus futurus erat, Deus solummodo ponit ; *et dixit Deus, et fecit Deus ;* et nusquam adhuc Dominus. At ubi universa perfecit, ipsumque vel maxime hominem qui proprie Dominus intellecturus erat, tunc etiam Dominus nomen adjunxit : *et accepit Dominus hominem*, etc.

And St. Augustine evidently agrees with Tertullian, for he makes the following remark in his work, *De Genesi ad litteram* :—

Proinde nullo modo vacare arbitror, sed nos aliquid et magnum aliquid admonere, quod ab ipso divini libri hujus exordio, ex quo ita cœptus est, *In principio fecit Deus cœlum et terram*, usque ad hunc locum nusquam positum est *Dominus Deus*, sed tantum modo *Deus ;* nunc vero ubi ad id ventum est, ut hominem in paradiso constitueret, eumque per praeceptum operaretur et custodiret, ita Scriptura locuta est, *et sumpsit Dominus Deus hominem quem fecit et posuit eum in Paradiso operari eum et custodire :* non quod supradictarum creaturarum Dominus non esset Deus, sed quia hoc nec propter angelos nec propter alia quae creata sunt, sed propter hominem scribebatur, ad eum admonendum quantum ei expediat habere Dominum Deum, hoc est, sub ejus dominatione obedienter vivere quam licentiose abuti propria potestate, nusquam hoc prius ponere voluit, nisi ubi perventum est ad eum in paradiso collocandum, operandum et custodiendum.

The alternative use in the Latin version of these two names, *Dominus* and *Deus*, which as we saw above respectively correspond to *Jehova* and *Elohim*, suggests at once the further question whether these Hebrew words also differ in signification, and if so in what that difference may consist. Before entering into details, it is just as well to say at once that a certain shade of meaning, or *nuance*, is expressed by one of the names exclusively. This is, indeed, only what we should expect ; for it is not in the nature of human speech that any two words such as Jehova and Elohim should possess for an appreciable length of time exactly the same signification and import. Even supposing that

originally they were equivalent terms, some variance in connotation would be sure to arise. Synonyms serve a purpose, and are on that account likely to be both numerous and permanent; but heteronyms as being superfluous are of necessity but few and fleeting. For language spontaneously rids itself of the encumbrance caused by two words identical in meaning and application, either by quietly dropping one of them, or else by restricting it henceforth to the indication of a definite and distinct aspect of the common subject. If, then, the material word is not doomed to disappear, it must change part of its meaning; it must develop into a synonym, if it is to continue to exist; it must be of some use, if it is to retain its position.

Hence, were we merely reasoning from a universal law of the evolution of language, or judging the present question from the standpoint of antecedent probability, we should say that seemingly there ought to be some difference in meaning between these two Hebrew names for God; that Jehova presumably connoted some attribute or relationship which Elohim did not, or *vice versa*. And if we proceeded to suppose a concrete instance, we should think that in Scripture there would in all likelihood be found certain contexts to which one of these divine titles would be more suitable than the other.

Assuming, however, for the present, the truth of what was stated above, as we are justified in doing, our next step naturally is, to examine the actual employment of these names in Genesis and in the first six chapters of Exodus. But here at the outset a question in textual criticism confronts us. Are we sure that in every single instance the name we see before us now in our ordinary Hebrew Bibles, is the one that Moses used? The question is an indispensable one, for, unless we know the facts, it is worse than useless to speculate about their probable cause.

In reply it must be said, that in a small number of passages, some of which will be mentioned later on, the reading is not absolutely certain. But, on the contrary, in the vast majority of instances the MSS. of both the Hebrew and the Samaritan texts, and those of the ancient

versions as well, agree in testifying to the presence either of Elohim or of Jehova, and, therefore, in all these places the correctness of the reading is sufficiently and satisfactorily guaranteed. Consequently, until evidence to the contrary has been produced—a most unlikely contingency—scholars may rest assured that they know what Moses wrote.

But our readers will not suppose from what has been said that even the Hebrew Masoretic text in every passage meets with unquestioning acceptance. For instance, in Genesis xvi. 11, we read : ' Thou shalt bring forth a son and thou shalt call his name Ismael, because the Lord hath heard thy affliction.' The etymology of the name is given here. It comes, as the angel explains to Agar, from ' Isma ' = *heard*, and from ' El ' = *God*. But if an etymology founded partly on one of the divine names be taken as an indubitable sign that originally this divine name and no other was used, then it follows that in respect of this, the Hebrew text has been corrupted, because here it reads, ' Jehova (*i.e.*, *the Lord*), has heard thy affliction.' It is equally evident that El is the only one of all the divine titles that can be the second component of the name of Agar's son. Professor Hoberg of Freiburg University attaches great importance to the presence here of the word Jehova, which he regards as proof positive of deliberate alteration. However, with all due respect to the Catholic *savant*, it may still be thought that inasmuch as El and Jehova are only different names for the same God, the word we read now in Genesis is the one spoken by the angel, particularly if a probable reason for the selection can be assigned.[1]

On the other hand if, as Hoberg thinks, Jehova was substituted for El, can he explain why was not at the same time Ismael changed into Ismaia ? Consistency would demand it. The name Ismaia, which means ' Jehova heard,' does actually occur in 1 Paralipomenon xxvii. 19. If it were introduced into Genesis xvi. 11, it would satisfy the requirements of a verbal explanation dependent on the

[1] See Hengstenberg on the Pentateuch, vol. i., p. 346.

name Jehova which is supposed to have been in the immediate context. But we must acknowledge that we have no confidence in conjectural emendations undertaken in order to make the text suit a theory, and that we derive anything but satisfaction from an examination of Hoberg's work in this respect. In the edition of the Hebrew text, published with his commentary (so far as we can remember), wherever the Masoretic edition has Jehova-Elohim he eliminates Jehova, and wherever it has Jehova alone he substitutes Elohim for it. This is not to answer the critics, but to imitate them in one of the most unjustifiable liberties they take. We all know that if they see the name Jehova where they do not like, they explain its appearance by remarking that it was put in by the Redactor, and calmly erase it, or perhaps insert Elohim instead. This they call a restoration of the original text. There can, however, be no reasonable discussion of the question at issue, unless the value of the Masoretic and of all other readings be assayed by the test of textual criticism. The testimony of Hebrew and Samaritan MSS., of versions, of quotations, etc., may not produce certainty, but in opposition to them or part of them—subjective criteria will produce nothing. The traditional text must be employed by commentators, and if it happens that in some places we cannot see why one divine name is written rather than another, let it be so. And let us say so, but let us not, of our own authority, alter the text.

It may very easily happen in some passages that owing to a want of agreement on the part of venerable texts and versions uncertainty should exist as to which of two or more readings is the true one, or again it may happen that Jehova occurs in a passage where, owing to our experience of the use of the divine names, we expected to find Elohim; but in either case, it seems to be our plain duty to accept the fact. Let us then be content to note the presence of various readings, or of the employment of a name which is not in accordance with our provisional theory, but let us beware of altering a passage. What right have we to do it? The value of the Masoretic edition is altogether independent of

our subjective notions; of course everyone will admit that owing to recent advances in textual criticism, this edition no longer enjoys the almost boundless confidence that many Protestants and some Catholics reposed in it, but such a change of opinion has been produced solely by the application of objective criteria. It is not the offspring of imagination. Parallel passages, quotations, etc., have been investigated, and thus the comparative value of the traditional text and of the versions has been ascertained. But this is reasonable, this is diametrically opposed to the criticism born of inner consciousness.

Extraordinary powers of observation are not required to perceive the regular recurrence of the names in question throughout some sections in the beginning of the Pantateuch, and also their appearance in one and the same section, or even in a manifestly indivisible passage or verse. In the course of their microscopic investigations and imaginative theories the higher critics of the Pentateuch do not make the latter fact prominent, or rather they pass over it silently perhaps because it would tell against them. As regards the first fact just before mentioned, or the recurrence in alternate sections, it is found in books the unity of which is not denied by them; or if denied, is so for pretexts altogether different. Thus, for example, in cases of non-denial: Jeremias writes Jehova 563 times, and Elohim 140 times; Esdras writes Jehova 23 times, and Elohim 55 times; the author of 3 Kings has Jehova 210 times, and Elohim 105 times, while the author of 1 Paralipomenon uses Jehova 141 times, and Elohim 111 times. Yet critics do not dissect these works. This shows that in the opinion of some higher critics the employment of the two names here should not be regarded as implying diversity of authorship. Now in a case of denial, nearly all the rationalists maintain the existence of a Deutero-Isaias (though indeed some of them actually believe in a Trito-Isaias, and a few of the more adventurous spirits, such as Cheyne and Gressmann, are not satisfied with even this number of hypothetical authors); but nevertheless in the commonly alleged two independent compositions (ch. i.-xxxix. by Isaias, ch. xl.-lxvi. by the Deutero-Isaias) and

in parts of both that some even of the most enthusiastic followers of Astruc do not dream of cutting up, Elohim and Jehova occur. But if the presence of both names is compatible with homogeneity in the case of parts of the alleged books of Isaias and of a Deutero-Isaias, why should it militate against the unity of Genesis? No sane man would restrict an author to the use of only one divine name, and demand that there should be no variety of diction, under the penalty for violation of having the book belonging to him assigned to a number of obedient chimeras. Otherwise it would go hard with St. Paul, who had the temerity to write κυριος, ο κυριος, ο κυριος ημων, ο κυριος Ιησους, ο κυριος Χριστος, ο κυριος Ιησους Χριστος, Χριστος Ιησους ο κυριος, κ.τ.λ. The following remark deserves to be quoted:—

> In the Epistle to the Romans, St. Paul uses the name of Jesus 5 times, Christ 33 times; in the two to the Corinthians, Jesus 16 times, Christ 77 times; in Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians, Jesus 4 times, Christ 87 times; in the Epistle to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, Jesus twice, Christ 4 times—in all, Jesus 27 times, Christ 201 times. In the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, however, we find precisely the reverse usage, Jesus 13 times, Christ 4 times; conclusive proof, no doubt, of diverse authorship!

It is a pity that the critics have not analysed these two sets of passages, and treated us to a disquisition about the *Jesuit* author of the one and the *Christian* author of the other. Or, as St. Paul writes sometimes κυριος (=*Jehova*) sometimes Θεος (=*Elohim*), that they have not divided him into a Jehovist and an Elohist.

It was shown a moment ago that some of the critics are happily inconsistent; but it must be said that all are not. For there is a devoted band that apparently proposes to extend the Pentateuchal Jehova-Elohim-Theory to all the other Hebrew writings. We mean the contributors to Haupt's critical edition of the *Sacred Books of the Old Testament* and to its English translation, *The Polychrome*—or, as it is familiarly called, *The Rainbow-Bible*. Here the parts selected for the various hypothetical authors are printed each on a ground of different colour, in order 'to

make the best results of modern scholarship visible at a glance'! Our readers can imagine what an appearance must be presented by a page on which paragraphs, half paragraphs, quarter paragraphs, lines, portions of a line, and single words are printed in motley hue. The plan is thus explained in the prefatory note to a volume ('Genesis') of the first series, edited by Rev. C. J. Ball, Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of London :—

The combination of *red* and *blue :* PURPLE (*e.g.*, xv. 13) indicates the composite document (JE), commonly known as the Prophetic Narrative of the Hexateuch, compiled by an editor or redactor (RJE) about 640 from two independent sources : viz. (1) the Judaic document (J), whose various strata seem to have originated in the Southern Kingdom after 850 B.C., and (2) the Ephraimitic document (E), written by a native of the Northern Kingdom prior to 650 B.C.* The older strata of J (J^1, about 850 B.C.) are printed in dark red (*e.g.*, vi. 1), and the later strata (J^2, about 650) in light red (*e.g.*, vii. 1). E is printed in blue (*e.g.*, xx. 1). Green (*e.g.* xxvi. 5) is used for the Deuteronomistic expansions (D^2) which were added to JE during the second half of the exile (560-540), while brown marks (*e.g.* xlvi. 8) later strata of the Priestly Code (P), the main body of which (compiled in Babylonia about 500 B.C.) is printed black without any additional colouring. Chapter xiv., which seems to be derived from what might be termed an Exilic Midrash,† has been printed

* Our readers will notice a development here. Critics have at length found a habitation for J, because he describes events that happened in Southern Palestine, and for E, because he shows an interest in matters connected with the Northern part of the country.

† The epithet which this writer thinks good enough for a historical chapter of Scripture cannot be allowed to pass unnoticed. Midrash, a Rabbinical term, means an allegory, a hyperbole—whether intrinsically considered it be a narrative, or the interpretation of a narrative. (Buxtorf's *Lexicon Chaldaicum*, ed. Fischer, p. 298, where several explanatory quotations are given). But are the contents of Genesis xiv. mythical? Are they of late Babylonian origin?

It is scarcely worth while to observe that those who deny the Mosaic origin of Genesis can offer no proof whatever of their impudent assertion respecting its fourteenth chapter. As a matter of course they confidently state that it contains conclusive evidence of having been written during the exile, but as a matter of fact none of them has ever been able to point out that evidence.

'Che vi sia ciascun lo dice,
Dove sia nessun lo sa.'

The obvious reason of their failure is that no such evidence exists. If, indeed, the chapter contained a reference to Ezechiel or Daniel, or any indication of a captive's acquaintance with Babylonia in the fifth century B.C., then there would be something in favour of the critics; but unfortunately for them, the only knowledge of matters Babylonian that it manifests is about a

in orange. Overlined passages represent redactional additions. Overlining has also been used to mark tertiary strata of J (J^s, about B.C. 600, *e.g.* ii. 10), in distinction from J^2.

Three volumes of this precious Polychrome Bible were published some time ago: 'Judges' (Moore), 'Isaias' (Cheyne), 'Psalms' (Wellhausen). Professor Moore informs his readers that the Book of Judges is largely of post-exilic date, being in fact part of a comprehensive History of Israel; he also makes the interesting announcement that criticism has detected among its sources, an early 'History of Israel under the Judges,' a 'Judaic History,' and an 'Ephraimitic History,' which were variously combined by different redactors. Professor Cheyne requires for his dissection of Isaias besides the ordinary white background no less than six varieties of colour. This is no doubt an exceedingly liberal use of polychrome, but then we must bear in mind that the Oriel Professor of Scripture is a very high critic. Yet even he is surpassed by Wellhausen. At first sight, however, it is impossible to know how the Göttingen Professor's contribution was admitted into the series, for his volume is all printed in plain black and white, without so much even as one band of colour or a single tint of the rainbow. But

campaign in Palestine undertaken by a Babylonian king and his allies about twenty-two centuries before the Christian era. This event belonged to a period four generations earlier than the time of Moses. The description of the event has always formed part of the book written by him. So far as the unanimous voice of the past testifies, this is so. Moses presumably got his knowledge from existing sources, either oral or written. A remarkable event such as Chedorlahomor's campaign would naturally be recorded on some tablet, or a tradition about it could easily be preserved by Abraham's immediate descendants. There was, so far as one can see, no more need of a revelation to Moses than there was long afterwards in somewhat similar circumstances to St. Luke, who says of himself that he used the ordinary means to obtain information. If perchance there was any error or misconception on the part of the informant, as conceivably there might be, we know that such error remained there. It could not be transmitted to the inspired writer. He would infallibly discriminate between incorrect and true statements, and eliminate all the former. Nor would his use of the latter imply dependance on the human source from which he received it. In nowise could that source be regarded as a voucher for the correctness of anything in his book. It was written under divine guidance, and every statement contained in it had divine authority.

Before the discoveries recently made in Assyria, the names of the four kings mentioned by Moses—Amraphel of Sennaar, Arioch of Pontus, Chedorlahomor of Elam, and Thadal of nations—were names and nothing more. No one could even tell their meaning, and no one knew anything about the men

Wellhausen has made a wonderful discovery. It is nothing less than this: 'The entire collection of Psalms dates from a period considerably later than that of E and J, in fact it was the hymn-book of the second temple.' Comment on this is unnecessary. Wellhausen has outstripped all his associates, after this the inventors of E, J, P, D, etc., may retire.

One very important fact has to be remembered in connexion with Genesis, and the alternate use of the two names in some of its parts. It is that only these two names (*Elohim* and *Jehova*) occur in the history of the primeval period, Genesis i.-xi. inclusive. In the remainder of the book, which contains the history of Abraham and his descendants, other names are also found. These are El (*God*) with its compounds El-Elion and El-Shaddai, both of which connote an attribute. Adonai (*Lord*) is also met with, but it is used only as a vocative, or in addressing God. The two names we are concerned with are the oldest and the

---

that bore them beyond what was recorded in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis. Those who believed in Scripture accepted its account of the campaign of these allies; those who did not believe rejected it. To some of the higher critics, viz., Knobel and Hitzig, it seemed ridiculous to say that four kings came from unknown or doubtful regions to wage war in Canaan, while to his own satisfaction Grotefend explained the narrative as a solar myth, and Nöldeke, who is still lecturing in Strasburg, looked upon it as 'a fragment of a post-exilic romance of the life of Abram.'

But now a great change has come about. Assyriology has vindicated Scripture. From the dim and distant past it has recalled the dynasty of Elamite kings called *Kudurides* (from the first part of their compound names, 'Kudur,' which means 'a servant of'), that once held Southern Babylonia in subjection. For in one of his inscriptions Assurbanipal mentions that when he overran Elam and took Susa, its metropolis (about 650 B.C.), he recovered there the image of the goddess Nana, which had been carried off from Erech, in Southern Babylonia, by the Elamite king Kudurnanhundi (*i.e.*, servant of the god Nanhundi) 1635 years before, *i.e.*, 2285 B.C.

To speak now of our four kings individually.

1. Chedorlahomor must have belonged to the same Elamite dynasty. In Genesis xiv. he appears as the head of the confederate kings (vv. 5, 17), and even in its transformed pronunciation his name Chedorlaomor (Hebrew) or Χοδολλογομος (*Sept.*) is unmistakably Elamite, the original or native form being Kudurlagamar, 'the servant of Lagamar,' a goddess often mentioned in cuneiform inscriptions (see Schrader's *Die Keilinschriften und das A. T.*, p. 484, 3rd ed., 1902). Kudurlagamar himself is not mentioned on any monument discovered up to this, but no one would be surprised if some day or other a tablet bearing this monarch's name were brought to light. Stranger things have happened in Chaldea. Indeed, the present curator of the Imperial Ottoman Museum in Constantinople, Père Scheil, O.P., published in the *Revue Biblique* (October, 1896) a transcript of a tablet found at Larsa on which he thought he could read Ku-dur-la-ukh-ga-mar, and Professor

most frequently employed. Their almost rhythmical recurrence cannot escape the notice of an ordinarily attentive reader. And as he knows that it is impossible it should be the outcome of blind chance, he naturally asks what can be the cause of the phenomenon? To this question, as our readers may easily infer from the foregoing remarks, two answers have been given; answers diametrically opposed one to the other. 1. 'Dual authorship,' say the critics; 'one writer calls God *Jehova*, and another calls Him *Elohim*.' 2. 'Difference in the subject-matter of those passages respectively,' say the defenders of tradition, 'one and the same author in some places uses the name Jehova in order to emphasise his mention of a certain divine attribute, or for similar reasons; in other places, where such emphasis is not needed, he uses the name Elohim.'

The first answer is of an *extrinsic* character, and, to say the least, is the merest conjecture; the second is of an *intrinsic* character, and rests on tradition and on induction.

Hommel, of Munich, approved of this decipherment, but L. W. King, of the British Museum, one of the best Assyriologists in England, maintains that the group of symbols should be pronounced Inukhsamar. This appears to be the accepted transliteration. (See it from a photo of the tablet in Ball's *Light from the East*, p. 68). Some months before Père Scheil announced what he believed to be a discovery, Mr. Pinches, late of the British Museum, stated that one of the tablets preserved there contained the names of three of the kings mentioned in Genesis xiv., viz., Kudurlagamar or *Chedorlahomer*, Eriaku or *Arioch*, and Todhula or *Thadal*. The tablet is dated not earlier than the fourth century B.C., but the inscription it contains may be a copy of a much earlier one, as is the case with the 'Deluge Tablets.' Schrader is inclined to agree with Pinches' reading. But at the same time there is some uncertainty; it appears to be not Eri-aku, but Eri-eku, or something similar. Again, the name which they take to stand for Kudur-lagamar, should, according to Mr. King, be read Ku-dur-ku-mal or Ku-dur-ku-ku-mal, and though he is called King of Elam, there is nothing to show that he was a contemporary of Hammurabi. It is, however, very probable that these three are the kings mentioned in Genesis xiv. The names may have been copied incorrectly, or wrongly deciphered. At all events, Cheyne and other critics are quite mistaken when they remark, in a tone of bland compassion, that the truth of Genesis xiv. is not yet proved. It needs no proof, or rather it admits of no proof. The word of God is incapable of being proved true by the word of man. It is just the reverse of what the critics imagine, and the Assyrian inscriptions can be proved; if they agree with Scripture, they are true. To us believers at the present day they are of course of incalculable use, as illustrating Scripture or enabling us to understand its historical statements better, but they are not *proofs* of its veracity.

2. Amraphel. From Genesis xiv. he would appear to have been the chief vassal of Chedorlahomer. Hommel, Schrader, and Ball, three learned Assyriologists, identify him with Hammurabi, or Hamma-rapaltu. If they are right, as there can be no doubt, then Amraphel is one of the best known

Nor is this the only difference. There is also a marked contrast between the manner in which they are maintained, when their respective champions are called on to reply to objections. The critics alter the text, they transpose phrases, they remove Jehovah in one place and Elohim in another, or, on the other hand, they insert them *ad libitum*; whereas the believers leave the text untouched. This reminds one of a well-known episode. Of old there was a king before whose judgment-seat two women appeared, each of whom claimed the same child as her own. One of them was willing to divide the child; 'Do not kill it,' implored the other. The king knew thereby which woman was the child's mother.—If that wise king returned to life now, and a higher critic and a believer in Scripture were to come before his tribunal, the one contending that the authorship of the Pentateuch should be divided among P, E, J, R, etc., the other demanding that it should be left in the possession of Moses, without any alteration

---

monarchs in remote antiquity. A great many of his inscriptions and his portrait are in the British Museum (also several inscriptions preserved elsewhere), and two large volumes of his correspondence have been published. Hammurabi was the sixth king of the first Babylonian dynasty, which Sayce and Hommel have shown to be of Arabian origin. He reigned fifty-five years, and apparently it was he united the numerous city kingdoms and thus founded a Babylonian empire. The exact date of his reign is not known, but the following table taken from Hommel's *Ancient Hebrew Tradition and the Monuments*, will show the dates proposed by some leading Assyriologists:—Winckler (1889) 2292-2237: Winckler (1894) 2314-2258: Maspero (1896) 2304-2249: Delitzsch (1891) 2287-2232: Hilprecht (1893) 2277-2222: Peiser (1891) 2139-2084: Carl Niebuhr (1890) 2081-2026: Hommel (1895) 1947-1892: (1886) 1923-1868. Quite recently from an unexpected quarter more light has been shed on the reign of Hammurabi. In January, 1902, while excavations were being made at Susa, in Persia, or ancient Elam, a stone was dug up which bore on its sides the renowned legislation of Hammurabi. The text has been translated by Père Scheil, and afterwards by C. H. Johns, Cambridge, (*The Oldest Code of Laws in the World*, Clark, Edinburgh, 1903). Some time after the expedition mentioned in Genesis Hammurabi overcame Rim-Sin, the last King of Larsa (Ellasar), united under his own sway the kingdoms of Southern Babylonia, and made Babylonia the capital of the empire. It is not known at what time the monument inscribed with his laws was carried off to Elam.

3. Arioch is certainly Eri-aku. There is still extant a votive tablet o Eri-aku (=*a servant of the moon-god*)—see the photo of it in Ball's *Light from the East*, p. 67—for himself and his father, Kudurmabug (servant of the god Mabug), King of Ur, of Sennaar, and Accad. The Elamite viceroy, who was generally a relative of the king, had his official residence in Larsa. In connection with him Schrader remarks, *loc. cit.*, p. 367, 'Ob der Name des Königs Arioch von Ellasar, Genesis xiv., wie vielfach angenommen wird, auf eine sumerische Aussprache *Eri-Aku* des semitisch-babylonischen Namens des

whatever: it is not difficult to forecast what the decision of the monarch would be.

The purpose of the present article is to set forth briefly the reasons generally accepted in support of the second answer, or to explain as far as may be why Elohim is found in some passages and Jehovah in others.

As regards the first answer, which to use its own proud title is 'higher criticism,' we need only to remind our readers that it is subdivided into four rival systems, viz.: the Old-Document Theory, the Fragment Theory, the Supplement Theory, and the New-Document Theory, which last is from the names of its inventors sometimes called the Graff-Wellhausen one. Much as these contending theories may differ one from another in specific character, they all agree in denying to a greater or a less extent the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. This opposition to Scripture and Tradition is presupposed by the four, it is the hypothesis on which they rest, the first principle they have in common. It is only in their respective attempts to account for the origin of Genesis that divergency arises. In other words, their negative or destructive tendency is one, their positive or constructive methods are many. As regards their own intrinsic merits, three of them have been exhibited in preceding articles and the fourth will be shown also in due time, so that now we are free to consider what principle of selection guided Moses in his employment of Elohim and Jehova.

The following tables are designed to show the number of times that each of the names occurs in those chapters of

---

Rim-Sin, Königs von Larsa, zurückgeht, ist äusserst unsicher.' At some time during their eighty years occupation of Babylonia the invaders appear to have pushed on and to have conquered Chanaan, kings of which paid them tribute for thirteen years (Genesis xiv. 4). On bricks found in Ur of the Chaldees Kudur-Mabug styles himself 'King of the West Country' (*Amurru*), which includes Chanaan. Some scholars hazard the conjecture that the king we call Chedorlahomer had two names, Kudurlagamar and Kudurmabug, but this is a point on which it is better to wait for some further discoveries.

4. Thadal. Nothing more is known about this king. But though in his title, 'King of nations,' the last word be a correct translation of '*goim*,' which is now found in the Hebrew text, it is thought that the text is corrupt, and that 'Gutium' was the original reading. 'King of nations' makes no sense, but 'King of Gutium' is intelligible. The Guti, frequently mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions, were a powerful tribe, and dwelt near the river Zab. Their country would almost correspond to the modern Kurdistan.

the Pentateuch where it occurs. The tables will, it is hoped, be found fairly accurate, for they have been compiled with the assistance of the best Hebrew Concordance (Mandelkern's, Leipzig, 1896).

ELOHIM

(N.B.—The Roman numeral indicates the chapter of the book, the Arabic shows how often this divine name occurs in it.)

Genesis		Exodus		Leviticus		Numbers		Deuteronomy	
I.	30	I.	3	II.	1	VI.	1	I.	14
II.	3	II.	5	IV.	1	X.	2	II.	7
III.	12	III.	15	XI.	2	XV.	4	III.	5
IV.	1	IV.	5	XVIII.	4	XVI.	2	IV.	23
V.	4	V.	4	XIX.	10	XXI.	1	V.	18
VI.	7	VI.	3	XX.	2	XXII.	7	VI.	14
VII.	2	VII.	2	XXI.	10	XXIII.	3	VII.	15
VIII.	2	VIII.	6	XXII.	2	XXIV.	1	VIII.	10
IX.	8	IX.	3	XXIII.	5	XXV.	1	IX.	8
XVII.	9	X.	7	XXIV.	2	XXVII.	1	X.	9
XIX.	2	XIII.	4	XXV.	6			XI.	10
XX.	5	XIV.	1	XXVI.	5			XII.	20
XXI.	11	XV.	2					XIII.	10
XXII.	5	XVI.	1					XIV.	10
XXIV.	6	XVII.	1					XV.	10
XXV.	1	XVIII.	12					XVI.	18
XXVI.	1	XIX.	3					XVII.	8
XXVII.	2	XX.	9					XVIII.	9
XXVIII.	8	XXI.	1					XIX.	18
XXX.	7	XXII.	1					XX.	7
XXXI.	13	XXIII.	2					XXI.	5
XXXII.	5	XXIV.	3					XXII.	1
XXXIII.	3	XXIX.	3					XXIII.	10
XXXV.	8	XXXI.	2					XXIV.	5
XXXIX.	1	XXXII.	4					XXV.	5
XL.	1	XXXIV.	3					XXVI.	15
XLI.	9	XXXV.	1					XXVII	9
XLII.	2							XXVIII.	11
XLIII.	2							XXIX.	9
XLIV.	1							XXX.	15
XLV.	4							XXXI.	7
XLVI.	3							XXXII.	2
XLVIII.	6							XXXIII.	2
L.	5								
TOTALS	189		104		50		23		339

JEHOVA

Genesis		Exodus		Leviticus		Numbers		Deuteronomy	
IV.	10	III.	7	I.	9	I.	4	I.	24
V.	1	IV.	17	II.	11	II.	3	II.	16
VI.	5	V.	7	III.	10	III.	16	III.	12
VII.	3	VI.	14	IV.	17	IV.	8	IV.	29
VIII.	3	VII.	14	V.	8	V.	12	V.	24
IX.	1	VIII.	22	VI.	14	VI.	15	VI.	22
X.	2	IX.	24	VII.	17	VII.	3	VII.	20
XI.	5	X.	21	VIII.	18	VIII.	13	VIII.	13
XII.	7	XI.	6	IX.	11	IX.	17	IX.	33
XIII.	6	XII.	19	X.	15	X.	12	X.	21
XIV.	1	XIII.	15	XI.	3	XI.	20	XI.	18
XV.	7	XIV.	17	XII.	2	XII.	9	XII.	26
XVI.	8	XV.	16	XIII.	1	XIII.	2	XIII.	11
XVII.	1	XVI.	22	XIV.	11	XIV.	23	XIV.	11
XVIII.	10	XVII.	8	XV.	4	XV.	28	XV.	15
XIX.	7	XVIII.	6	XVI.	12	XVI.	26	XVI.	22
XX.	1	XIX.	18	XVII.	9	XVII.	6	XVII.	11
XXI.	3	XX.	9	XVIII.	7	XVIII.	16	XVIII.	19
XXII.	5	XXII.	2	XIX.	22	XIX.	4	XIX.	9
XXIV.	19	XXIII.	3	XX.	5	XX.	10	XX.	7
XXV.	4	XXIV.	11	XXI.	8	XXI.	9	XXI.	7
XXVI.	7	XXV.	1	XXII.	21	XXII.	16	XXII.	1
XXVII.	3	XXVII.	1	XXIII.	36	XXIII.	8	XXIII.	16
XXVIII.	4	XXVIII.	7	XXIV.	12	XXIV.	5	XXIV.	7
XXIX.	4	XXIX.	13	XXV.	6	XXV.	6	XXV.	4
XXX.	3	XXX.	13	XXVII.	18	XXVI.	6	XXVI.	20
XXXI.	2	XXXI.	5			XXVII.	12	XXVII.	10
XXXII.	1	XXXII.	13			XXVIII.	13	XXVIII.	40
XXXVIII.	3	XXXIII.	8			XXIX.	8	XXIX.	20
XXXIX.	8	XXXIV.	16			XXX.	7	XXX.	18
XLIX.	1	XXXV.	12			XXXI.	23	XXXI.	19
		XXXVI.	4			XXXII.	18	XXXII.	9
		XXXVIII	1			XXXIII.	5	XXXIII.	8
		XXXIX.	11			XXXIV.	4	XXXIV.	7
		XL.	14			XXXV.	3		
						XXXVI.	6		
TOTALS	145		397		307		399		549

The number of occurrences is summed up somewhat differently by Père Prat, S.J., in Vigouroux' *Dict. de la Bible*, and as the matter is of importance we think it better

to quote his computation. In addition to Mandelkern's Père Prat has used Furst's *Concordance*, and his figures are :—

	Gen.	Exod.	Levit.	Num.	Deut.
Elohim	103	129	53	27	372
Jehova	134	359	303	386	233
Jehova-Elohim	20	1	—	—	—

The learned writer then remarks : ' Ces resultats ne sont et ne peuvent être qu'approximatifs ; sans parler des erreurs presque inevitables dans un travail de ce genre, les concordances ne sont pas toujours d'accord et les editions different assez souvent.'

In addition to these tables, it may be well to illustrate, by means of the respective contexts, the alternate appearance of the two names from Genesis i. to Exodus vi., from which chapter forth sections in which Elohim recurs with any marked frequency are rare (as xiii. 17-19, xviii. 1-7), and Jehova is nearly always used.

Genesis i.-ii. 3 (the account of the six days' work of creation) contains Elohim 35 times (once preferably), Jehova not once.

Genesis ii. 4-iv. (the history of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel) contains Jehova 10 times, Jehova-Elohim 20 times, Elohim alone 4 times (3 times in the mouth of the serpent).

Genesis v. (the genealogies from Adam to Noe) contains Elohim 5 times (once preferable), Jehova once, verse 29.

Genesis vi. 1-8 (the history of the first part of the deluge) contains Jehova 5 times, Elohim not once.

Genesis vi. 9-22 (the same continued) contains Elohim 5 times, Jehova not once.

Genesis vii., 1-15 (the same continued) contains Jehova twice, Elohim not once.

Genesis vii. 6-viii. 19 (the same concluded) contains Elohim 5 times, Jehova once (vii 16).

Genesis viii. 20-22 (the sacrifice of Noe) contains Jehova 3 times, Elohim not once.

Genesis ix. 1-19, 28, 29 (the covenant with Noe) contains Elohim 6 times (once preferably), Jehova not once.

Genesis x. 20-27 (the misconduct and curse of Chanaan) contains Jehova-Elohim once, Elohim once.

Genesis x. (the genealogies of the sons of Noe) contains Jehova twice, Elohim not at all.

Genesis xi. 1-9 (the confusion of tongues) contains Jehova 5 times, Elohim not once.

Genesis xi. 10-32 (the genealogy of Abram) contains neither name.

Genesis xii., xiii. (the early history of Abram) contains Jehova 13 times, Elohim not once.

Genesis xiv. (the war with Sodom) contains El-Elyon (=the Most High God) 4 times, Jehova once.

Genesis xv., xvi. (the further history of Abram), xv. contains Jehova 5 times, Adonai twice; xvi. contains Jehova 8 times, El-Roi once. Neither chapter contains Elohim.

Genesis xvii. (the same contiuned) contains Elohim 9 times, Jehova once, El-Shaddai once.

Genesis xviii., xix. (history of Abraham: visit of the angels, destruction of Sodom) contains Jehova 17 times, Adonai 6 times, Elohim twice.

Genesis xx. (Abraham's experiences in Gerara) contains Jehova once, Elohim 6 times, Adonai once.

Genesis xxi. (Isaac and Ismael, etc.) contains Jehova 3 times, Elohim 11 times, El-Olam = Everlasting God) once.

Genesis xxii. (sacrifice of Isaac) contains Jehova 5 times, Elohim 5 times.

Genesis xxiii. (Sara's death) contains Jehova not at all, Elohim once.

Genesis xxiv. (Isaac's marriage) contains Jehova 14 times, Jehova-Elohim 5 times, Elohim alone once.

Genesis xxv. 1-18 (Abraham's death, generations of Ismael), contains Elohim once, Jehova not at all.

Genesis xxv. 19-xxvi. 35 (generations of Isaac, his experiences in Gerara) contains Jehova 11 times, Elohim once.

Genesis xxvii. (blessing of Jacob) contains Jehova 3 times, Elohim twice.

Genesis xxviii. 1-9 (departure of Jacob) contains Elohim once, El-Shaddai once, Jehova not all.

Genesis xxviii. 10-22 (Bethel) contains Jehova 3 times, Jehova-Elohim once, Elohim 7 times.

Genesis xxix.-xxxii. (Jacob and Laban) contains Jehova 10 times, Elohim 25 times, El occurs in xxxi. 13.

Genesis xxxiii. (Jacob and Esau) contains Elohim 3 times; Jehova does not occur here nor before xxxviii.

Genesis xxxiv. (Jacob at Sichem), no divine name.

Genesis xxxv. (Jacob at Bethel, deaths of Rachel and Isaac) contains Elohim 8 times, El twice, El-Shaddai once.

Genesis xxxvi. (generations of Esau), no divine name.

Genesis xxxvii. (Joseph's dreams and bondage), no divine name.

Genesis xxxviii. (Juda and Thamar) contains Jehova 3 times, Elohim not at all.

Genesis xxxix.-xli. (history of Joseph) contains Jehova 9

times, Elohim 11 times (9 of which in conversations with Egyptians).

Genesis xlii.-xlviii. (history of Joseph continued) contains Elohim 25 times, El once, El-Shaddai thrice, Jehova not at all.

Genesis xlix. (Jacob's blessing), contains Jehova once, El once, El-Shaddai once.

Genesis l. (deaths of Jacob and Joseph) contains Elohim 5 times, Jehova does not occur.

Exodus i., ii. contains Elohim 8 times, Jehova not at all.
Exodus iii. contains Elohim 15 times, Jehova 7 times.
Exodus iv. contains Elohim 5 times, Jehova 17 times.
Exodus v. contains Elohim 4 times, Jehova 7 times.
Exodus vi. 1-3 contains Elohim once, Jehova thrice.

Elohim is the ordinary name for God, and is therefore used where no need of emphasis exists. It occurs 2,570 times. It may or may not take the article ; thus we find Elohim and Ha-Elobim in the Old Testament just as we find κυριος

[2] Elohim has the termination of a masc. plural (*cp.* Cherub, *plural* Cherubim ; Seraph, *plural* Seraphim), but Elohim is not a plural noun. This is certain, because almost invariably the adjective or the verb agreeing with Elohim is in the singular (*e.g.*, Elohim creates, Elohim is one). See for details, Gesenius, Grammar and Thesaurus. It is best to regard the termination as that of a plural of excellence (*Clark's Dict.*, *Encycl. Bibl.*, Spurrell). Such a usage was not unknown in early times; the Tell-El-Amarna letters address the Egyptian monarch as 'ilâni'=my gods.

There is a singular form 'Eloah' (occurring fifty-seven times), used in poetry and in very late prose. Some scholars regard it as an artificial word coined from Elohim, others as a genuine singular. But whichever view be the true one, this at least is certain that the plural form is no indication of polytheism in primitive ages, though Robertson Smith asserts that 'the Elohim of a place originally meant all its sacred denizens, viewed collectively as an indeterminate sum of indistinguishable beings'! See for proof of the opposite *Clark's Dict.*, the *Encyc. Bibl.*, and Lagrange's *Religions Semitiques*. It is also certain that the rare union of a plural predicate or attribute with Elohim where it means God found little favour. As Gesenius says, *De Pentateucho Samaritano*, p. 58: 'Ac primum Samaritani doctrinam de uno Deo ita urgent et inclamant, ut vel minimum polytheismi suspicionem cane pejus et angue defugiant, unde verba non est Deus, nisi unus—in liturgiis eorum utramque, quod dicunt, paginam faciunt. Jam vero opera danda erat, ne in ipsis Bibliis polytheismi remanerent vestigia. Hoc igitur consilio quatuor Pentateuchi locis (Gen. xx. 13, xxx. 53, xxxv. 7; Ex. xx. 9), quibus Elohim cum plurali construitur, singularem numerum substituunt. Eadem superstitio dicam, an veteris linguae ignoratio est apud scriptores judaicos sequiores qui ejusmodi offendicula non minus studiose devitant, et antiquiorum scriptorum loca quae forte in suum usum convertunt, eundem in modum corrigere non dubitant, 2 Sam. vii. 23 (Chron.), Ex. xxxii. 4, 8 (Neh. ix. 18),' We may add that what Gesenius remarks about the Samaritan text of Genesis applies also to the Septuagint, Peshitta, Vulgate, and Arabic versions. They all have a singular verb in the three passages referred to.

N.B.—Exod. xx. 9, and some other passages quoted by Gesenius in his Thesaurus are irrelevant.

and ὁ κυριος in the new. It would be difficult to indicate the difference between Elohim, which admits of definition or determination, and Jehova, which admits of none, more clearly than has been done by Girdlestone in his *Hebrew Synonyms*. His words are :—'The Hebrew says *the Elohim*, the true God, in opposition to all false Gods ; but he never says *the Jehova*, for Jehova is the name of the true God only. He says again and again *my God* (Elohim), but never *my Jehova*, for when he says my God he means Jehova. He speaks of the God of Israel, but never of the Jehova of Israel, for there is no other Jehova. He speaks of the living God, but never of the living Jehova, for he cannot conceive of Jehova as other than living.'

In addition to this, it may be observed that there are two passages which show clearly the superiority of the tetragrammaton, viz., Josue xxii. 22, and Psalm l. (xlix.) 1. In the first one the Reubenites and others say to the Princes of Israel, '*El, Elohim, Jehova—El, Elohim, Jehova, hu jodea*'=The Mighty One, Elohim, Jehova—the Mighty One, Elohim, Jehova, He knoweth. The climax, which is so striking in the original, has unfortunately not been preserved by the Vulgate ('Fortissimus Deus Dominus, Fortissimus Deus Dominus, ipse novit'). In the second passage Asaph says, 'El, Elohim, Jehova.' Here, too, the ascending series is plain, but the Vulgate has 'Deus deorum Dominus.'

If a person were to examine all the relevant passages, he would arrive at the following results in connection with the use of Elohim and Jehova. The classification of the instances has been taken, but with some modifications, from the greatest Catholic work on the subject, Reinke's *Beiträge*. The instances themselves have been verified.

1. When the covenant with Israel is the subject of discourse, Jehova is the divine title employed (the only text of this kind in which Elohim alone occurs is Psalm. lxxvii. (lxxvii.) 10). For the same reason, where the law, the decalogue, the commands are mentioned, Jehova is the usual designation of God. Since the one true God made known His will to Israel, it is Israel's duty to obey Him.

Hence the frequent expression, '*halach aharei Jehova.*' In this sense, '*halach aharei Elohim*' never occurs. But it is used to express the service and worship of false gods, '*halach aharei Elohim aherim*' means *to go after strange gods*, and thus we find the expression, *to go after* Baal, Astoreth, etc. Again, we read of the just as clinging to Jehova (never to *Elohim*), and of the unjust as falling away from Jehova (never from *Elohim*). He who sins against God sins against Jehova (the solitary instance where sin against Elohim occurs, Genesis xxxix. 10, is only an apparent exception, for a Hebrew when speaking to a Gentile about God calls Him, not Jehova but Elohim). In like manner, a man is said to do evil in the eyes of Jehova (never in those of Elohim; once in those of *the* Elohim, *i.e.*, 1 Par. xxi. 7), whereas a person that acts well is said to do what is right in the eyes of Jehova (never in those of Elohim).

2. In the oaths and the vows of Israelites, Jehova is the name of God. To the first class there is, indeed, one exception, Isaias lxv. 16: 'He who swears in the land swears by the true Elohim'; but it is an exception that proves the rule, for Elohim is determined by an adjective. To the second class there is also one sole exception, Genesis xxxi. 13, but this is due to the circumstance that an Israelite addresses a non-Israelite.

3. The Israelite must *worship* Jehova. Elohim is found with this verb only in Exodus iii. 12. It is for the obvious reason that Moses has not yet heard the incommunicable name Jehova, the revelation of which is described in verse 14, *ibid.* We read of a feast of Jehova, but never of a festival day of Elohim; thus the Passover, the Paschal Lamb are spoken in connexion with Jehova exclusively.

4. An altar of the true God is called the altar of Jehova, but never the altar of Elohim, It may be observed that there is one and only one passage in which such an altar is spoken of as belonging to El, Genesis xxxv. 1, but the reason for departing here from the uniform practice of saying Jehova's altar is easily seen. Jacob is commanded to build an altar to El at the place which he had named Bethel (Beth-El, *House of God*), on account of the divine appari-

tion, Genesis xxviii. 22. Again we see that the Tabernacle and the Temple are almost invariably spoken of as Jehova's. So, too, we find the 'House of Jehova.' Only in four places we do read of the House of Elohim, viz., 2 Paralipomenon xxxiv. 19, Psalms xlii. 5, lii. 10, 15. Elsewhere in this connexion Elohim takes the article or some other determining adjunct. On the other hand, Beth-Elohim is applied to the temple of a false god (Judges xvii. 5, 1 Paralipomenon x. 10), but it would be impossible to call it Beth-Jehova.

5. Sacrifice is offered to Jehova, never to Elohim—unless the name is accompanied by something which restricts its application to the one God. Thus in Genesis xlvi. 1, Jacob offered sacrifice to the Elohim of his fathers, and the Hebrews in Egypt say 'let us go and sacrifice to our Elohim.' On the other hand, sacrifice to false gods may be designated simply as sacrifice to Elohim.

6. Priests of God are always priests of Jehova. Not even in a single instance, are they styled priests of Elohim. Again, true prophets are prophets of Jehova, never prophets of Elohim. And the solemn prophetic exordium is, 'Thus saith the Lord,' or *Neum-Jehova*, but in no instance *Neum-Elohim*. And when Almighty God is introduced as speaking, the customary formula is, 'Thus saith the Lord,' *Co-amar-Jehova;* but *Co-amar-Elohim* does not occur. And what we may call the 'stylus theocratiæ' attests the same usage. As Israel's King God speaks of Himself as Jehova, but as Elohim simply never. This holds good of His earthly representative, who is called Jehovah's, but not simply Elohim's, anointed. Wherever Elohim is used in reference to either, a determinative accompanies it. Lastly, in countless passages God says of Himself 'I Jehova'; in none does He say 'I Elohim.'

Other classes and many other instances could be quoted, but these are amply sufficient for our purpose. They show clearly that the Hebrews made a great difference between Elohim and Jehova.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

THE IRISH COLLEGE IN PARIS DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

THE Revolution in France at the close of the eighteenth century marks an epoch in the history of that country, and of the world. Hence historians of all countries study its progress, its causes, and its results. French men of letters, in particular, have been indefatigable in collecting all that can throw light on that period of their country's history. In recent years two works, models of patient research, have been published, which cannot fail to be invaluable to students. One is entitled *Répertoire Général des Sources Manuscrites de l'Histoire de Paris pendant la Revolution*, par Alexandre de Tuetey. Paris 1890-1902. 6 vol., 4to. The others bear the title, *Bibliographie de l'Histoire de Paris pendant la Revolution Française*, par Maurice Tourneux. Paris 1890-1900. 3 vols., 4to. The latter gives an account of printed sources, the former of the manuscript sources, of the history of Paris during the Revolution, and indicates the libraries and the archives where they may be found.

During the Revolution there were two Irish establishments in Paris, which frequently became the object of public attention, and in consequence many documents concerning them are still extant in various public collections. Thanks to the guidance received from the two works just mentioned, the present writer has been able to consult some of those documents, and to obtain a fuller knowledge of the fortunes of the two colleges during the revolutionary period. His purpose, therefore, in the present paper is to bring together certain details concerning the part which the two Irish Colleges in Paris had in the events of that period, and he trusts they will not be devoid of interest to the readers of the I. E. RECORD.

I

When the States-General met in May, 1789, the task which lay before them was to provide a remedy for the evils

under which France was groaning. The three estates soon formed the project of merging themselves into one body, which took the name of the National Assembly. The Assembly resolved to give to France a new Constitution, which, it was hoped, would strengthen the throne, while it guaranteed the liberty of the people. But the country was crushed beneath the weight of a great debt, and an annual deficit in its Budget. To provide a remedy for this state of things many expedients were suggested. At length Necker proposed that citizens possessed of means should contribute one-fourth of their income to relieve the pressing necessities of the exchequer. The proposal was supported by Mirabeau, and adopted by the Assembly.

The expedient proved ineffectual, but it led to an act of generosity on the part of the Irish College in Paris which received honourable mention in the Assembly, and is recorded in the Parliamentary archives in the following terms, under the date 8th October, 1789[1] :—

Count Lally-Tollendal, on behalf of the Community of Irish Students established at the Estrapade, rue du Cheval-Vert, announced a patriotic gift of plate and silver vessels which they had handed in at the Exchange, at the Mint of Paris, on 24th and 28th September last, as is shown by the receipts laid on the table. Count Lally-Tollendal spoke as follows :—

'The students and clerics of the Irish College established in Paris, rue du Cheval-Vert, charge me to lay at the feet of the king, and of the National Assembly, the product of all their plate, and of all the silver vessels of their church. They point out to me that their offering seems to them too small to warrant them to address it directly to your President. It is in truth the widow's mite ; but they give much, for they give all they possess. Moreover, they point out to me, that in their poverty they feel too happy to offer to France this small tribute of their gratitude for her benefits. I know their hearts, gentlemen, I guarantee their sentiments, and I share them. Bound to them by the ties of a common origin, conducted hither, all of us, a century ago by our fidelity to the worship of our fathers and the line of our kings, we have sworn the same sentiments to our new Fatherland and to the prince who has adopted us. Never, gentlemen, has any of us proved false to these sentiments, and we never will. I lay upon the table this

[1] *Archives Parlementaires proces verbal de l'assemblée Nationale*, Tom. V. n. 95., p. 8, 8th Oct , 1789.

receipt of the Director of the Mint; and I am happy to raise my voice once more in this assembly, to offer you the homage of an act of patriotism.

'Gentlemen, in any other circumstances, as you will readily understand, I should never have had the temerity to speak of myself personally, but I ask your permission to associate myself to my ancient race, and to join my contribution to theirs, and to lay upon this table the quarter of my income, as the following declaration testifies:—

'I declare that I deliver up to the Royal Treasury as a contribution a quarter of my income, and even more, viz.—3,000 livres of the present year's, and 1,000 livres of next year's income, as well as as a pension of one thousand crowns, which I possess, and which represents a capital of 36,000 francs, arising from a deposit which my unhappy father left, before his death, in the hands of Mademoiselle Dillon, and which she delivered to the late king, and he ordered to be handed over to me, but which was only delivered to me in the reign of the present king, and by his order. I feel doubly bound to make this sacrifice when I call to mind that the personal justice of the king, and the manifest interest of the nation have saved for me this small remnant from the bloody catastrophe, wherein the loss of my fortune was the only thing I should not have thought about.

'At Versailles, 8th October, 1789

'Signed, LALLY-TOLLENDAL.'

Sacrifices such as that of Lally-Tollendal were insufficient to make up the deficit in the Royal Treasury. The National Assembly was soon compelled to seek other and more violent remedies. Meantime popular excitement went on increasing, and it was resolved to celebrate a national festival in 1790 on the first anniversary of the fall of the Bastille. The Champ-de-Mars was selected as the site of the festivities, and an altar, called the Altar of Fatherland, was erected upon it. There, on the 14th July, the King, attended by the Queen, met the members of the National Assembly; a *Te Deum* was sung. In the presence of a great concourse of people, the King swore to be faithful to the New Constitution. When the ceremony was over the Altar of Fatherland remained on the Champ-de-Mars as the emblem of the national aspirations. In an evil hour for their own tranquillity the students of the Irish College had

the temerity to tamper with it. There are various accounts of the incident, which took place on 6th December, 1790. According to one account the Irish students were engaged in a game of football on the Champ-de-Mars; one of their number, named Charles O'Reilly, in the heat of the game came in contact with the altar, and upset the statute of liberty which stood upon it. According to another account[2] thirty or forty students from the Irish College, rue du Cheval-Vert, tore down the inscriptions on the altar, and threw stones at the National Guard. The people assembled in crowds, and the lives of the students were in imminent danger, when they were saved by the intervention of Lafayette, who chanced to be passing at the head of a body of troops. In a letter, dated 9th December, and published in the *Mercure de France* of 18th December, a graphic account of the occurrence is given. It runs thus:—

On Monday, some Irish students having dined at Chaillot, went to the Champ-de-Mars. One of them leaned against the Altar of Fatherland. The sentinel ordered him to move off. He did not understand French, and remained where he was. The sentinel insisted; some others of those young men arrived, and a dispute arose between them and the sentinel, and they struck him. Immediately bands of workingmen and of inhabitants of the Gros-Caillou flocked to the spot. The students were dispersed. Six of them fell into the hands of the mob, who, in accordance with the new justice and morality, wanted to hang them on the spot. M. de Lafayette, with one hundred horse, hastened to the scene, and prevented this crime, the bare possibility of which makes one shudder. The six unfortunate students were dragged to the Hotel-de-Ville, and interrogated, and it is reported they have been imprisoned. Yesterday thirty popular pamphlets, cried up over the capital, informed the people that those students were certainly aristocrats who had attempted a counter-revolution by profaning the Champ-de-Mars.

So far the writer in the *Mercure de France*.

In consequence of this event popular indignation was excited against the Irish establishments. The superiors were alarmed, and applied to the municipal authorities for protection. M. Bailly, Mayor of Paris, granted their request, and in the following letter he issued instructions to

[2] See Tuetey, Rep. Genle. Vol. II., p. 423.

M. de Lafayette to take measures for the protection of the British establishments.

7th December, 1790.

SIR,—You have been informed at the same time as the Municipal Body of what took place yesterday at the Champ-de-Mars. The Irishmen who were the occasion of it have been examined, as well as all those who could depose to the facts of the case. It is admitted that they were guilty of an escapade which is actually being punished. To-day the Irish, Scotch, and English establishments, which the people are accustomed to look on as one, fear the resentment of the populace which this incident may have excited. I beg of you to give orders, and to take the most efficacious measures for the protection of their houses and persons. Their houses are situated nearly all in the same quarter ; one in rue des Carmes, and this has been the first to ask for protection, the three others are in rue du Cheval-Vert, rue de St. Victor, and rue des Postes.[3]

The protection of M. de Lafayette was effectual, for, as we shall see, the Irish establishments continued to exist for some time longer.

II

But already certain measures had been decreed in the National Assembly, the effects of which were felt by the Irish Colleges. These were the confiscation of ecclesiastical property, and the civil constitution of the clergy. By the first of these measures, which was decreed in November, 1789, all Church property throughout France was confiscated for the benefit of the nation, and early in 1790 a large portion of that property was set up for sale. The agents of the Government regarded the British establishments as included in the decree of confiscation. But the superiors presented a petition to the Ecclesiastical Committee of the Assembly, pointing out that those establishments were foreign in their origin and in their purpose, and formed no part of the property of the Church of France.

On behalf of the Irish College the following Memorandum was presented in August, 1790 :—

Lord Fitzgerald,[4] who interested himself on behalf of the

[3] *Correspondance de M. Bailly, Maire de Paris, avec M. de Lafayette.* Fol. 109, Bibliothèque Nat., MSS. fonds français 11,697.

[4] Lord Robert Fitzgerald, Minister Plenipotentiary at the British Embassy in Paris

Scotch, would have used all his influence on behalf of the Irish priests, his compatriots, but the latter preferred to rely on the loyalty of the noble nation, which for nearly two centuries has afforded them an asylum in the cities of Paris, Nantes, Bordeaux, Toulouse, and Douai. Now the citizens of those several Departments will bear testimony to the utility of these priests, who in case of need, supply the place of the parish priests and curates, and act as private chaplains.

These establishments, without being a burthen to the State, furnish in time of war chaplains and interpreters to the French armies, as MM. d'Orleans, du Guichan, de la Motte-Picquet, and Rochambeau can testify. The French Colonies also experience the utility of these establishments.

The Irish priests established in Paris, in the house known as the Lombard College, invoke with confidence the testimony of the parish priests and citizens of the Department. The Mayor holds in his hands offers of service which become more and more necessary.

The Superior of this house is a agent-general for the Irish Catholics, who invest their money in France, in preference to any other country, in consequence of the attachment which those priests foster in the hearts of their fellow-countrymen.

When the colleges *without exercise*,[a] were, in 1764, made subject to the Board of Administration of Louis le Grand, the Irish establishment was excepted; and the Government recognising the necessity of a special *regime* for foreigners, was pleased to refer to a particular tribunal acquainted with their usages, their matters in dispute, to be determined free of expense. Doubtless, an establishment respected under the old *regime* will be still more respected under the happy revolution which shall preserve fraternity between the citizens of the two empires.

These priests enjoy this house by full right of ownership, legally acquired, confirmed by letters patent duly registered, and strengthened by possession for 120 years. During the course of their studies they subsist on funds annually received from Ireland. For these reasons, the Irish priests will not require the intervention of the British Ambassador, and they rely with confidence on the justice and honour of the National Assembly, and request the honour of its protection.

The gentlemen of the Committee will be good enough to observe:—

1°. That the Catholics of Ireland, who number two millions, cannot avail themselves of home education, because they would have to abjure their faith in order to be admitted to the

[a] Colleges *sans exercise* were those whose students attended lectures outside their own halls.

University of Dublin. They are, therefore, under the necessity of making their studies in France, and considerable sums, annually coming from abroad for the support of a thousand[6] students, increase the circulation, and merit the attention of the French legislator.

The English Government at the present moment makes attractive offers to hinder the emigration of Catholics, and to keep their money in the country. They will certainly succeed if the Superior of the Irish priests is not authorised to contradict the Court Gazetteers, who repeat with affectation, 'That the petition of Lord Fitzgerald has not been favourably received; and that all foreign establishments will be suppressed in France.' Now, this assertion has caused alarm and consternation amongst the Catholics of Ireland, who have ceased to send the moneys, without which the students could not subsist, nor meet the engagements they have contracted with their furnishers.

2°. That the Irish priests established in Paris never compete with the French clergy for any offices whatever, as they cannot leave their own country until they have attained their majority. They are ordained priests before commencing their philosophy, and they are bound to return as soon as they have finished their studies.[7]

On 14th September, 1790, the Ecclesiastical Committee gave a favourable reply to the foregoing memorandum, and declared that the Irish College, being a house of education, was exempt from the operation of the law confiscating ecclesiastical property.

Soon after this Dr. Walsh addressed the following memorandum to the Ecclesiastical Committee[8]:—

The Superior of the Irish priests, rue des Carmes, has the honour to inform the Committee that he has notified to the Bishops of Ireland the decision of the 14th September past, which is to the effect that the Committee is of opinion that this house is excepted in the Decrees of 14th and 15th April, and that it is entitled to continue the management and administration of its property.

That he is charged by the Bishops to express to the Committee their very respectful gratitude, and to add that their joy will be complete when they learn that the opinion of the Committee has been confirmed by the National Assembly. Now a decree to this effect is very urgent.

---

[6] The number of Irish ecclesiastical students then in France was about 348 See *The Irish College in Paris*, p. 132.

[7] *Archives Nationales*, Papers of the Ecclesiastical Committee, D. XIX. 30-472.

[8] *Ibid.*

1°. Because the Irish Parliament will meet in a short time, and the English Government, seeking to keep money in the country, will use all its influence to pass a bill for home education, with the object of inducing the Catholics to renounce their establishments in France. But, *timentes Danaos et dona ferentes*, they will reject this insidious offer if the Assembly is pleased to decree the preservation of their establishments.

2°. The trades-people who supply this house eagerly await this decree, because it will authorise the payers of the Public Funds to pay the dividends, as they have reached the letter L.*

The Bishops of Ireland also merely await that decree to forward the sums which this house requires to meet its engagements.

3°. That decree will attract many Irish investors to France, because individuals will have confidence in the inviolability of their property, when they see the property of the body which represents their nation respected.

The Superior has the honour to observe that this house has nothing in common with any foreign Religious whatever, nor with the English and Scotch of Paris. These latter ask permission to sell in order to leave France. On the contrary, the Irish only ask to attach themselves to it more and more. The Committee is therefore requested to take into consideration the number, the utility, and the (*civisme*) patriotic sentiments of the Irish priests making their studies in France, and to establish the basis of their tranquillity by promptly decreeing the preservation of their principal house, the Lombard College.

OBSERVATIONS FOR THE REPORTER

1°. That the Irish Establishments interest two-thirds of the people of Ireland. The sun which shines above the horizon of France will soon enlighten the neighbouring countries, and it is to be presumed that those two-thirds will not long endure the fetters with which they are loaded by a third, which is made up of foreign usurpers.

Those two-thirds are excluded from all offices, civil and military. They have not the right to choose a single representative, and they obey laws made without their consent, and often to their prejudice.

Those two-thirds will feel the rights and the dignity of man, and will throw off the yoke of such thraldom. What then will become of those fleets which menace Europe, when deprived of the provisions and of the sailors furnished by Ireland? What would be the condition of the commerce of England without the raw material which Ireland furnishes in abundance? Doubt not, if Ireland becomes independent of England, France will have

* The initial of Lombards.

nothing to fear from her rival, who shall be humbled without it being necessary to strike a blow.

The English Government detests the Revolution which regenerates France, and it will do all in its power to hinder Irish students from coming to imbibe in our schools the principles which sooner or later will cause the germ of liberty so natural to man to burst forth. France is, therefore, interested both by humanity and by sound policy to preserve the foreign establishments, to say nothing of the lustre and the glory of becoming the centre and the Athens of the sciences.

2°. The plan of M. of Autun[10] might suit French establishments, and yet be ruinous to those of foreigners. If the latter were thrown into the whirlwind of periodical elections, it is evident the superiors would possess only a precarious authority, and like the Ministers of the *Ancien Regime*, they would be more concerned for their situations than for the public interest. There would be no connexion and continuity in their administration; and they would be without influence with the bishops of their country, to whom they would be unknown.

In addition to this, I venture to remark that France has an interest in having at the head of those houses men of sure and Gallican principles, who have the confidence and act as the general agents of foreign Catholics.

3°. The history of the Lombard College and the changes brought about by intrigue and by the caprice of Ministers would weary the Reporter. Suffice it to say that the Government has re-established therein the primitive principle of unity of *regime* at the request of the Bishops of Ireland, and on the report of the Archbishop of Paris. The latter is the superior *natus* of the Irish establishment in spirituals; he receives the accounts, and solicits from his brethren, the Bishops of Ireland, the sums necessary to make up the annual deficit. He has the right to appoint the Superior and the Prefect,[11] and it appears that the Municipality or the Department could not take his place in this respect.

4°. Since 1737, there existed a tribunal consisting of the Archbishop, three Counsellors of State, and two Masters of Requests to adjudicate on disputes, present or to come, make rules, etc. Since the Decrees of the Assembly, this tribunal no longer exists. Yet such a tribunal is necessary for foreign establishments, and it appears that the latter would naturally fall under the Department of Foreign Affairs. The Minister of that department, the Minister of Paris, the Archbishop, the Mayor, and the Procurator of the Commune, would be suitable persons to take the place of the ancient tribunal.

---

[10] Talleyrand. Election of Superiors by the students.
[11] Vice-Rector.

In conclusion, the Irish Seminary in the rue Cheval-Vert is only a branch of the Lombard College; and, although separate since 1776, it is subject to the principal house in the rue des Carmes.

This appeal was successful.

The National Assembly issued a decree, dated 29th October, 1790, declaring that 'there was nothing in the law of France to hinder foreigners from continuing to enjoy the property they had acquired with their own money.'

By a further decree of the National Assembly, March, 1791, the Superior of the College was empowered to administer not only the property of the College, but also the revenues of the burses, for the management of which the concurrence of the Canons of St. Victor's and the Abbot of St. Geneviève was formerly required.[13]

On 24th May, 1791, the four archbishops of Ireland, at their meeting in Dublin, drew up a petition to the National Assembly, requesting that body to confirm by decree certain rules concerning the discipline, studies, and administration of the College. So little were the excesses in which the Revolution culminated then foreseen!

III

A second measure adopted by the Assembly was the civil constitution of the clergy. By the law of 12th July, 1790, it was enacted that bishops and parish priests should be elected in the same way as the heads of the departments and the deputies to the Assembly, and that bishops should receive institution not from the Pope, but from their metropolitan. All beneficed clergy were required to take an oath declaring their acceptance of the new constitution. The King at first opposed his veto to this measure, but at last he withdrew his opposition—on 26th December, 1790—on the plea that he was no longer a free agent. On 13th April, 1791, Pius VI. formally condemned the civil constitution of the clergy. The clergy of France nobly maintained their allegiance to the Holy See. When required to swear fidelity to the new

[12] *Moniteur*, 29th October, 1790.
[13] *Archives Nationales*, D. xix., 44-702.

constitution fifty thousand of the clergy and all the bishops, except four, refused to take the oath. In consequence they were deprived of their stipend, and the churches were closed against them. Mass could no longer be celebrated in public, except by the constitutional clergy, who by their oath had become schismatics.

The Irish Colleges were exempt from the operation of the civil constitution of the clergy, and Mass continued to be celebrated in their chapels. The concourse of the faithful to the divine service in those chapels soon aroused the anger of the agents of revolution. On 25th September, 1791, an attack was made on the people attending divine worship at the chapel of the Lombard College. In a letter addressed to the Municipality of Paris, Dr. Walsh, Superior of the College, gave an account of what took place, and made an emphatic protest against the outrage which had been committed. His letter, which we take from the *Mercure de France*, 15th October, 1791, is as follows:—

The undersigned Superior of the Irish College, called of the Lombards, rue des Carmes, has the honour to lay before you his humble petition, and to state that certain malevolent persons have sought to mislead public opinion by an article inserted in the *Feuille du Soir* of Sunday last, at page 3, a copy of which is hereto annexed, in which there is no truth except the annoyance to foreigners, and the unworthy treatment of which they have been the witnesses or the victims. A simple and true statement of what took place will enable you to form an opinion and to judge.

Established in this capital under the protection of the Government and the safeguard of the laws, we enjoy, in virtue of treaties, the free exercise of Catholic worship. Our private chapel has ever up to the present been open to all those whom piety has attracted to it, and especially to our compatriots of both sexes, who hardly knowing a word of French, are, by the fact, obliged, when they come to Paris, to address themselves to us for their spiritual necessities. On Sunday last, 25th September, several of them accompanied perhaps by some French friends or servants, assisted at our Mass, and on leaving were pursued, hooted, and maltreated by individuals, who came from a neighbouring wineshop; and, as if insults and threats were not enough, those individuals laid hold on a respectable woman (it is stated she was *enceinte*) and whipped her cruelly. This scandalous scene was applauded. This was

the way, it was said, to punish those devotees, those aristocrats! The Commissary of Police arrived on the scene with a detachment of the National Guard; he addressed the mob and promised them satisfaction; he brought in four of the men who besieged the door, and reprimanded me in their presence, and called on me in the name of the law to make all those in the chapel leave without waiting for the end of Mass, which was already far advanced. He himself entered to make an inspection, and he forbade me to open the door of the College to any person whatever. I represented to him the attachment of my compatriots to a chapel wherein repose the ashes of their relatives, and I referred to laws and to treaties, but to no purpose. The Commissary answered that he knew not the treaties. The commander of the detachment, who should have been the mute instrument of the civil authority, addressed those who came out of the chapel in the following terms:—'In the name of the man of justice, I summon you to follow me to the church of St. Etienne, else I will abandon you to the people.' They left the chapel in the midst of a mob, who loaded them with the greatest insults. I know not what followed. All the rest of the day I heard nothing but insults and threats, to which I replied only by patience.

Gentlemen, I offer judicial proofs that neither the parish priest nor the curates of St. Hilary's[14] have exercised any function of the ministry in the College since the funeral of Lord Caher, at the beginning of 1789. I might also affirm that no inhabitant of that parish has heard Mass here since the date of the Oath. In consequence of the foregoing statement, we expect from you, gentlemen, security, protection, and liberty. Always animated with the spirit of meekness and charity which our ministry dictates, we easily forget insults and this first outburst of a misguided people. We content ourselves with invoking, we even claim with confidence the law of nations, the decrees of the National Assembly respecting the freedom of religious opinions, and, moreover, the treaty of 1786 between Great Britain and France. This treaty secures to the subjects of the respective Powers liberty of worship in their national establishments. Now, gentlemen, this treaty would be null and our liberty would be chimerical, if men whose duty it is to protect us, abandon us to a misguided people; and if we are forced to set up at the doors of our establishments a rigorous and impossible investigation as to the quality of persons, and to separate our compatriots from their friends. I ask of you then, gentlemen, to take prompt, certain, and efficacious measures to

[14] St. Hilairè du Mont was the ancient parish in which the Lombard College was situated. It now forms part of the parish of St. Etienne du Mont.

protect us henceforward from insult and outrage, or else to pronounce our expulsion from France, We shall leave it without a blush, for we have ever been obedient to the laws of the empire without ceasing to be inviolably attached to the British Monarchy, of which we are the faithful subjects. We even venture to flatter ourselves that, so far from ignoring the benefits we have received from a noble nation, which opened to us an asylum, we have been and ever shall be the first to set the example of submission in all that is not contrary to our religious principles.

(Signed), WALSH.

Paris, 1*st Oct.*, 1791.

The *Mercure de France*, in publishing the foregoing letter, remarks that in reading it, one can easily judge how the rights of man and the most valued laws are observed. It adds that the Superior of the Irish College had greatly softened down the account of what took place, and it states that the alarm caused by the attack was so great, that one of the priests of the College fell ill and died within a few days. The commotion caused by the celebration of Divine worship still continued, and soon after, on 9th October, a similar attack was made on the people coming from the chapel of the College in rue du Cheval-Vert. A pamphlet published at the time, evidently by some one with revolutionary sympathies, gives the following graphic account of what occurred :—

Exact details[15] of the great Revolution which took place at the Irish Seminary, rue du Cheval-Vert, near the Estrapade, Faubourg St. Marceau, when 27 female bigots, counter-revolutionists, along with the Superior of the Seminary, were whipped by the holy wrath of the people, together with a list of the names and quality of all those whipped.

For a long time past the refractory priests of Paris have found a delightful resort in the Irish Seminary, rue du Cheval-Vert, at the Estrapade, where they assembled a large number of devotees, complaisant enough to listen with pleasure to the false doctrines which they teach contrary to the good principles

15 ' Detail exact de la grande Revolution arrivée au Seminaire des Irlandais rue du Cheval-Vert, à l'Estrapade, Faubourg St. Marceau, où 27 bigotes contre-revolutionnaires ont été fouettées, par la sainte colère du peuple, ainsique le Superieur du Seminaire, avec la liste des noms et qualités de toutes-(*sic*) les culs fouettés.' De l'Imprimerie de Labarre au coin de la rue du Puits et du Marché aux Poirées à la Halle. (*Bibliothèque de la Ville de Paris*, n. 7502.)

of our Constitution. After several aristocratic sermons, these extravagant devotees carried so far the audacity instilled into them by these counter-revolutionary priests, that they insulted a number of lady citizens, and even the National Guard. This conduct irritated all the brave patriot women of the Faubourg St. Marcel against them to such a degree that yesterday they seized them as they were coming out from service, and beat and whipped them á cul nud publicly in the middle of the street Cheval-Vert, after having made them make an apology, and ask pardon in a clear and intelligible voice.

The feast of St. Denis, patron of the clergy, was the date on which all the non-juring priests of Paris were to meet there to celebrate the festival of him who brought the faith to France; and at the close of a sermon which led the whole audience to believe that the faith is ruined since the Revolution began, and is no longer observed except by themselves and such as follow their principles, they made an act of reparation before a large Crucifix, moved by a spring, which, by means of a wire, turned its head at pleasure, and caused it by a sign to answer yes, or no, according to the petitions offered. All those people having their heads excited by superstition cried out, 'A miracle!' with such vehemence, that from all quarters people assembled to the place, as did the National Guard, who were not able to restrain the people exasperated by those insolent beguins. The first who was whipped was the most insolent, namely, Mary Peloise, a bigot furious against the Revolution; the others are—Josephine Rivons, Catharine Goujon, Julia Fichetz, Rosalie Davelous, Maryanne Leffay, Frances Palisot, Augustine Mary Feron, Antoinette La-Teay, Frances Grosflay, Julia Pelusard, Mary Rose Panau, &c., and others, almost all housekeepers of refractory old curés. One of them fainted three times, principally, when she saw that they were going to whip the Superior of the Seminary. This scene commenced about two o'clock in the afternoon, and ended only about six, or even later. The Guard was obliged to remain until very late, for, after having administered this correction, the people would not have failed to enter and totally destroy that nest of superstition.

The foregoing account is interesting as showing the state of popular feeling at the time. But other and more reliable documents show how serious were the disturbances which took place on this occasion, viz., the declarations of the Commissary of Police of the Section of the Observatory made on 9th, 10th, 11th, and 15th October, and still preserved at the archives of the Police Office, Paris. The

Commissary of Police deposed that the celebration of divine worship at the Irish College had excited the displeasure of the people, that service was attended by a large number of persons not belonging to the College, and especially by women. When he arrived at the scene of the disturbance on Sunday, 9th of October, he found both ends of the street Cheval-Vert blocked by a large crowd of people ; the sides of the street and the space in front of the College door was occupied by the National Guard, who feebly aided a battalion from Val-de-Grace, which was making every effort to restore order.[16] The Commissary expressed his regret that some members of the National Guard had entered the College, and made certain persons leave without escorting them, thereby exposing them to the fury of the mob. He added that certain individuals excited the mob to violence by declaring that the conduct of those in the Seminary was an act of rebellion against the laws ; and that as the magistrates did not do their duty, the people should take the law into their own hands. Students were seen, who by their gestures exasperated the mob still more. It was alleged that one of them had thrown an earthenware vessel from the windows, but as no fragments were to be found the Commissary considered the statement improbable.

Two persons were seen at a window, one of whom was preparing to throw a tile from the roof, when he was restrained by a companion. The tumult continued until late in the evening and was resumed next day. To restore order it was found necessary to call in the aid of two detachments of grenadiers and a detachment of cavalry.

The sergeant of the battalion from Val-de-Grace also made a declaration, stating the measures he had taken up to eight o'clock in the evening to restore order. Several persons were brought to trial for their conduct on this occasion. One of these was an ex-cavalry officer who stood opposite the College, and excited the people by holding his beads in his hands and declaring that he belonged to the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church. On examination he was

[16] *Archives de Police*, Section de l'Observatoire 9-10-16, October, 1791.

pronounced to be of weak mind and was dismissed. Another was a woman, a servant in a house in the rue de l'Estrapade, who signalised herself by her violence, and dealt the sergeant a blow in the stomach. Her employers declared that she was habitually well conducted, and she was released. A third was a woman whose conduct was still more violent. She was arrested for having struck a nun, and beaten a woman named Jane Michael Pothain, addressing her in the vilest language (*la traitant de cul-fouette et lui disant des horreurs*), and at the same time calling on the woman present to whip all the women who entered the College. In spite of her protests she was sent to prison.

By the vigorous efforts of the police and the military the troubles occasioned by the celebration of divine worship at the two Irish Colleges were put a stop to for a time. On the 8th December, however, the disturbances broke out once more at the Lombard College. An old man and a woman on leaving the chapel were attacked and thrown violently to the ground. For this misconduct some arrests were made. Again, on 2nd February, 1792, similar scenes of violence were renewed and orders were given to the police at the place Maubert, to make frequent patrols in the rue des Carmes, to hinder the mob from assembling. The chapel of the College in rue du Cheval-Vert continued to be frequented. On 21st May, 1792, a certain Sieur Minot made a complaint to the Mayor of Paris that 'a large number of false devotees (*faux devots et des fausses devotes*) of both sexes assiduously frequented the offices celebrated by the Irish priests, rue du Cheval-Vert, to the great indignation of the whole neighbourhood against those hypocrites of whom society ought to be purged.[17]

At length the indignation of the mob became uncontrollable. On 10th and 12th August, 1792, the College was again attacked, the chapel, the rooms, the stores, offices, and cellar, were broken into and pillaged. Dr. Kearney saved himself by flight, but soon returned to his post. After this date all the ecclesiastical students must have returned

[17] *Arch. Nat.*, D, iii. 235.

to Ireland, for we learn from a statement of Dr. Walsh that from 1792 until the reorganization of the College, after the peace of Amiens, ecclesiastical studies had ceased in the two Colleges.

IV

Meanwhile, undaunted by these disturbances, Dr. Walsh had organised a series of retreats at the Lombard College for French priests living in concealment in Paris. Six retreats took place in the years 1791 and 1792. One of Dr. Walsh's colleagues, Rev. Mr. O'Brien, protested vehemently against the continuance of them, fearing they would prove a danger to the safety of the College. Dr. Walsh, however, was not to be intimidated, and in a letter to the Abbé de Salamon, who, in the capacity of Internuncio, was in correspondence with Cardinal Zalada, he writes as follows :—

Be good enough to forward to its destination the letter herewith enclosed, signed by the retreatants, who have just concluded their retreat in the greatest tranquillity ; thanks be to God, who protects this good work, and has caused it to triumph over the malice of men. You will see by the letter of Mr. O'Brien, chaplain of one of the residences of *Monsieur*, how he opposed the continuance of the exercises with all his energy. Under the influence of fear and panic himself, he sought to inspire the students with his own alarms, saying that they would get themselves massacred if the retreat took place. I possessed sufficient influence over their docile hearts to reassure them against these perfidious insinuations. Seeing that his manœuvres were ineffectual, he burst out publicly, and threatened to denounce to the new magistrates my unpatriotic conduct (*incivisme*), in authorising meetings which compromised the existence of the house. God gave me the grace not to allow myself to be moved by his threats, nor by the steps which he took to deprive those good ecclesiastics of the only support which remained to them. I thought it my duty to inform you of this conduct, because I have heard that Mr. O'Brien is on the list for the Archbishopric of Cashel, in Ireland. His Eminence the Cardinal Prefect will in his wisdom judge whether such a man is worthy to occupy a place in the Hierarchy.

I have the honour to be, with respect, your very humble and obedient servant,

WALSH.

To M. l'Abbé de Salamon. *5th May*, 1792.

P.S.—The Vicars-General will testify to you regarding the

blameworthy projects of Mr. O'Brien, who will oppose in the same way the retreat announced for 29th of this month.

The vacancy in Cashel was filled on this occasion by the appointment of Dr. Bray. The Sacred Congregation had a short time before promoted the Right Rev. Dr. Teahan, Bishop of Kerry, to the Archbishopric of Cashel. When there was a prospect of a vacancy in Kerry, Dr. Walsh, through the Abbé de Salamon, advocated the appointment of the Abbé Cook as bishop of that see. On 30th Nov., 1791, Cardinal Zelada, in a letter to the *Internuncio*, writes :—

As I had promised to you, I strongly recommended your Abbé Walsh to Cardinal Antonelli, the very worthy Prefect of Propaganda ; and I pointed out his desire to have the Abbé Cook appointed to the bishopric of Kerry. I must tell you that the Congregation has already promoted the Bishop of Kerry to the Metropolitan See of Cashel ; but it is not known whether he will accept. In general the Congregation has the greatest respect for the recommendation of the bishops of the province.[19]

But to return from this digression : the zeal of Dr. Walsh in organizing those retreats merited for him the eulogium of Cardinal Zelada and of his Holiness Pius VI.[20] Nor were his services forgotten by the ecclesiastical authorities in Paris. In later years when, through the intrigues of a faction, he was obliged to retire from the post of Administrator-General of the Irish Foundations, he received from the Archbishop of Paris the following certificate, to be used in his justification :—

To all whom it concerns or may concern, we testify that the venerable man, M. John-Baptist Walsh, an Irish priest, Doctor of the Sacred Faculty of Paris, Administrator-General of the English, Scotch, and Irish Foundations, showed himself so commendable by many titles, that after having wisely governed the Irish College at Nantes, he was chosen about twenty-two years ago by our Most Illustrious and Most Rev. predecessor, Mgr. de Juigné, Archbishop of Paris, to preside over the education

[18] Unpublished Letter from the Secret Archives of the Holy See, *Vatican Archives, Francia*, 583, kindly communicated by the Vte. de Richemont.

[19] *Correspondance secrète de l'Abbé de Salamon chargé-d'affaires du Saint-Siège pendant la Revolution, avec le Cardinal Zelada* (1791, 1792) par le Vte. de Richemont p. 148. Paris, 1898.

[20] See *The Irish College in Paris*, p. 62.

of the Irish in Paris, and to administer the property of all the foundations left by Irishmen, and in the discharge of that office he fully satisfied the expectations of the aforesaid Most Illustrious and Most Rev. Archbishop.

We testify, moreover, that at the time when our dear France began to be disturbed by those most lamentable civil commotions, the said venerable man most strenuously defended the Holy Catholic religion so grievously attacked, and did everything in his power for its advantage at the Lombard College, of which he had been then for five years rector. And this he accomplished by lodging and boarding as many priests from all parts of France as the College could receive, and by organizing and sedulously promoting during an entire year spiritual retreats, which, as everyone knows, are of the greatest advantage to revive and nurture the grace of the priesthood.

And we testify, that the zeal of the aforesaid venerable man did not stop here, but during the whole time of the persecution, both when at the height of its fury and when it began to slacken, he exerted himself to re-establish Divine worship, and by his prudence assisted in the government of the diocese of Paris in most difficult times our predecessors' Vicars-General to whose meetings he was admitted.

We testify, in fine, that the said venerable man has ever been most loyal to the Catholic Faith and to the Holy Apostolic See, that he is free from all censures, and has proved himself commendable by morals worthy of a priest, as well as by zeal, piety, and charity.

In testimony whereof we have ordered the present commendatory letters to be issued.

Given at Paris in the year of our Lord 1808, and 10th of March.

(Signed), ✠ J. B. DE BELLOY,
Cardinal-Archbishop of Paris.[21]

V

Whilst many of the laity continued faithful to the practices of religion, and many of the clergy found strength in spiritual exercises to bear their trials, the Revolution was increasing in violence. The Constituent Assembly had given place to the Legislative : the Tuileries had been sacked, and the King made a prisoner in the Temple. The Prussians had

[21] From a printed Petition by Dr. Walsh to the Provisional Government, Paris, 1814.

invaded the soil of France, and the revolutionary leaders were making vigorous preparations to repel the invasion. But they resolved before setting out to strike a blow which should fill the Royalists with terror. Domiciliary visits were made throughout Paris, and many persons, especially priests, who had refused the oath, were seized and cast into prison. Forthwith the assassination of the prisoners was resolved on, and a band of three hundred assassins in the pay of the magistrates assembled at the Hotel de Ville awaiting the signal to commence. On the 2nd September the massacres began, and continued to the 6th. At the *Hotel de Ville*, the *Abbaye*, the *Carmes*, and other prisons, according to the most moderate accounts,[22] 1,089 persons, of whom 200 were ecclesiastics, were slain amidst scenes of the most savage cruelty. Some affirm that as many as 5,000 perished. At the Church of the Carmes almost all the victims were ecclesiastics. They were put to death because they were faithful to their allegiance to the Holy See. They are regarded as martyrs, and the cause of their Beatification is being prepared. The triumph of their cause will be an honour to the Irish College; for it is believed that several of them were prepared by the retreats at the Lombard College to win a martyr's crown. Amongst those who narrowly escaped death on the occasion of the September massacres was an Irish priest named Flood, then Procurator-Syndic of the College of Navarre, and resident in the College of Boncour, an annex of that establishment. There is good reason to believe that he was no other than Dr. Peter Flood, who from being a student of the Irish College in 1772 became Provisor of the Lombard College, then royal professor of Theology at the College of Navarre, and subsequently President of Maynooth. His escape is thus recorded in *Archives Parlementaries*, under the date 5th September, 1792:—

> On 5th September, MM. Guirault and Hennisart were admitted to the bar of the National Assembly. M. Guirault presented to the Assembly a new victim rescued from the sword of the armed mob. This citizen, an Irish priest, named Flood, procurator of the College of Boncour, was on the point of being included in the number of refractory priests attached, like

[22] See *Lalanne Dictionnaire historique de la France*, 2 ed., Paris, 1877.

him, to the said college. M. Guirault, in the name of the law and at the voice of innocence, succeeded in rescuing him. He requests the Assembly, by placing him under its protection, to give to the English people a new proof of fraternity and generosity; and to furnish him with the means of returning to his native land (applause). Then MM. Guirault and Hennisart took the oath of 3rd September. The President applauded their zeal, and granted them the honours of the sitting. M. Chaudieu presents as a motion the proposal respecting the Citizen Flood, and asks that a second honourable mention be made of the conduct of M. Guirault. The Assembly decrees that M. Flood is placed under the protection of the French nation; and orders that the name of M. Guirault be entered on the minutes, as having twice saved a man's life.[23]

The massacres of September were followed by the trial and execution of Louis XVI. on 23rd January, 1793. We have elsewhere given an account of the share taken by Dr. Kearney. Rector of the Irish College, in a plan for the escape of Louis XVI., and of his presence on the tragic occasion of the King's execution.[25] A little later we find mention of him in the Register of the Revolutionary Committee of the Section of the Pantheon.[26] The awful period of the Reign of Terror was approaching, yet Mass continued to be celebrated in the College until March, 1793. On 17th March of that year Dr. Walsh was summoned before the Committee of General Safety and asked why he permitted fanatics to attend Mass at his establishment. He replied, that it was at rue du Cheval-Vert that Mass was celebrated. Soon after the two superiors were summoned to account for their conduct. On 9th May, 1793, the Committee of Public Safety issued the following order respecting them :—

The Committee of Public Safety of the Convention, charges the Commissaries of Inspection of the Section of the French Pantheon to proceed to the Irish College, rue St. Jacques (*sic*), to seize the persons called Kearney and Walsh, Superiors of the said College, to examine their papers, and extract from them

[23] *Archieves Parlimentaries*, 5th Sep., 1792. Tom. xlix., p. 377.
[24] I. E. Record, May, 1902, p. 448.
[25] *The Irish College in Paris*, 1578-1901, p. 66.
[26] *Archives Nationales*, F. 2520.

anything that appears suspicious, and bring it to the Committee and to have the said individuals brought before it.

Signed by the Members of the Committee.

The Committee having learned that Kearney resides in the College, rue du Cheval-Vert, in the Section of the Observatory, resolves that the present order shall be communicated to the Revolutionary Committee of the said Section, in order to invite them to put it into execution with regard to Kearney, and appoints the citizen Mandisson to deliver the order to our brothers of the Revolutionary Committee of the Observatory, to advertise them to concert measures with the Revolutionary Committee of the Pantheon to bring the two persons mentioned before the Committee of General Safety ; and it appoints the citizens Gillard and Champagne to execute the order respecting Walsh at the Lombard College, rue des Carmes.

Immediately the Commissaries proceeded to the Irish College, and examined the papers. They reported as follows :— 'We found no letters dated within three months. The citizen declared that at a previous visit, carried out at his house, several English letters had been taken away. We found a receipt signed Walsh and Schomberg, dated Paris, 6th Nov., 1790 ; a receipt for a loan of 600 livres, made to the said Schomberg by the aforesaid Walsh and Kearney; a letter signed O'Crowly, asking for a burse for a person named Lee, punished by the tribunals; a bill signed Xavier Schomberg, dated 1st Nov., 1790 ; a letter in English, without signature or date ; a note of 21,065 fr., which the said Walsh stated he had in cash, and which he laid before us in a box, which he sealed ; 76 leaves of *assignats* of four sous ; also, a deposit of a legacy, of which he is the testimentary executor, for the sisters and nephews of Hertot (?), residing in Ireland. This deposit consists of a gold watch, 54 louis, about 800 livres in assignats, and 600 livres in other assignats, five silver table-services, which, he said, were specified in greater detail in the inventory made by the Mayor, as notary, and all deposited by him in a box. Being required by us, in virtue of the order presented to him, to proceed to the Committee of Public Safety of the Convention, he declared that he was prepared to obey every requisition of the law.'

These minutes were drawn up in the presence of Walsh, who signed them, and they were deposited with the Committee.

We have not been able to discover an account of the appearance of Dr. Walsh and Dr. Kearney before the Committee of Safety on this occasion. In the following August the Convention decreed that foreigners who were

subjects of States with whom the Republic was at war should be arrested, and seals put upon their papers and effects. This decree was notified to the Committee of the Section of the Pantheon on 2nd August, 1793. In October all British subjects were placed under arrest. At this time the Irish Colleges were seized as belonging to the subjects of a foreign State; their papers and effects were put under seals. The two superiors were imprisoned. Dr. Walsh was deprived of his liberty during the whole period of the Terror. Dr. Kearney underwent imprisonment at various times—in the Temple, in the Luxembourg, and in the Scotch College:—for thirty-six days he was detained in a dungeon (*cachot*) from which he was told he would only come forth to go to the scaffold. The intervention, however, of Camille Desmoulins saved his life.

VI

The revolutionary storm was at length beginning to subside. Dr. Walsh, freed from imprisonment, was allowed to return to his college. Here he occupied himself in preserving all that remained of its property. At the same time he co-operated with the Vicars-General of Paris in superintending the religious interests of the diocese. After the death of Robespierre a certain measure of religious toleration was exercised, and about three hundred priests ministered in Paris to the wants of the faithful. In 1795, besides oratories, several churches were opened, by permission of the Municipality, to the clergy who had not taken the oath. In 1797 fifty parish churches were open at Easter, and were insufficient to contain the people who flocked to them. In the provinces similar toleration existed. The priests who had emigrated began to return; and before the *Concordat* was signed, there were on French soil over 20,000 priests; and, as Abbé Sicard shows from official statistics, deducting those who had taken the oath, as well as the aged and infirm, there were already from 18,000 to 19,000 zealous priests engaged in the work of the

ministry.[27] While Dr. Walsh was occupied in co-operating with the Vicars-General of Paris, at that time as the Abbé Sicard calls them, the light of the Clergy of France; Dr. Kearney also re-covered his liberty. In May, of the year IV. (1796) the seals were taken off the College property, and Dr. Kearney reentered on the provisional administration of it. As there was no prospect of students coming from Ireland, he let the College for a period of nine years to Abbé MacDermott, an Irish priest, who kept a school for young gentlemen. Abbé MacDermott's school was attended by the sons of many distinguished French families, and an interesting account of its character, taken from O'Reilly's *Irish Abroad and at Home*, may be seen in the pages of the I. E. RECORD of March, 1866, p. 255. Abbé MacDermott continued to occupy the College as tenant until about 1804, when he was obliged by Dr. Walsh to give up possession.

Meanwhile order was slowly emerging from chaos. Bonaparte had entered into negotiations with the Holy See for the official re-establishment of public worship in France. Negotiations for peace with England were also in progress. At this juncture Dr. Walsh addressed a petition to the First Consul for the reorganisation of the Irish College in Paris. He was aided by the influence and diplomatic skill of the illustrious Bishop of Waterford, Most Rev. Dr. Hussey. That prelate, who had formerly been chaplain to the Spanish Embassy in London, came to Paris, and represented the views of his colleagues the Bishops of Ireland. The Spanish Ambassador in Paris presented him to Napoleon and supported his petition for the re-establishment of the Irish Colleges. His efforts were crowned with success. On 19th Fructidor, of year IX. (1801) a decree of the First Consul sanctioned the reopening of the College, and appointed a *Bureau of Surveillance* to superintend its reorganisation. Dr. Hussey, who had so large a share in the happy issue of a negotiation so important for the Church in Ireland, addressed a letter to

[27] *L'ancien clergé de France pendant la Revolution.* par l'Abbé Sicard. Paris, 1903, pp. 432-543.

His Holiness Pius VII. to inform him of the success of his mission to France. He received from the Holy Father the following reply, for which we are deeply indebted to Most Rev. Dr. Sheehan, his distinguished and accomplished successor in the See of Waterford. His Holiness writes as follows :—

PIUS VII. POPE.

Venerable Brother,

Health and Apostolic Benediction,—We have received the expression of your devoted sentiments on the occasion of our promotion to the Supreme Pontificate, the more gladly as we are convinced that it proceeds not so much from mere ceremony as from great zeal for religion, for which you are especially commendable. How much you excell herein is testified, not only by your former services performed with singular fidelity, labour, and assiduity for the welfare of the Catholic Church, but also by what you have recently achieved in France, where aided by the influence of the Catholic King you have once more secured to your nation the colleges established in that country for the education of Irish ecclesiastics. We therefore praise the excellent work you have performed, as well as your Apostolic zeal. We thank you extremely for having made us participators in the joy which you feel at the successful issue of your Apostolic efforts. The matter, in truth, is one which redounds to your great glory and joy, and fills us with marvellous pleasure. Wherefore we pray God, who is infinitely good, and to whom you so laudably refer your success, to assist you by His powerful aid in your labours for the Church, so that we may often be able to rejoice at the fruits of your labours; and for their greater increase day by day, while we extend to you our aid, we lovingly impart to you the Apostolic Benediction as a pledge of heavenly blessings

Given at Rome, at St. Mary Major's, 5th September, 1801, the second of our Pontificate,

JOSEPH MEROTTI,
Secretary of Latin Letters.

To our Venerable Brother,
THOMAS, Bishop of Waterford.[28]

When permission had been secured to reopen the Irish College in Paris the work of reorganisation commenced.

[28] From a copy of the original in Latin, kindly communicated by Most Rev. Dr. Sheehan, Bishop of Waterford.

The house in rue du Cheval-Vert was made the seat of the new establishment. Finally, after many difficulties had been overcome, on 1st of August, 1805, Dr. Walsh published a prospectus announcing the opening of classes for the 1st of October following—feast of Remy.[29]

Pius VII., on the occasion of his visit to Paris for the coronation of Bonaparte, gave his blessing to the work in which Dr. Walsh was engaged. Since October, 1805, many generations of students have made in the old College their preparation for the work of the mission. *In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum.*[30] Another Pius now sits upon the throne of Pius VI. and Pius VII. When the centenary of its re-opening comes round in 1905, the College will have many blessings for which to offer thanks to God. May its children in the future be as loyal to Pius X. as their predecessors have been to the great Pontiffs who preceded him.

PATRICK BOYLE, C.M.

[29] *The Irish College in Paris*, 1578-1901, p. 207-210.
[30] Psalm xviii.

Notes and Queries

LITURGY

DECREES OF THE S.R.C.: JUBILEE OF DEFINITION OF IMMACULATE CONCEPTION. WHETHER REVERENCES ARE TO BE MADE AT MENTION OF A SAINT'S NAME IN MASS SAID DURING HIS OCTAVE WHEN HE IS NOT COMMEMORATED. PREFACE TO BE SAID IN VOTIVE MASSES DURING OCTAVES. NOTES ON DECREES.

DECRETA S. R. C.

1.

Urbis et Orbis.—Adventante anno quinquagesimo ab auspicatissima die 8 Decembris anni 1854, qua in maximo Templo Vaticano de Immaculata Conceptione B. M. V. dogmatica definitio a sa. m. Pio Papa IX solemniter pronunciata fuit, ut huiusce iubilei cursus in gloriam divini nominis, in eiusdem Deiparae Virginis honorem, atque in fidei et pietatis incrementum verteret, Leo Papa XIII, nuper vita functus et felicis recordationis, Commissionem ex quibusdam, Emis. Patribus Cardinalibus compositam instituit, quae fidelium cuiusque ordinis et coetus studia et opera ad hunc specialem finem dirigendo et provehendo prospiceret.

Nunc vero haec sacrorum Purpuratorum Commissio, sub novis faustisque auspiciis Sanctae Matris Eccles. coelesti sponso et capiti perenniter iunctae, et post brevem viduitatis luctum, altero visibili sponso et capite iucunde decoratae, communia complurium Pastorum et fidelium vota humilesque preces Apostolicae Sedi reverenter porrexit. Quas a subscripto Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis Secretario relatas Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Pius Papa X, pro eo quo erga Deiparam Virginem studio et amore flagrat, benignissime excipiens, indulsit ut, decurrente anno, a proximo die festo Immaculatae Conceptionis B. M. V. computando, die octava cuiusque mensis, vel, iustis de causis, Dominica eam immediate sequente, in Ecclesiis aut Oratoriis, ubi, approbante loci Ordinario, quaedam exercitia pietatis fiant in honorem B. M. V. Immaculatae, praeparatoria quinquagenariis solemnis enunciatae, dogmaticae definitionis, unica Missa votiva, sive cum cantu sive lecta, de Ipsius SS. Virginis Imma-

culata Conceptione celebrari valeat, cum iisdem privilegiis quae competunt Missae votivae solemni pro re gravi et publica Ecclesiae causa, iuxta Decretum N. 3922 de Missis Votivis, 30 Iunii 1896 § 2, quaeque concessa fuere Missae Votivae de S. Corde Iesu pro prima feria VI uniuscuiusque mensis ad normam Decreti N. 3712 " Urbis er Orbis," 28 Iunii 1889, et subsequentium declarationem : ita ut huiusmodi Missa dicatur cum *Gloria* et *Credo*, et unica Oratione, et dummodo non occurrat festum duplex primae classis aut Dominica item primae classis aliquod festum eiusdem B. M. V., feria, vigilia aut octava ex privilegiatis : in quibus solummodo Commemoratio fieri poterit Orationem Missae Votivae post Orationem Missae de die, sub unica conclusione.

Insuper eadem Sanctitas Sua, supplici postulationi plene cumulateque satisfaciens, hoc etiam liberaliter concessit, ut in praefatis Ecclesiis aut Oratori is, praeter memoratam Missam Votivam, qualibet die octava mensis vel Dominica proxime sequente indultam, ceteris Missis tunc addi possit Commemoratio Immaculatae Conceptionis B. M. V. ad instar festi duplicis simplificati : servatis tamen in omnibus Rubricis. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Die 14 Augusti 1903.

M. Card. Mocenni.

D. Panici, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

II.

Ord. Fratrum Minorum.—Rev. P. Pascalis a Perusia, sacerdos professus Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, de consensu sui Rmi. Procuratoris Generalis, Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi sequentia dubia, pro opportuna solutione, humillime exposuit, nimirum :

I. An infra octavam alicuius Sancti octavam habentis, cuius nec officium recitatur, nec fieri commemoratio per accidens potest, caput inclinari debeat, quando dicti Sancti nomen occurrit in Missa ?

II. Quaenam praefatio dicenda sit in Missa votiva conventuali, quando alia celebretur Missa de die infra octavam vel eius fiat commemoratio in Missa de officio occurrente, an scilicet praefatio communis vel prefatio de octava ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque accurate perpensis, rescribendum censuit :

Ad I. *Affirmative.* Ad II. *Affirmative ad primum. Negative ad secundum.*

Atque ita rescripsit die 19 Iunii 1903.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praefectus.*

D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

NOTES ON DECREES:

1. December 8th, 1904, will be the fiftieth anniversary of the promulgation of the Decree that made the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God an article of Catholic Faith. The advent of the Golden Jubilee of the Definition will be the occasion for general rejoicing throughout the Catholic world, and will be celebrated with befitting pomp and ceremonial in every clime where Mary's name is held in honour. It was the chief concern of the last days of the late Sovereign Pontiff to make the celebration worthy of its object and expressive of that ardent devotion to our Lady that characterised his own life. The noble designs of Leo are being carried into execution by his successor, who has ordered that the following year shall be in a very special manner consecrated to the honour and worship of the Blessed Virgin. The first year of his Pontificate, accordingly, is to be a year of preparation for the Jubilee of the Immaculate Conception. During it he has desired that special devotions should be practised in Mary's honour, and to render these practices of piety the more feasible he has granted the privileges contained in above Decree. During the coming year a Votive Mass of the Immaculate Conception, either chanted or read, is permitted in any Chapel or Oratory where devotions are practised in honour of Mary Immaculate on the 8th day of each month, or, if not possible on this day, on the following Sunday. The privileges of this Mass are the same as those granted to the Votive Mass of the Sacred Heart on the first Friday of each month. That is to say, it is to be said with *Gloria*, and *Credo*, and one prayer, and may be said on any day that is not occupied with a Double of the First Class, a Sunday of the First Class, any Feast of the B.V., a privileged feria,

vigil or octave. (On these days a commemoration only of the Votive Mass is allowed to be made under the same conclusion with the Prayer of the Mass for the day.) Moreover, wherever the Votive Mass is said a commemoration of it is also allowed, when permitted by the Rubrics, in all the other Masses said in the same place.

2. The Rubrics order an inclination of the head at mention in the Mass of the Saint whose office is being recited, or who is even commemorated. The Congregation of Rites decided that this does not apply to the titles of the Epistles and Gospels.[1] Supposing that, for some reason, during the octave of a certain Saint neither his office nor commemoration of him is allowed on a particular day, is a reverence to be made at his name when it occurs in the Mass? This is the question decided by above Decree and the answer is: If the office and commemoration excluded only *per accidens*, *affirmative*, if excluded *per se*, *negative*. As far as we can ascertain a commemoration is regarded as excluded *per accidens* when the solemnity of some occurring office prohibits it, and *per se* when there is no affinity whatsoever between the two Masses—as in the case of a Festive Mass and a Mass for the Dead—or when the Votive Mass is completely extra *ordinem officii*. An almost similar process of reasoning would seem to account for the decision regarding the Preface in a conventual Votive Mass which is altogether dissociated from the office and Mass of the day. Here it stands completely by itself, and if it has not a *proper* preface, then the *common* one is to be said.

[1] S. R. C. Dec., 3767, nov. coll.

CORRESPONDENCE

ALTAR WINE

REV. DEAR SIR,—In your last issue Fr. O'Callaghan of Cork calls attention to a very important matter, namely, that of ALTAR BREADS. On this I should merely like to remark that the question is not where were they *consecrated* but when were they *baked*, and this is the very point which is overlooked by many.

But a far more important question, because more open to abuse, is that of ALTAR WINES. I would earnestly beg of your clerical readers to study a series of articles contributed by Dr. J. A. Mooney, of New York, to the *American Ecclesiastical Review* (March, April, May, and June, 1900), and I venture to think that like myself, they will be not alone interested and instructed, but *alarmed* by the perusal thereof.

He proves up to the hilt on most reliable and scientific authority that a vast proportion of the so-called 'Wine' which is on the market and on our tables is not wine at all, for, that *not a single grape was used in its manufacture*, but that it is the product of chemical processes. This surely is enough to give us pause and make us enquire who is the wine merchant from whom our Altar Wines are procured. I have been told by a layman of undoubted veracity that his P.P., a venerable canon, gets his Altar Wines from a local public-house!

Some of these 'Wines' contain alcohol to the extent of 30 per cent. and more, which, even if they were (what Dr. Mooney says they are not) the genuine fruit of the vine would render them wholly unfit for the Altar. And even Altar Wines properly so-called sometimes contain 18 per cent., on the ground that it is necessary for the purposes of preservation.

With all these facts staring us in the face, may a person who is seriously perturbed by them—and I admit I am—substitute *Unfermented Wine*, that is, Wine free from alcohol, for the kind now in use? Which kind did our Divine Lord make use of at the Last Supper? Is it not reasonable to suppose that the Jews who were so scrupulous in avoiding *leavened* bread would be equally so as regards *fermented* Wine. In fact, I take it, they

were utterly ignorant of the modern art of 'doctoring' their wines.

Yours faithfully,

WALTER O'BRIEN, C.C.

Doneraile.

[Father O'Brien may rest assured that the Jews knew how to ferment their wine; and that at the Last Supper it was naturally fermented wine that was used. We think with him that too much importance cannot be attached to the necessity of securing pure wine for the altar; but we cannot see our way to adopt as our own his suggestion that people in this country should proceed to manufacture pure wine for themselves. Even on the supposition that the hot-house grape or the imported grape were capable of yielding the proper quality of must the process of fermentation demands more knowledge, skill and experience than is usually at the command of an individual priest.

It seems to us that there are many more practical ways of meeting the difficulty than by writing about it in the periodicals. The solution suggested by Mgr. Mooney in America is a physical impossibility in Ireland, We do not wish in the least to minimise the gravity of the question raised, and we are well aware that Father O'Brien is very far from being alone in his uneasiness about the quality of the wine supplied.—Ed. I. E. RECORD.]

DOCUMENTS

OFFICES FOR IRISH PATRON SAINTS

ARMACANA, CASSILIEN., DUBLINEN., AC TUAMEN.

Apostolicae Sedis Decreto quum instantibus Rmis. Sacris Hiberniae Antistibus, anno superiore confirmatus sit cultus ab immemorabili tempore nonnullis ipsius Hiberniae Dei famulis praestiti, Sanctis nuncupatis, quorum elenchus huic Decreto subiicitur ; iteratas preces Rmus. Dominus Joannes Healy, olim Episcopus Clonferten., nunc Tuamensis Archiepiscopus, una cum ceteris Hiberniae Praesulibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papae X preces humillime submisit, ut Officia atque Ellogia, Martyrologiis inserenda pro festis peculiarium Sanctorum approbare et petentibus Hiberniae Dioecesibus concedere dignaretur, quorum schema demississime subiecit.

Eiusmodi porro Lectiones secundi nocturni atque Orationes Officiis ac Missis de respectivo Communi addendas, necnon memorata Ellogia pro Dioecesuum Martyrologiis, quum de more Emus. ac Rmus. Dnus. Cardinalis Vincentius Vannutelli, Episcopus Praenestinus, Relator, in Ordinariis Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis Comitiis, subsignata die ad Vaticanum habitis, proposuerit ; Emi et Rmi. Patres sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, re mature perpensa, auditoque scripto et voce R. P. Alexandro Verde, S. Fidei Promotore, rescribere rati sunt : Pro gratia ; et ad Emum. Ponentem cum Promotore Fidei. Die 1 Septembris 1903.

Omnium denique exhibitarum Lectionum atque Ellogiorum revisione diligenter peracta, hisque omnibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papae X. per infrascriptum Secretarium relatis, Sanctitas Sua sententiam Sacri ipsius Consilii ratam habens, suprascriptas Lectiones, Orationes, atque Ellogia suprema Auctoritate Sua approbavit, atque Officia cum Missis de respectivis festis a Clero cuiusque Dioeceseos Hiberniae sub ritu expetito quotannis recolendis benigne indulgere dignata est : servatis Rubricis. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Dei 7 iisdem mense et anno.

ELENCHUS

DEI FAMULORUM HIBERNIAE SANCTORUM NUNCUPATORUM

S. Celsus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Albertus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Colmanus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Brendanus, Abb.

S. Columba, Abb.
S. Comgallus, Abb.
S. Eugenius, Ep. et Conf.
S. Fedliminus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Finianus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Macanisius, Ep. et Conf.
S. Macartinus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Canicius, Abb.
S. Coemgenus, Abb.
S. Conlethus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Edanus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Kiranus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Laserianus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Carthagus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Cataldus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Colmanus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Declanus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Fachananus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Flannanus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Finbarrus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Otteranus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Asicus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Colmanus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Jarlathus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Muredachus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Natheus, Ep. et Conf.

S. Card. CRETONI, *S.R.C. Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *S.R.C. Secret.*

ALLOCUTION OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. AT THE CONSISTORY OF NOVEMBER 9th.

Venerabiles Fratres,

Primum vos hodierna die ex hoc loco Nobis alloquentibus, illud ante omnia occurrit animo, attingere oportere factum proximo tempore, quum delatam per vestra suffragia Apostolici fastigii dignitatem declinare obtestando conati sumus. Etinem nolumus, id Nos fecisse ob eam rem arbitremini, quod aut parum voluntatis vestrae significatio honestissimumque de Nobis iudicium moveret, aut pigeret etiam laborare amplius Ecclesiae causa, cui quidem aetatem omnem animamque devotam haberemus. Verum quum explorata Nobis esset sive inopia virtutis Nostrae sive exiguitas ingenii, quumque simul constaret, quae quantaque a Pontifice romano essent iure expectanda, quid mirum si tanto sustinendo muneri Nos ipsos plane impares fore videbamus ? Profecto evangelica curare et vulgo serventur praescripta, rite custodiantur consilia ; sarta tecta Ecclesiae praestare iura ; multiplices maximasque diiudicare causas, quae de societate domestica, de institutione adolescentis aetatis, de iure et proprietate extiterint ; perturbatos civitatis ordines ad christianam aequabilitatem componere ; brevi, terras expiando caelis comparare cives : hae inquimus, similesque Apostolici officii partes maiores eae quidem videbantur quam ut his viribus expleri digne possent. Accedebat, id quod in Encyclicis Litteris proxime

significavimus, ut excipiendus locus eius esset Pontificis, cuius et studium in religione amplificando fovendoque multipliciter pietatis cultu, et sapientia in profligandus erroribus horum temporum, doctrinaeque vitaeque christianae integritate publice privatim revocanda, et providentia in relevanda humilium inopumque fortuna atque incommodis civilis societatis opportune subveniendo, sic eluxere, ut humani generis immortalem ei cum admiratione gratiam pepererint. Quem non deterreret haec tanta excellentia et magnitudo viri ab ista tamquam haereditate adeunda muneris ? Nos certe, tenuitatem Nostram reputantes, deterebat vel maxime.

At quoniam arcanae Dei voluntate visum est, supremi Apostolatus Nobis onus imponere, id equidem, ipsius ope auxilioque unice confisi, feremus. Quantum autem est in Nobis, certum destinatumque est, omnes curas cogitationesque illuc conferre ut sancte inviolateque servemus *depositum* fidei, et sempiternae omnium saluti consulamus ; eiusque rei gratia nihil quidquam aut laborum aut molestiarum unquam defugere. Quum vero necesse sit christianaeque rei publicae quam maxime intersit, Pontificem in Ecclesia gubernanda et esse et apparere liberum nullique obnoxium potestati, ideo, quod conscientia officii, simulque iurisiurandi quo obstringimur, sacrosancta religio postulat, gravissimam in hoc genere iniuram Ecclesiae illatam conquerimur.

Porro ea Nos magnopere cogitatio recreat, in perfunctione tam gravi tamquè difficili ministerii huius praeclaro Nobis adiumento vestram, Venerabiles Fratres, et prudentiam et navitatem fore. Siquidem ob eam praecipue causam adesse Nobis, divino munere beneficioque, Collegium vestrum novimus, ut administrationem Ecclesiae universae, consilia operamque conferendo, utilissime adiuvet. Quocirca dicere vix attinet, illud Nos solemnes habituros, in omni rerum cursu, praesertim si qua causa gravior inciderit, iudicii sollertiaeque vestrae subsidium expetere ; idque eo etiam, ut pro sua quisque parte immensum officii onus, quo premimur sustineatis. Quippe res agitur ea, quae praeter haec fluxa bnoa ad immortalia pertineat ; nullis locorum inclusa finibus, orbis terrarum rationes complectatur ; evangelicorum reverentiam praeceptorum in omni tueatur genere; denique curas Nostras non ad fideles modo, sed ad homines afferat universos, *pro quibus mortuus est Christus*.

Itaque mirari licet, esse complures, qui novarum rerum cupidine, ut est aetatis ingenium, coniicere laborent, quae Nostra

gerendi pontificatus ratio futura sit. Quasi vero investigatione res egeat, aut planum non sit, Nos eam ipsam insistere velle, nec aliam posse viam, quam decessores Nostri usque adhuc institerint. *Instaurare omnia in Christo*, hoc ediximus Nobis esse propositum ; et quoniam *Christus est veritas*, idcirco obeundum Nobis est in primis magisterium et praeconium veritatis. Hinc simplex dilucidus sermo Iesu Christi et efficax perpetuo, curabimus, dimanet ex ore Nostro, alteque inculcetur animis, sancte custodiendus ; quam quidem custodiam Ipse adiumentum dignoscendae veritatis voluit esse maximum : *Si vos manseritis in sermone meo, vere discipuli mei eritis. Et cognoscetis veritatem, et veritas liberabit vos.*[1]

Pro munere autem tuendae veritatis christianaeque legis Nostrum necessitate erit : notiones illustrare et asserere maximarum rerum, sive natura informatas, sive divinitus traditas, quas nunc obscuratas passim atque obliteratas videmus ; disciplinae, potestatis, iustitiae aequitatisque, quae convelluntur hodie, principia firmare ; universos singulos, neque solum qui parent, sed et qui imperant, utpote omnes eodem prognatos Patre, in privata publicaque vita, in genere etiam sociali et politico ad honestatis normam regulamque dirigere. Utique intelligimus nonnullis offensioni fore, quod dicimus, curare Nos rem etiam politicam oportere. Verum quisque aequus rerum iudex videt, Pontificem a magisterio, quod gerit, fidei morumque nequaquam posse politicorum genus diiungere. Praeterea caput quum sit rectorque summus perfectae societatis, quae est Ecclesia, ex hominibus coalescentis, inter homines constitutae profecto velle, debet, cum principibus civitatum et gubernatoribus rei publicae mutua sibi officia intercedere, si catholicorum in omni ora ac parte terrarum velit et securitati et libertati esse consultum.

Insitum quidem est homini, ut veritatem sitienter appetat, oblatamque amplexetur amanter et retineat. Sed tamen vitio naturae fit, ut nimis multi nihil oderint peius, quam denuntiationem veritatis, utpote quae errores ipsorum nudet cupiditatesve coerceat. Horum omnium convicia minaeque Nos minime commovebunt ; sustentamur quippe admonitione illa Iesu Christi : *Si mundus vos odit, scitote, quia me priorem vobis odio habuit.*[2]

[1] Ioann. viii. 31, 32.
[2] Ioann. xv. 18.

Caeterum illa, de quibus quotidie veritatem catholicam invidiose criminantur, quod libertatem impediat, quod scientiae officiat, quod humanitatis progressiones retardet, num disserere opus est quam sint plena falsitatis? Enimvero infinitatem sentiendi agendique licentiam, cui nullius auctoritatis nomen nec divinae nec humanae sit sanctum, nulla sint intacta iura, quaeque, ordinis disciplinaeque fundamenta convellens, in exitium rapiat civitates damnat eam quidem Ecclesia cohibendamque severe censet; sed istud corruptio libertatis est, libertas veri nominis non est. Sinceram autem germanamque libertatem, qua nempe cuique liceat, quod aequum iustumque sit facere, tantum abest ut Ecclesia compescat, ut expeditissimam debere esse semper contenderit. Nec minus distat a vero quod aiunt, obsistere scientiae fidem: quum contra verissimum sit, prodesse etiam nec ita parum. Praeter enim ea quae sunt supra naturam, de quibus nulla potest esse homini sine fidei cognitio, multae res sunt aeque maximae in ipso naturae ordine, quas quidem sibi pervias habeat humana ratio, sed, fidei aucta lumine, multo certius clariusque percipiat; in caeteris autem vera veris pugnantia facere, quando utrumque genus ab uno eodemque capite et fonte, Deo nimirum, proficiscitur, absurdum est. Ita vel ingeniorem inventa, vel experientiae reperta, vel incrementa disciplinarum, quaecumque demum actionem vitae mortalis provehunt in melius, quid est causae cur Nobis, qui catholicae veritatis custodes sumus, non probentur? Imo est, quare fovenda etiam, Decessorum exemplo, videantur. At vero recentioris philosophiae, civilisque prudentiae decreta, quibus hodie humanarum rerum cursus eo impellitur, quo legis aeternae praescripta non sinunt, ea Nos refellere et redarguere, memores Apostolici officii, debemus. In quo quidem non humanitatem remoramur progredientem, sed ne ad interitum ruat prohibemus.

At enim necessarium aggressi pro veritate certamen inimicos hostesbue veritatis, quorum vehementer miseret, amantissime complectimur, diviniaeque benignitati cum lacrimis commendamus. Nam si, quae vera iusta recta sunt probare et tueri, quae falsa iniusta prava detestari et reiicere, lex est sanctissima romani pontificatus; non minus est, misericordiam veniamque dilargiri peccantibus, idque ad similitudinem Auctoris sui, qui pro *transgressoribus rogavit*. Siquidem Deus, qui *erat in Christo mundum reconcilians sibi*, per Pontifices romanos potissime, ut Vicarios Filii sui, prorogari in aevum vuluit *ministerium reconci-*

liationis, quae propterea ab earum esset auctoritate iudicioque requirenda. Autumare igitur reconciliandam esse Nobis cum quopiam gratiam, esset id quidem iniuriose et perverse iudicantium de munere officioque Nostro, quo ipso debemus paternam erga omnes gerere voluntatem.

Equidem non confidemus quod decessores Nostri nequivere, assequi Nos posse, ut late fusos errores iniustitiamque omnem vincat usquequaque veritas ; in id tamen summa contentione, ut diximus, nitemur. Quod si vota Nostra non sunt plene eventura, illud certe, Deo dante, fiet ut impenium veritatis et in bonis constabiliatur, et ad alios complures, non male animatos propagetur.

Nunc vero iucundum est, animum adiicere ad amplissimum Collegium Vestrum, Venerabiles Fratres, supplendum ; cuius honores afficere hodie duos lectos viros decrevimus. Alter, vestris ipsorum testimoniis per interregnum ornatus praestantem animi et ingenii indolem, paremque gerendarum rerum prudentiam paucis hisce mensibus Nobis egregie probavit. Alterius eximia pietatis doctrinaeque ornamenta, et in diuturna episcopalis procuratione muneris absolutam numeris omnibus diligentiam iamdiu Ipsi habemus exploratissima. Ii autem sunt :

RAPHAËL MERRY DEL VAL, Archiep. Tit. Nicaenus.
IOSEPHUS CALLEGARI, Episcopus Patavinus.

Quid vobis videtur ?

Itaque auctoritate omnipotens Dei, sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et Nostra, creamus et publicamus S. R. E. Presbyteros Cardinales

RAPHAËLEM MERRY DEL VAL
IOSEPHUM CALLEGARI

Cum dispensationibus, derogationibus et clausulis necessariis et opportunis. In nomine Patris ✠ et Filii ✠ et Spiritus ✠ Sancti. Amen.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

STUDIES ON THE GOSPELS. By Rev. Vincent Rose, O.P., Professor in the University of Fribourg. Authorised English Translation by Mgr. Robert Fraser, D.D., Domestic Prelate of H. H. Pius X.

THESE studies from the pen of a Catholic University Professor come very opportunely at the present time. No one acquainted with current Theological literature needs to be told how much attention has been directed of late to the Gospels, or how momentous are the questions that have been raised. In England, and even among the clergy of its Established Church, the supernatural conception and virgin birth of our Saviour, and the character and extent of His knowledge, have been called in question ; in Germany a host of Rationalist scholars, led by the Berlin Professor, Harnack, are endeavouring to strip Christianity of everything supernatural, and to wrest the Gospels into a confirmation of their views ; while in France startling theories, alleged to be based on the Gospels, regarding the person of Christ, His Resurrection, His Church, and Sacraments, have been advanced by some even of the Catholic clergy. It is no longer a question between Protestants and us as to which is the true form of Christianity. No, Protestantism, as a dogmatic faith, is practically dead ; the ' private judgment,' that in Luther's time claimed liberty to interpret freely the text of Scripture, has pushed its claim to the extent of criticising and deciding upon the character and authority of the Sacred Books, and in the exercise of this claim has denied their inspiration and rejected their supernatural authority. The real conflict, then, is no longer with Protestants, who having pinned their faith to the Bible and now having nothing but private judgment to oppose to the private judgment of Rationalists, are utterly helpless in the domain of dogma. It is with Rationalists that we have now more than ever before, to deal, with men who deny the Divinity of Christ, the existence of a supernatural religion, and the inspired authority of the Scriptures, and who endeavour to support their denials by the Gospel story, regarded as mere history, of Jesus Christ and His teaching.

The work before us is meant to meet the Rationalists on their own ground. Father Rose takes up the Gospels as ordinary history, abstracting entirely from their inspired authority, and in eight 'studies' discusses some of the most fundamental questions of Christianity. The subjects with which he deals are: the Fourfold Gospel; the Supernatural Conception; the Kingdom of God; the Heavenly Father; the Son of Man; the Son of God; the Redemption; and the empty tomb, or Resurrection of Jesus Christ. This bare enumeration of the subjects is enough to show how intensely interesting and important these 'studies' are. Space will not permit us to enter into detail, but we would recommend specially the treatment of the fourfold Gospel, the supernatural conception, the Divinity of Christ, and the empty tomb.

Father Rose's method throughout is critical, and scientific in the 'critical' sense; facts and texts are carefully and minutely scrutinised, inspiration and the Church's authority are never invoked, Jewish history is made to shed light on the Gospel story, and the whole inquiry is conducted in a calm and judicious spirit. The work is, indeed, one of great merit, the fruit of deep and acute thought, and reflects credit not only on the learned professor himself, but on the great Dominican Order to which he belongs.

Having said so much in praise of the work, which we heartily recommend to all Scriptural scholars, we desire, in view of a second edition, which we hope soon to see needed, to notice a few points that have attracted our attention. To begin with, on the last page of the introduction, Acts iv. 12 is not quoted quite accurately. The rendering given is not in agreement with the Douay version, nor with the Greek text, nor with the Latin Vulgate—though the latter may, at first sight, seem ambiguous. In the note in Greek at the foot of page 48 ὄναρ is omitted after κατ'. In the note on page 69 the reasons given to prove that it is the genealogy of the Blessed Virgin that is given by St. Luke, are inconclusive. They would prove that St. Matthew too, even though writing for Jews, should have given the genealogy of Mary. For Matthew as well as Luke had recorded the virgin birth, and for him as well as Luke it was only through Mary that the blood of David was transmitted to our Saviour. In this same note it is stated that St. Luke, xviii. 38, affirms that Jesus is really the son of David, whereas in reality St. Luke merely records the words of the blind man at Jericho, just as St. Matthew does, xx. 30.

Again, too little stress is laid upon the witness of St. Matthew, who indeed is hardly more than alluded to, in establishing the supernatural conception. On page 187, some of the postulates require to be reconsidered and proved, in view of the recent statements of men like Loisy. On page 201, Matt. xxii. 46, Mark xii. 35, 37, are ascribed to the *early* preaching of Christ, but the context in both cases shows this to be inaccurate. Finally on page 306, we read : ' We concede to Harnack that those theologians reason superficially for whom Christianity rests on faith in the resurrection. The Apologist who would bring an unprepared mind to the tomb of Jesus would be inexperienced, naïve. The first proceeding of him who is invited to believe should be, it seems to us, to come in contact with Jesus Christ Himself, to study His teaching, to examine the value of the testimony which this Man gave of Himself, touching His Divine origin. He will follow that life to its term, and he will at length find himself at the dawn of the resurrection day. Then only will meditation at the mouth of the tomb be fruitful.' Now, in a sense, this is very true, in the sense, namely, that Christ's resurrection is not the only and exclusive evidence of Christianity, and that it ought to be viewed in connexion with His predictions regarding it. But if it be meant the resurrection is not a valid and even conclusive evidence of Christianity, we doubt whether the concession made to Harnack is justified. For either the resurrection is absolutely guaranteed by the Gospels or it is not. If it is, then we cannot admit that a theologian would reason superficially, even if he rested his faith on it alone. For if Christ raised Himself from the dead, He must be more than man, and if, being more than man, He founded a religion, that religion must have Divine authority. On the other hand, if the resurrection is not gauranteed fully and absolutely by the Gospels, it can only be because they are unreliable, for all four most clearly state the fact ; and if they are unreliable here, how are we to know that we can ' come in contact with Jesus Christ Himself,' where can we be sure that we have His teaching, or the testimony that He bore to Himself ? In other words, if we cannot rest our faith on the resurrection, as testified to by the four Gospels in the clearest language, how can we rest it on anything they testify ? We thought it necessary to make these remarks, in order to guard the reader against a ve ry possible misunderstanding.

We wish Father Rose's work, in its English dress, every success, and we congratulate him heartily on the excellent and

timely contribution he has made to a most important branch of New Testament study. Our thanks are due to Monsignor Fraser, D.D., Rector of the Scotch College, Rome, for the admirable manner in which he has done the work of translation.

J. MacR.

A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Part XI. קוץ-שבר. Price 2*s.* 6*d.* 1894.

All students of Hebrew will rejoice at the approaching completion of this desirable work which is based on the Lexicon of Gesenius. Since the issue of its first part in 1892 the present reviewer has successively used each part as it appeared, and almost invariably with satisfaction. The most recent discoveries in Biblical topography, archæology, etc., as well as the best results of Semitic philology are made use of or embodied in its pages. The English work is far superior to the modern German editions of Gesenius by Mühlau and Volck, indeed from the purely liguistic standpoint it comes as near to perfection as could well be expected. Besides the perspicuous arrangement of its articles the ingenious devices for saving the reader's time, and the abundant references—all placed in order—make it a pleasure to consult this book. For numberless words it may well serve as a Concordance, and it is more exact than Mandelkern's cumbrous volume. Special attention has been paid to the usage of the cognate languages in so far as it helps to determine or to illustrate the precise meaning of a Hebrew word. But where this has been done so fully, one could wish that in reference to the more important passages of the Old Testament, *v.g.*, the Messianic prophecies, the testimony of the ancient versions had been mentioned. This was one of the most valuable features of the Thesaurus. It would have been better to preserve it than to make room for notices of the characteristic diction of E., J., and other airy creations of higher criticism, about whom no sensible person as such cares one jot. No one, in fact, believes in their existence except those who disbelieve Scripture. Finally, it must be said that as a Hebrew Lexicon is a work on a sacred subject, on the language of part of the inspired volume, the occurrence in it of rationalists' names is an unseemly intrusion. They may have been good linguists, but they were bad expounders of Scripture.

It is certain that those among our readers who may use this Lexicon will be able to avail themselves of its many notable excellencies, and at the same time to keep themselves unaffected by blemishes and shortcomings such as have been here indicated. To all these readers it is heartily recommended.

R. W.

THE BLESSED VIRGIN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: APPARITIONS, REVELATIONS, GRACES. By Bernard St. John. London: Burns & Oates, Limited. New York: Benziger Bros. Price 6*s*.

IN view of the commemoration next year of the fiftieth anniversary of the definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God, the book under review should prove both opportune and interesting. For it comes in seasonable time to tell us in plain and simple narrative of the kindly visitations with which the Blessed Virgin, during the century just closed, has favoured this vale of tears, and of the goodly heritage of blessings that have followed in the wake of each earth-coming.

Is there not need to marvel that the country selected for the scene of our Lady's most glorious apparitions is the one that to-day lifts her heel against the Church of Christ, and, in the Saviour's words, 'stonest them that are sent to her'? Yet so it is. France, the modern home of religious disquiet and oppression, is the highly favoured land that has witnessed these very remarkable supernatural manifestations of the Virgin's good-will, and enjoyed the fullest measure of her fostering solicitude. It was here that Sister Catherine Labouré, of the Order of Charity founded by St. Vincent de Paul, had, in 1830, the revelation in which she received the miraculous medal of the Immaculate Conception. About the same year the shrine of 'Notre Dame des Victoires' in Paris was made famous when the good curé M. des Genettes, was inspired to found the Arch-Confraternity of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. A little later our Lady unveiled herself to the shepherd-children, Maximin and Melanie, at Salette, high up in the almost inaccessible peaks of the Alps, while some dozen years later, when the star of La Salette was waning in its brilliancy, a new light appeared in a grotto among the Pyrenees which has scarce lost a particle of its lustre even to this day. This time Bernadotte was the privileged *voyante* The apparition at Lourdes is celebrated even to the ends of the

earth, and it is not easy to say whether its world-wide celebrity is due more to the impious pen of Zola, or to the sympathetic and reverent labours of Henri Lassere. Two other less renowned apparitions are recorded in this book—that of Portmain, near the town of Laval, and Pellevoisin in the diocese of Bourges. Glancing over the volume before us we can trace, as it were, the triumphant progress of the Blessed Virgin through France in the nineteenth century. And what strikes us as strange is, that nearly in all cases the Virgin revealed herself to children, thus fulfilling in herself what the Psalmist predicted of her Son, ' Ex ore infantium et lactentium perfecisti laudem.'

The author narrates these wonderful occurrences with a simple, unhesitating, unwavering faith. His is not the carping, critical spirit that would banish the supernatural altogether from mundane affairs. At the same time he relates nothing of the miraculous that is not vouched for and attested to by unimpeachable authority. The book is sure to do much good. Those who have faith and confidence in the intercessory powers of the Mother of God will, on reading it, have their faith made firmer and their confidence stronger. The publishers have executed their work well, but we would prefer to be spared the trouble of having to cut the pages.

P. M.

History of Ireland. From the Earliest Times to the Year 1547. By Rev. E. A. Dalton, C.C. Dublin, 1903.

Father Dalton deserves the earnest thanks of the supporters of the Irish Ireland movement by the publication of his *History of Ireland*. In doing so he has placed at the disposal of students a scholarly, and at the same time, a racy and interesting narrative of our country's affairs down to the Reformation struggles. Though we must honestly confess that, personally, we should prefer a real scientific study according to the method sketched by O'Curry in his closing lecture at the Catholic University, of ten years of Irish history, to a dozen handbooks covering the whole or nearly the whole period, yet, judging the handbook by its own standard, as we must do, we are convinced that Father Dalton's is one of the best yet published.

The volume before us evidently represents years of patient study and research. It was not in a month nor in a year the writer could have consulted the sources and literature on Irish history upon which he relied for his information, especially when

we remember that the great public libraries were not within easy reach, and the moments of leisure of a hard-working missionary priest are, as a rule, short and far between. Father Dalton has spared no pains to put the facts of Irish history honestly before his readers. He seems to have fully realized that it is the duty of the historian to strive after the truth, and not to waste his energies in bolstering up defences of pre-conceived theories and opinions. But the author aimed at something more than the bald presentation of facts; he strove to sketch, at least in outline, a real living picture not only of the political movements, but also of the culture, the social life of Ancient and Middle Age Ireland, and to a great extent he has been successful in his efforts. He has given us a book, which, unlike most of the publications of the same kind, arouses the interest of his readers, and compels them to read on from page to page and from chapter to chapter.

Still, as we have constituted ourselves critics of his work we feel in duty bound to find, or pretend that we have found, some points that might excite hostile criticism. Though Father Dalton has generally consulted standard authorities for his opinions, yet, now and again, we find him citing in support of his views writers who are themselves by no means reliable, or who at best are recognised as only compilers. The citation of such authorities, however correct their statements may be, tends only to arouse the suspicion of the reader, and to subtract a great deal from the scholarly finish of a work. Again, the author despatches very briefly, indeed, the work of the Irish missionaries on the Continent, and in doing so, we believe he makes a very serious mistake. We have heard a learned German professor in a three months' course of lectures which covered the whole Middle Age period of Church history, devote nine or ten lectures to the influence of the Irish missionaries on Religion, on Learning on Scholastic Philosophy, on the Penitential System, and Civil and Canon Law, on Manuscript Writing and Illumination, and on the Arts generally, and we are convinced that the subject was worthy of the attention he paid to it. We trust that Father Dalton will see his way to give us a more extended treatment of this chapter in his next edition.

There are some statements, too, in the book with which we cannot find ourselves in agreement. We do not, for instance, see why the author should be so positive in asserting that St. Columba's going to Iona was due rather to the penance of St.

Molaise than to the spirit of missionary zeal which had already driven so many of his countrymen abroad. The statement that no trace of Pelagianism in Ireland is to be found in Irish Annals would require explanation, as the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* seem to state expressly that the Pelagian heresy had found some following in the country. Neither do we believe that the abduction of the wife of O'Rourke exercised any serious influence in bringing about the English invasion, nor that the picture drawn by St. Bernard of the low state of morality in Ireland at the beginning of the twelfth century is to be interpreted strictly and to the letter, especially when even the author himself would admit that the saint's account of the wonderful reformation wrought by Malachy must be accepted as an impassioned panegyric, rather than as a simple presentation of facts.

But these are points of little moment about which every student has a right to advance his own views. We offer the author our sincere congratulations on the work which he has published, and we look forward with pleasure to the publication of the second volume of his *History*.

J. MacC.

Geschichte der Altkirchlichen Literatur von Otto Bardenhewer, Professor der Theologie an Der Universitat Munchen. II. Band. Freiburg, 1903.

By his standard work on Patrology Bardenhewer is already favourably known to some of our readers. But useful as this work was, the learned author, on account of the interest excited nowadays on Early Christian literature, and especially in view of the publications of his countrymen Harnack and Krüger, felt that a more extended treatment of the subject was necessary. Hence, he resolved to write a complete history of the Ecclesiastical Literature of the first centuries in six volumes, the first of which has already appeared, and was enthusiastically received even in the most critical Protestant circle of Germany. The present volume covers the whole of the third century, the period when the energies of the ecclesiastical writers seem first to have been devoted to a scientific exposition of the Christian System of Theology, based on Philosophy and History. The Eastern Church, under the influence of the learning and civilization of Ancient Greece, naturally took the lead in such a movement, and Alexandria, standing as it did between the two civilizations—the

meeting point of the world—became famous as a Christian centre. From Alexandria the movement spread to Jerusalem and Cæsarea, and thence to Asia Minor. This will serve to explain the classes into which our author groups the Eastern writers. In the West the difficulties were greater. The want of a terminology with which to clothe theological opinions seemed to have effectually barred the way to the creation of a Latin Ecclesiastical literature. But the Church of Africa came to the rescue, above all, the first of the Latin Apologists, Tertullian. His example was followed by Cyprian and Lactantius. Of the purely Roman writers Hippolytus is by far the most important. The present volume, then, is a review of this whole field, Eastern and Western, of the works of such men as Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Julius Africanus, Firmilian of Cæsarea, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, and Hippolytus. Nobody who has any acquaintance with Patristic studies can doubt the importance of such a period. It is a volume which does credit to Catholic scholarship. No man need fear to quote Bardenhewer in any learned assembly. The name of the author, together with the authorities which he cites, are sufficient to guarantee his opinions.

In his concluding chapters the author gives an account of the earliest 'Acta Martyrum' and their publications, as well as of the heathen and Jewish works which were utilized by the Christians and modified to suit their purposes. The book is one which we should like to see in the hands of every man who wishes to make an earnest study of Patristic literature.

J. MacC.

THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY. By Rev. Thomas Shahan, S.T.D., J.U.L., Professor of Church History in the Catholic University, Washington. New York: Benziger Bros. 1903. Price 8s.

THE interest aroused in recent years by the study of early Ecclesiastical history is shown in the number of eminent scholars who have devoted themselves to such a work. Catholic, Protestant, and Rationalist alike seem to have fully realized that the first centuries of our era are the field on which the battle of the Church and of Christianity is to to be lost or won. Men of such opposite views as Harnack and Funk, Duchesne, Battifol, Le Camus, Loisy, Semeria, Giffert, not to speak of a host of others equally distinguished, are unanimous in their appreciation

of the issues at stake. We are glad, then, that the young Catholic University of America, which has done so much and which promises to do so much for English-speaking Catholicity, has thrown itself into the work.

We warmly congratulate Professor Shahan on his book. At first, believing as we did from the title that it was a regular scientific study after the model of Duchesne, of the beginnings of Christianity, we were somewhat disappointed to find that it was only a reprint of essays published in some of the American magazines on some striking subject connected with early Church history. Amongst these essays we find such chapters as 'St. Paul, Teacher of the Nations,' 'Slavery and Free Labour in Ancient Rome,' 'The Origin of Christmas,' 'Woman in Pagan Antiquity and in the Early Christian Communities,' 'The Church and the Empire (A.D. 250-312).' The last chapter entitled 'The Columbus of the Catacombs,' is fittingly devoted to the great Catholic archæologist, De Rossi, who according to a very competent authority was the glory of the Church in the nineteenth century. These essays written in the easy flowing style of the magazine bear traces of the deep study and careful research of the author. They remind us in many things of the work done by Allies in our own Catholic University in days long since gone by. We are confident that the present volume is only an introduction to the publications which we may expect from the learned Professor of Church History in Washington.

J. MacC.

THE LIFE AND PONTIFICATE OF LEO XIII. By P. Justin O'Byrne. London: Washbourne. 1903.

IN the history of the nineteenth century the name of Leo XIII. must always hold a prominent place. In Religion, in Politics, in the struggles between Capital and Labour, in Education, in Biblical and Historical Studies, the late Pontiff proved that the Church was not false to her traditions, and that she was ever ready to lead the way.

Many authors in almost all languages have already undertaken to write his life. Amongst the latest English works is that under review from the pen of Mr. O'Byrne. It is a book which we read with the greatest interest. The first six chapters are devoted to a careful review of the life of Leo before the

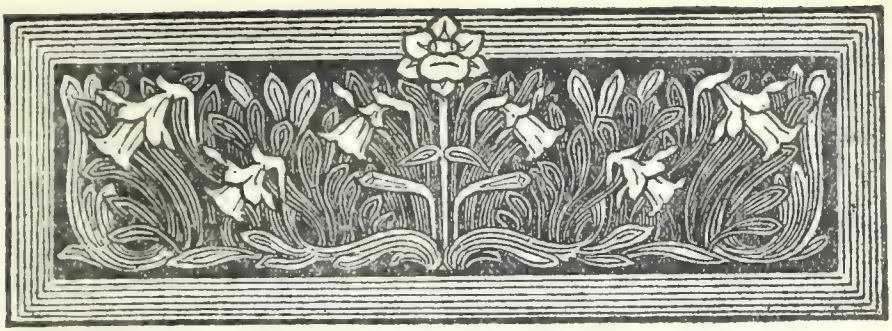
Conclave of 1878. The author deals in the following chapters with the Conclave and the relations of the Holy See at the time with the different countries, the Reunion of the Eastern Churches, Leo and England, Leo and Germany, Leo and Ireland, Leo and France, Leo and America, the Pope and the Workmen, the Pope and Society. These very titles indicate clearly the author's method of treatment. It is written in an easy, taking style; and altogether is a work which we can recommend.

J. MacC.

SAINT CUTHBERT'S. By Rev. J. E. Copus, S.J. Author of 'Harry Russel, a Rockland College Boy.' New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Bros. Price 3*s.* 6*d.*

THIS is a real good book for boys. It treats of life with its lights and shadows, successes and reverses, in an American middle-class Catholic school. If St. Cuthbert's is representative of its class, we may conclude that the American Catholic youth is trained to play his part in life in an atmosphere where a high moral tone prevails, and along lines best calculated to develop a character in which, honour, manliness, frankness, and sincerity are very conspicuous. The writing is easy and graceful. There is no exaggeration or impossibility in the situations the author pictures, and his portraits seem to be as real as it is possible to find them in a work of fiction. For the youthful the book may be warmly recommended.

P. M.



THE GREAT WESTERN SCHISM[1]

IN his recent work, *Christianity and Civilization*, Mr. Lilly has dealt with many interesting problems, perhaps none more so than that discussed in his introductory chapter—'The Philosophy of History.' Here, the author is inclined to maintain that the old view put forward by St. Augustine in his *City of God* is not so far from the truth, and that the facts of history unmistakably point to the existence of an all-seeing Ruler, who is sure to visit the lapses of the nation as well as those of the individual with a speedy and adequate retribution.

If this be the moral of history in general—and the facts seem to warrant the conclusion—what shall we say of the history of the Church? Is there anything in the story of its origin and growth and development; in its ceaseless struggles against open foes and secret betrayers who would handle irreverently, if not discard, the deposit committed to its charge; in its endeavours, despite of menace or bribe, to uphold its liberty and independent jurisdiction against the encroachments of unscrupulous rulers; in its universality of time and place and people, and yet its unbroken and apparently unbreakable unity; its conservatism and yet its progress; its unchangeableness and yet its capability of adaptation—is there anything in all this which, in the eyes of the scientific investigator, must distinguish the Church

[1] *La France et le Grande Schisme d'Occident*. Par Noel Valois. 4 vols. 1896-1902. Paris: Picard et Fils.

from all civil institutions, and make him, at least, pause before answering the question : ' Is it entirely the work of man, the product of human brains assisted by human credulity ? '

We have no hesitation in saying that the history of the Church, though it may not always convince the earnest inquirer that he is dealing with a society maintained by a power higher than that of man, yet, it will certainly force him to think more kindly of those who put forward such an opinion. Scandals he may meet with, we admit—the weaknesses, the passions, the struggles of poor human ambition may stand out before his gaze—but taking the Church all in all, in itself and in its effects on the civilization of the world, it cannot fail to make a lasting impression on the really scientific mind, and to awaken doubts, if not to convey clearly, that it is not like the kingdoms of this world—of the earth, earthly.

Hence, we have long been convinced that Catholics need not fear to face, in a straightforward manner, the facts of ecclesiastical history. If there have been unworthy Popes —and the number of such is very limited indeed ; if there have been abuses and dissensions which reflect little credit on the overseers ; if men, who entered the sanctuary and devoted themselves to God, forgot God and the Church for the sake of their own petty personal ambitions ; if the human element in the Church's constitution became at times painfully evident—what do all these things prove ? That the Church has no divine sanction or support ? Nothing of the kind. For so long as the Church is amongst men and ruled by men, however the spirit of God may encircle it, human passions must have their play. On the contrary, when we consider the work of the Church as a whole, standing out before us as the one institution which remains essentially unchanged since the days of Christ amidst kingdoms which were ever changing, growing strong instead of waning with the succession of centuries, the mistakes and mismanagements of its rulers at times, disastrous as they would have been to any civil society, serve to bring out more prominently the guidance that is divine.

The story of the Great Western Schism will perfectly exemplify our meaning. It is a sad chapter in the history of the Church ; in some respects, perhaps the saddest. There we see the great Christian society, infected by the spirit of political Nationalism which was then passing over Europe, torn up into warring sections ; the spectacle of rival Popes each claiming to be the successor of St. Peter and enforcing his claims by temporal as well as spiritual arms. These were days when honest Christians were saddened beyond expression, days of tribulation and sorrow for the Church, when the Divine promise seemed forgotten, and the hour of the evil spirit had come.

Yet, if we look below the surface we find much that is consoling. We find that, however much the Christian world was divided, the principle of unity was never for a moment forgotten. Unity was the watchword of the contending parties. Men differed about the claims of the rival Popes and with justification ; opinions varied as to the methods to be employed, but the opponents were at one in the end at which they aimed—union under the rightful Pope. The bond of religious unity held fast despite the dividing influences of political and racial jealousy. Had any civil kingdom undergone such a test the contending parties would never freely come together. If this be so in the state where so many unifying influences are at work—common ancestry, tastes, language, and ideals—to what shall we attribute the restoration of harmony in the Church, brought about in spite of political divisions ?

We have never been inclined to underrate the difficulties which impeded the efforts towards reunion—difficulties which were certainly not lessened by the actions of the rival Popes—and a careful survey of Valois' monumental work has only served to deepen our convictions on this aspect of the question. Numberless authors have already undertaken this chapter in the life of the Church, men like Mansi, Martene, Baluzius, Rinaldi, Hefele, Gayet, and Salembier, whose ability and earnestnesss cannot be questioned, yet, never before have we found anything on the subject approaching so closely our ideal of a strictly scientific historical

treatise. M. Valois holds a brief for neither obedience. No doubt, good Frenchman that he is, he seeks to justify in a great measure the action of France throughout the terrible crisis, and with his views on this point we do not always find ourselves in agreement.

But his method claims our admiration. Brushing aside the comments of interested partisans he pushes his investigations back to the sources themselves, with the calmness and the impartiality of the judge he examines the documents piece by piece, and thus, builds up his narrative with constant references to his authorities. Afterwards he pronounces his opinions, but, as he declares himself, the research and criticism of texts of all classes which could serve as a basis for the history of the Great Western Schism has been his first care, and, for the rest, the reader may accept or reject the conclusions which are advanced without interfering with the work as a whole.

Was Urban VI. the lawful Pope ? Was he freely chosen by the Sacred College, or was his election the result of the terrorism of the Roman mob ? Had the cardinals any justification for their subsequent action in setting up a rival claimant ; or, if we may not excuse the cardinals what are we to say of the Catholic states which rallied to their support ? These are questions which demand careful consideration. M. Valois' book does much to supply the answer.

Gregory XI. had broken the spell of the French enchantment, and restored the Papacy to the city by the Tiber. But Rome was no longer what it once had been ; signs of decay and misery were apparent at every turn. The spirit of unrest and rebellion was abroad, and honest Christians trembled at the thought of the prospects in store for the Holy See when Gregory XI. should have passed away. The last days of the aged Pontiff were saddened by a foreshadowing of the calamities in store for the Church, which he was powerless to avert. On the 19th March, 1378, he issued the Bull regulating the election of a successor, and eight days later he had gone before his Judge.

The Conclave was to open on the 6th April, after the funeral obsequies had been duly observed. The interven-

ing days were marked by riotous scenes. Once a day the cardinals assembled for the requiem service in the church of St. Francoise Romaine (where the tomb of Gregory XI. is still to be seen), only to be surrounded by importunate crowds of the municipal officers, as well as the populace, clamouring wildly that the Papacy should never again be transferred to Avignon. As time passed the excitement grew more intense, especially since the replies of some of the cardinals were not considered reassuring; the streets resounded with the threats of the multitude, 'We want a Roman or at least an Italian, or else death to the Frenchmen and the Foreigners;' officers elected by the people seized the Borgo and strengthened the gates and bridges, precautions were taken lest the bishops and cardinals might escape from the city; and it was with difficulty that guarantees for the security and liberty of the Conclave could be secured from the Roman authorities.

The panic in Rome became universal. The houses belonging to the Curial officials were in great part abandoned, or at least, the valuable property was transferred to Ara Cœli or some other place of security. Some of the foreign bishops were able to elude the vigilance of the sentinels at the gates, while others sought a hiding-place in the houses of their friends. Peter de Luna, Cardinal of Arragon, arranged his will; Bertrand Lagier, Cardinal of Glandeve, demanded that his confessor should accompany him to the Conclave; Robert of Geneva (afterwards Clement VII.) took care to buckle under his rochet the coat of mail which as Legate he had used in his wars against the rebellious subjects of the Holy See; D'Argrefeuille took a last farewell of his retainers; while the Cardinal of Poitiers weepingly recommended himself to the prayers of his friends. Yet it would be untrue to say that the cardinals generally believed their lives to be in danger. Some, and these Frenchmen, professed themselves perfectly satisfied with the guarantees of liberty and security. Besides, there were many powerful families in Rome—Colonna, Orsini, Fondi, de Vico, Caetani—who would have gladly defended the cardinals, at least in the last extremity, but their assistance was never

solicited ; the Breton mercenaries—the terror of the Roman mob—were lying just outside the walls, five hundred strong, and their officers were daily seen in the streets ready to sell their swords to the cardinals, yet when the proposition was made the Sacred College pronounced against it ; the Castle of St. Angelo, manned by French soldiers, offered a secure retreat against the violence of the people, a retreat of which the cardinals refused to avail themselves. These points are of importance in discussing the liberty of the electors.

Such was the state of feeling in the city when the day arrived for the opening of the Conclave. Even the elements themselves seemed to be in league with man to add to the terror and confusion. That morning a violent thunder-storm broke over the city and the Vatican palace was struck by lightning—the current crashing right through the cell that had been prepared for Peter de Luna. This was popularly interpreted as a demonstration from heaven in favour of his candidature, but years of bitter dissension were to pass ere the Cardinal of Arragon could seize the tiara. The Conclave hall was so badly damaged that it was necessary to adjourn the opening for twenty-four hours.

The next day (7th April) the cardinals began to arrive at the Vatican from about four o'clock in the afternoon. An immense multitude of people anxiously awaited their arrival. The great square of St. Peter's, the steps of the Basilica, the windows and roofs of the neighbouring houses were packed not with careless onlookers, but with men intensely interested in the issues at stake. Was it to be Rome, or was it to be Avignon ? The cardinals' carriages halted at the outskirt of the crowd, and as they elbowed their way to the Vatican they were greeted with groans or applause according as they were supposed to favour Avignon or Rome ; whilst all the while, amidst the tumult and confusion, the cry rose clear and distinct from the excited throng, ' Romano lo volemo o almanco Italiano.'

A barrier had been erected in front of the Vatican to prevent strangers entering the hall of Conclave, but the officers in charge were unable or unwilling to do their work, with the result that crowds burst in after the cardinals—

officers, Romans, armed men. For two hours this scene of wild confusion lasted, till finally the strangers were excluded, and at about nine or ten o'clock at night the doors were closed and everything ready to begin the election.

Meanwhile what were the thoughts that filled the minds of the electors on this solemn occasion? This is a question of capital importance. If, for instance, we could discover the relations between the different parties into which the cardinals were divided, and furthermore, that already in their secret meetings held during the *interregnum*, the majority had already fixed upon a probable candidate, it would help us much in determining the validity of election.

There were sixteen cardinals then in Rome, and these, according to the testimony of both parties—Clementine as well as Urbanist—were spilt up into three sections, the Limousins, the remaining French, and the Italians; Peter de Luna, the Spaniard, having allied himself with the French. The Limousins, who had already thrice succeeded in recent years in placing their nominee in the Chair of St. Peter, numbered probably seven votes, the French counted five, while the Italians with four formed the smallest party in the Conclave.

It was thus evident that no section could hope to carry its candidate single-handed. Then the French, in their hatred of their Limousin countrymen, turned to the Italians for support. Three of their number, amongst whom were Robert of Geneva and Peter de Luna, approached the aged Cardinal of St. Peter's, but the latter, suspecting a ruse, was unwilling to entertain their overtures. Finally, despairing of gaining the Italians, three or four of the French offered to join the Italians for the election of an Italian Pontiff.

What is more interesting still, we can even determine the candidate of their choice. In case no member of the Sacred College could succed in securing the required votes —an eventuality which was considered very probable— their votes were to be united in favour of Bartholomew Prignano, Archbishop of Bari in Apulia, afterwards Urban VI. In proof of this we may cite the fact that one day the

Cardinal of Milan is shown to have said, 'My Lord of Bari, if it were depending on me alone, your shoulders should soon be charged with a heavy burden.' Robert of Geneva declared that they would have an Italian Pope this time in spite of those traitors of Limousins, and again, 'By the Holy Gospels,' he said, 'the Archbishop of Bari shall be our Pope or another whom I won't mention'—this other, needless to say, being himself. Finally, the same cardinal on the evening of the 7th April showed a slip of paper in his hand on which were written the names of his favourite candidates, and Bartholomew Prignano was inscribed thereon. Peter de Luna received Holy Communion on the morning of the Conclave from the hands of the Bishop of Jaën, and, according to the statements of the latter prelate, declared his intention of voting for the Archbishop of Bari. These are significant facts in themselves.

But more significant still, even the Limousin cardinals seem to have been won over to support his candidature. This is strongly maintained by the supporters of Urban, and as strongly denied by Clement's followers. In these circumstances, we should pay little attention to the rumour, had we not the express testimony of Peter de Luna, himself a bitter opponent of Urban and later on one of the rival Popes. When under interrogation on this point he stated that he did not know—that he did not believe that *all* the Limousin cardinals, nor even the *greater part of them*, had resolved to elect the Archbishop of Bari; that two or three of them at most had seen the wisdom of such a selection. Coming from such a man these words leave little doubt on our mind as to the attitude of at least a section of the Limousins towards Prignano's candidature.

We have it, then, for certain, that before entering the Conclave nine or ten cardinals had come to regard the Archbishop of Bari as a suitable man, and considering how unlikely it was that any cardinal could secure the requisite votes his chances seemed to stand the highest before the opening of the Conclave. No wonder, then, that the rumour of his pending election should have gone abroad in Rome and even in Naples.

Why the name of the Archbishop of Bari should have come so prominently before the cardinals is quite a different question. His enemies say it was due to intrigue and the free expenditure of money. Even if this were so it would be irrelevant, for we are dealing not with the character of the man, but with the validity of his election. Still, we may point out that it is not necessary to recur to bribery or intrigues for an explanation of his prominence. He had been for years attached to the court of Avignon, and there, representing Cardinal Pampeluna, had been brought into close correspondence with the members of the Sacred College, who were not forgetful afterwards of his training in the machinery of Church government. Personally, as even his bitterest enemies admit, before his election he was commonly regarded as a model churchman, pious, mortified, humble, prudent, eloquent, independent, and withal a man of the world, shrewd, clever, business-like in his methods. Besides, as a subject of the Queen of Naples he was more likely to be agreeable to the French cardinals than any other Italian. Such, then, were the opinions of the electors entering the Conclave on the 7th April.

When, at last, strangers had been excluded from the apartments prepared for the election, the cardinals retired to their chambers, but for many of them sleep must have been an impossibility. Not to speak of anxiety for the future of the Church there were many other disturbing influences at work. Down below—for the Conclave hall was on the second floor—the military guards, unmindful of the comforts of those overhead, piled up a blazing fire round which they lay in soldierly fashion, making merry on the wines stolen from the cellars of the Vatican; while outside in the neighbouring taverns, in the square of St. Peter's, even up to the very doors of the palace, the Roman mob kept nightly vigil—drinking, singing, dancing, stopping at intervals only to raise the well-known cry of: 'Romano, Romano, Romano lo volemo o almanco Italiano.'

The next morning (8th April) a little before sunrise the cardinals were summoned to the Conclave chapel. Fatigue had evidently overcome the watchers, for the noise outside

had died away. The cardinals recited their small Hours in common, and then assisted at the Mass of the Holy Ghost, and of the *Feria*. But while the priest was still at the altar the tumult began once more. Suddenly the tocsin sounded in the direction of the Capitol, and the tolling of the bells of St. Peter's could be heard in reply, whilst at the same time there was wafted to the ears of the cardinals the threatening shouts of an excited populace. 'What is that? We are lost,' cried one of the prelates. One of the attendants who had mounted the roof to observe, returned to say that the great square was packed with people, some of them armed men; that the tower of St. Peter's had been seized despite the protests of the canons, and that a red flag was being waved from the summit of the Campanile to people posted on the Capitol. Everything seemed to point to a popular *émeute*.

Throughout this terrible scene the electors remained apparently unmoved. They took their seats while the Cardinal-Bishop of Florence mounted the pulpit to preach the Conclave discourse. As the shouts outside became momentarily more threatening, the preacher, nervous and excited, began to hesitate, and at last was forced to admit that he had forgotten the thread of his discourse. Just then word was brought that the Bishop of Marseilles—one of those charged with the security of the electors—was outside, and demanded a parley with the priors of the Conclave. Aigrefeuille and Orsini appeared at the wicket while the cries of the populace redoubled. 'My Lords, my Lords,' whispered the bishop, 'make haste with the election. You are likely to be cut to pieces unless you elect a Roman or an Italian. We who are outside can best judge your peril.' They returned to the chapel and delivered the message with which they had been charged.

What was to be done? Were they going to betray their trust by yielding to the threats of an excited populace, or were they to face death and consequent anarchy in the Church for the sake of the triumph of some party? This was the question debated by the cardinals. At the end of half an hour it was agreed that they should satisfy the

people—Orsini alone objecting to such a pledge as destroying the liberty of the electors. The wicket was again opened and the same two cardinals announced to the people that they should soon have a Roman or an Italian Pope.

Various plans were proposed and rejected. Orsini was of opinion that they might simulate an election by crowning a friar to play the *rôle* of Pontiff before the people, but this received no support in the Sacred College. Others suggested that even the election was invalid now; it could be regularly celebrated when the danger was past, and the cardinals had recovered their freedom. But just then Peter de Luna engaged the Cardinal of Limoges in conversation on the candidature of the Archbishop of Bari. Limoges in turn took counsel with Aigrefeuille. Poitiers and Milan joined the group, a hurried count was made, and it was found that Prignano was likely to secure a majority of votes.

'Pray be seated, my Lords,' said Aigrefeuille, 'we are going to have a Pope soon unless I am mistaken.' When all had taken their seats the Bishop of Limoges proposed the name of the Archbishop of Bari. After him Aigrefeuille stood up, 'I name and I choose,' said he, 'the Archbishop of Bari as Pope and Pontiff of Rome.' Their example was followed by the other cardinals with few exceptions. Orsini refused to vote on the ground that he was not free in his choice. The Cardinals of Bretagne and St. Angelo were at first unwilling but afterwards allowed themselves to be won over to the side of Prignano. Thus, out of sixteen votes the Archbishop of Bari had secured fifteen; in other words, his election was practically unanimous. Nor is there anything to prove that those who supported him did not really wish that he should become Pope. In fact the contrary is evident from the formula used by many of them in declaring their adhesion.

It was close on nine o'clock in the morning when the election had been completed. Again, the wild cries of the multitude outside resounded through the Conclave hall. The Bishop of Marseilles, alarmed for the safety of the Sacred College, demanded another parley at the wicket. As the cardinals appeared the populace became more im-

perative in their demands ; they must have a *Roman* Pontiff —the alternative of an Italian being almost entirely dropped. Orsini promised to satisfy their demands, whilst at the same time he handed out a slip of paper on which were written the names of six prelates who were ordered to come at once to the Vatican. Amongst the number we find the name of the Archbishop of Bari. The cardinals delayed apparently in proclaiming his election till his consent should have been obtained—a fact which seems to indicate that they wished to observe exactly all the canonical formalities. The demands for a Roman Pontiff were repeated with redoubled violence, ' Romano, Romano lo volemo se non che tutti li occideremo.' It was only then that the cardinals began to fear that their choice of an Italian prelate would not save them from the violence of the excited multitude.

Meanwhile the prelates summoned by the cardinals hurried to the Vatican. On their arrival the tumult outside seemed to have gradually died away. It was then the hour for the mid-day meal, and, excited as the Romans were, dinner had more attractions than the election of a Pope. Inside, too, they seated themselves at table as if nothing alarming had occurred. The prelates dined on the first floor with the Bishop of Marseilles and were apparently in the best of spirits, laughingly discussing all the time why they had been summoned in such haste. Some of them, at least, from the remarks made, seemed to have suspected the real cause.

Inside, too, the cardinals dined. They seated themselves at table in groups of threes and fours, but, on account of the presence of their attendants they could not freely discuss the events of the morning. Only one, the Cardinal of Glandeve, protested to his neighbour that he had acted through fear of death. ' Have you not seen yourself,' he demanded, ' the danger in which we stood.' At last the greater part of the cardinals rose up from the table and moved towards the chapel. On the way a heated discussion took place between the Cardinal of Florence and Aigrefeuille as to whether such violence had ever been used at Papal elections in Avignon. They were clearly in no hurry to finish the exciting business which they had in hands.

Suddenly one of their body, probably the aged Tibaldeschi, proposed that they should take advantage of the calm outside to re-elect Prignano. The Cardinal of St. Angelo bluntly refused on the ground that the danger had not wholly disappeared. Another proposed the question: 'Are we all of the same opinion?' 'Yes, yes,' they replied, some adding: 'I say the same as I said this morning.' It is not, however, true, as the Urbanists contend, that all the electors were then present. Three cardinals had not yet left the table. But out of the thirteen present, eleven voted again for Bartholomew Prignano, and thus, for the second time, he secured the requisite number of votes.

Just then the attitude of the populace outside became once more decidedly threatening. It was thought advisable that Cardinal Orsini should appear at one of the windows and try to calm the excitement. 'Silence,' he exclaimed, addressing himself to the crowd, 'you have a Pope.' Who is he?' they cried out together. 'Go to St. Peter's,' was the reply. Some moved towards the Basilica, while others, however, eagerly demanded: 'Is he a Roman?' Orsini's gesture—for he answered nothing—was considered unfavourable, and then the passion of the multitude broke loose. A wild rush was made towards the Vatican, sticks and stones were hurled against the windows, the barriers were completely swept away, and in another moment the rabble would have gained the Conclave hall.

Some of the cardinals fled while there was yet time, others took refuge in the chapel. It was then that the idea of calming the populace by presenting the aged Tibaldeschi of St. Peter's as the Pope-Elect occurred to some of the clerics. The old man refused to lend himself to such deception. Then came the most sickening scene of all. In spite of his violent opposition they placed him in the Papal chair, where they held him by brute force; others hastily clothed him with the Papal insignia, taking care at the same time to smother his angry remonstrances—the bells sounded and the *Te Deum* was chanted. For two hours this disgraceful mockery continued, till at last they bore the aged cardinal to his rooms more dead than alive.

But the object of the manœuvre had been gained. The crowds had time to quiet down, and gradually the name of the Archbishop of Bari began to pass from rank to rank. 'We won't have him,' 'We are betrayed,' they shouted, and ran hither and thither seeking the elect to force him to abdicate. He had already taken refuge in the chambers of Tibaldeschi resolved to die, as he declares himself, rather than yield to the wishes of the populace. His friends organised a defence party to surround the Vatican during the night lest the mob should return.

Meanwhile what had become of the cardinals? In the tumult caused by the proclamation of Tibaldeschi, they had manged to escape from the Vatican. Six of them found a refuge hard by in the Castle of St. Angelo under the protection of the soldiers of France; four gained the open country and reached in safety the castles of the barons, while the others returned to their lodgings in the city. Thus, when the night of the 8th of April closed round the Vatican there remained within its walls only the aged cardinal of St. Peter's and the Pope-Elect.

The next day (9th April) was an anxious one for the Archbishop. Doubtlessly he had been elected, but the formalities prescribed on such occasions were not complied with. His consent had not been obtained or sought, neither had he been proclaimed nor enthroned. Surely now was the time for the cardinals to hold aloof, and not proceed further in a business which they disapproved. If their votes had been forced yesterday why should they confirm them to-day? Yet, what are the facts? The cardinals who had passed the night in Rome hurried to the Vatican betimes the next morning. Those in the Castle of St. Angelo were summoned to attend the enthronisation, and though at first they were unwilling to venture out, they unanimously signed a document authorizing the other cardinals to proceed with the ceremony. Finally, they changed their minds and appeared personally at the Vatican.

When all were assembled they retired to the chapel for consultation. Surely if there were any doubts about the election of yesterday this was the time to raise them. Yet,

not a single dissentient voice was heard. After a few moments the Archbishop of Bari was called in, and informed that he had been elected Pope. The Archbishop while protesting his unworthiness, announced his acceptance, and the usual ceremonies were gone through. The newly-elected Pontiff, clothed in the full Papal vestments, was led to the altar where the cardinals made their obedience, the bells were rung, the *Te Deum* solemnly chanted, while proclamation was made to the people according to the time-honoured formula : 'I announce to you tidings of great joy, we have a Pope, and he has taken the name of Urban VI.'

For weeks Rome was dazzled with the gorgeous celebrations. None of the customary ceremonies were omitted on this occasion, and, what is stranger still, the cardinals absent from Rome returned to take their places. On Easter Sunday after a procession through the streets from St. John Lateran the Pope was solemnly crowned by Cardinal Orsini, in presence of the whole Sacred College and in front of the High Altar of St. Peter's. The cardinals sought and obtained favours both spiritual and temporal as if Urban had been validly elected ; they wrote a collective letter announcing his election to the Catholic rulers of Europe, and to their own colleagues at Avignon, and, what is more important still, the individual electors wrote in the same sense to the Emperor, the Queen of Naples, the Kings of Castile and Arragon, and many others.

No doubt the cardinals a little later urged the plea of fear as an excuse for their conduct during these weeks, but the defence is insufficient. It is difficult to see why fear should have obliged them to petition Urban, if they believed him to be an intruder, for benefices and indulgences, nor will it explain the letters written by the Sacred College to persons outside of Rome, letters most of which never passed through Urban's hands.

The rest of the story is soon told. Hardly had he been seated on the throne when Urban's disposition seemed to have entirely changed. His zeal for the reformation of abuses was, unfortunately, not equalled by his prudence.

The cardinals began to regard him as a tyrant, and it is noteworthy that their scruples about the validity of his election seemed to grow in proportion to their discontent. Stranger rumours were put in circulation ; the cardinals' letters to the King of France and the Emperor betrayed the doubts that had arisen. With the approach of the hot season they retired to Avignon and later still to Fondi. On the 9th of August they issued their manifesto against Urban agreed to by all except Tibaldeschi, and on the 20th September, relying on the protection of France, they elected Robert of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII. Thus the schism was consummated, and the way prepared for the division of Christendom.

From this bare recital of the facts it will be evident that the discussion of Urban's election is beset with serious difficulties. It is a question about which the historian can badly afford to be dogmatic. Whilst we are convinced that the weight of evidence favours its validity, we are forced to admit that the defenders of the opposite opinion have good grounds on which to base their view. That the electors were terrorized we have no doubt ; that Prignano's election was the result of terrorism is certainly not proven.

But whatever we may think about the election there is one point about which all—Clementines as well as Urbanists —will probably agree, and that is the responsibility of the Sacred College. Whether we regard the cardinals as cowardly traitors, who yielding to the threats of the Roman mob, betrayed their trust by electing a man unworthy of the tiara, or as wilful prevaricators when they put forward that plea of eternal fear which seemed to have dictated their every thought, we must hold them to have been men unworthy of their sacred office, who, for the accomplishment of their own personal aims, had no hesitation in trying to break up the unity of the Christian world.

But when we come to discuss the responsibility of the other followers of Clement VII.—especially that of Charles V. of France—our judgment must be considerably modified. When we remember that Urban allowed a month to elapse before despatching an embassy to announce his election at

the court of Charles V., that in the meantime the King had confidential information of the violent scenes enacted in Rome, that when at last Urban's ambassadors arrived one of them in league with the cardinals set himself to prove that the election was the result of Roman terrorism, and that finally, the electors, who were best qualified to judge their own state of mind, almost unanimously declared against the validity—remembering all this we can easily understand why Charles V. should have adopted a policy which the interests of France seemed also to dictate.

We cannot, therefore, be surprised at the following touching declaration made by Charles V. in the presence of his advisers, a few hours before he passed into eternity :—

All you who are here present, in whom I have full confidence, know well what the cardinals, to whom belongs the right of electing the Sovereign Pontiff, have done, how all together in their private as well as their public letters have assured me that the election of Urban was brought about by violence, while that of Clement was celebrated in full security. Wishing to know what I should do I consulted dukes, counts, barons, chevaliers, prelates—all of whom, with one exception, declared to me that in their souls and consciences they belived that unless the letters of the cardinals were lying, I should immediately take sides to avert a schism, and that the claims of Clement were stronger far than those of the Archbishop of Bari. I followed their counsels. I wished, according to the example of my fathers, who were always good Catholics and zealous defenders of the Church, to walk in the ways of faith. I chose in this, as in everything else, what I considered the safest route. I believed then, and I believe still, that Clement is the true pastor of the Universal Church. If, however, it should go abroad that the cardinals acted under the inspiration of the devil, know well that no consideration of friendship, no misplaced sentiment dictated my choice, but only the testimony of the electors together with the advice of my bishops, my clerics, and my counsellors. If it should be said in fine that I was deceived—and I have no reason to believe that I was—remember that my intention is to adopt and to follow the opinion of our Holy Mother, the Church. I desire to obey in this matter the resolutions of a General Council or of any other Council competent to pronounce an opinion, and may God not reproach me with what, in my ignorance, I may have done against the future decision of the Church.

JAMES M'CAFFREY, S.T.L.

A PARODY OF THE CATHOLIC RELIGION

PERHAPS the most universally appreciated form of humour is that of parody and burlesque. There are, however, limits to the number of subjects that may be parodied; a serious-minded man is not usually amused, but shocked, at a parody of some devout hymn, or a burlesque of a holy rite, however much he may differ from the sentiments expressed in the hymn, however superstitious he may believe the rite to be. It is only the sacred nature of the subject and the blasphemous significance of its conclusions that prevent the Positive Religion of Humanity from being a most successful piece of unconscious humour, Comte has only failed in making blasphemy really ridiculous, because blasphemy, in any form, is too serious a subject for laughter. Yet, at times, we must admit, our appreciation of the incongruity of the whole situation gets the better of our sense of reverence when we read of man's elaborate system for the due worship of himself. If, in giving an account of the Mont Pelée eruption, some half-educated scribbler were to quote *Parturiunt montes*, few of us could restrain a smile. That terrible catastrophe was no more subject for laughter than is blasphemy; yet we should not blame ourselves for smiling at a journalist's use of the quotation in such a context. Similarly, we may be excused if we do not receive with becoming seriousness Comte's distortion of sacred things in the parody of Christianity which he gives to the world with such assurance and gravity.

The want of proportion in the system, the irrelevancy of its faith to its form of worship, its calm attitude of conscious superiority, its pretentious claims, all go to distract us from the fact that it is a seriously propounded scheme to supplant God in His own world.

The Positivist Religion is not one whose claims have to be met and disproved by solid argument; the divinity student does not spend much time in controverting it, for

he is not long in discovering that it stands—almost unique in the history of religious thought—as a system that needs no refutation. Let it be exposed clearly, preferably in the very words of its founder, and let the common sense of mankind judge it without the aid of dialectics. It contains its own antidote.

A short time ago Mr. John K. Ingram, LL.D., translated and published a selection of such passages from the letters of Auguste Comte as bear upon the social views of the philosopher and the religion which he founded in his later years. Were the passages published by an anonymous compiler one might be led to suspect that there was an ironical purpose in the publication and that the editor aimed at refuting, in the indirect way we have suggested, the religious views contained therein. Mr. Ingram however, in his preface, expresses a hope that 'the extracts will contribute to the edification of serious minds,' and there is no semblance of anything less than the highest appreciation manifested in his attitude towards his author.

The modest object of these pages is to present in brief Comte's religious views as set forth in these letters, with occasional supplementary excerpts from the more systematised exposition of his doctrine contained in his *Catechism of Positive Religion*.

In order to understand better the genesis of his ideas it may be useful to recall a few biographical details. Comte was born in 1798 and died in 1875. His life was divided into two very distinct periods, that preceding and that following the year 1845. The work of the first period has won for him many admirers and followers, whereas the extraordinary and eccentric development of his later years has—to use Mr. Balfour's words—'tried the fidelity of his disciples and the gravity of his critics.' His education was encyclopædic in extent; nor does it appear that his knowledge of any branch to which he applied himself was merely superficial. His *Philosophie Positive* published in six volumes between the years 1828 and 1841 gave the result of his studies and observations, and on this book chiefly is founded whatever reputation he has acquired as a thinker.

At the commencement of this work he formulated his famous *Law of the Three States*. This law asserted that the thought of man, in each branch of knowledge, passes through three distinct states—the *theological*, the *metaphysical*, and the *positive*. In the first, the theological, man explains natural phenomena by an appeal to something personal outside nature. This stage includes all grades of belief from the lowest fetichism and polytheism to the highest form of Deism as perfected in Christianity and Catholicism. Man's thought is gradually 'emancipated' from this state, and passes into the 'metaphysical' in which law and force are considered as the sole and sufficient explanation of phenomena. The third or 'positive' state is reached when man lays aside all attempts at an explanation of the causes of things and is satisfied with their classification. Comte spent the greater part of his life in this state. It is one in which there is, evidently, no room for religion, and it seemed to be the mental terminus of scientific unbelief.

After the publication of these volumes circumstances brought Comte across Madame Clotilde de Vaux, a young lady whose personality was seriously to affect Comte's philosophy. To her influence is largely attributed the religious developments of the *Politique Positive* which embodied Comte's later views. He had married in 1825, but his married life had been an unhappy one, and he had divorced his wife in 1842 on grounds of incompability of temper. Madame de Vaux was herself a *divorcée* whose husband was doing a life sentence of penal servitude at the time of her meeting with Comte. Their intimacy had lasted but a year when, to his great grief, Madame de Vaux died. Comte thus expresses his indebtedness to her:—

> Through her I have at length become for humanity in the strictest sense a two-fold organ. . . . My career had been that of Aristotle; I should have wanted energy for that of St. Paul but for her. I had extracted sound philosophy from real science; I was enabled by her to found on the basis of that philosophy the Universal Religion.

He speaks of her as 'the incomparable angel appointed in

the course of human destiny to transmit to me the results of the gradual evolution of our moral nature.' She is his 'incomparable patroness,' and to her he owes an 'incomparable inspiration.' Those of M. Comte's disciples who follow him in his religion share, but in a calmer tone, his admiration for Mme. de Vaux. Mr. Ingram closes his preface with the remark that 'the names of Auguste Comte and Clotilde de Vaux will be ever inseparably associated in the memory of a grateful posterity.' Up to the time of his meeting with Clotilde, Comte had developed his head at the expense of his heart. Cold science had been far more to him than ardent affection, reason ruled his emotions. He appears to have had little appreciation of the tender sex. Indeed, the year before he met Clotilde de Vaux, he wrote to a lady friend :—

> I have had several opportunities of becoming acquainted with women distinguished by their intellectual ability, but you are hitherto, Madame, the only one in whom I have had the happiness of seeing moral delicacy united with mental elevation. Those in whom I have found sufficient real superiority to be above the blue-stocking habits disappointed me by showing a deplorable tendency to the aberrations of the *femme libre*.

Comte considered his *Politique* immensely superior to his *Philosophie*. He even admits that for some years he had sought to discountenance the reading of the latter by his new disciples, as to it he attributed the chief imperfections of his old ones.

'I ought not to have published it till the end of my career, and then as a purely historical volume,' he writes. He found that the prestige of science impeded the progress of minds the most completely liberated from the theological and even the metaphysical yoke. Comte admitted that the reading of his *Philosophie* had an enervating effect even on himself when, after neglecting it for fifteen years, he took it up to read some chapters. 'Besides their moral dryness, which made me read immediately a canto of Ariosto to restore my tone, I profoundly felt their mental inferiority in relation to the true philosophic view at which the heart has completely established me.'

But to turn directly to the new religion, which Comte proposes for the acceptance of those who have been emancipated by his *Philosophie* from the theological and metaphysical states. We must not expect it to be too reasonable for, as Comte admits, 'it is on feeling and imagination that the ascendancy of Positivism depends; reasoning will henceforth be secondary.' With regard to his new God Comte says: 'We condense the whole of our positive conceptions in the one single idea of an immense and eternal Being, Humanity.' ('Why immense and why eternal?' the Positive catechumen might well ask his instructor.) This concept Comte explains as a legitimate development from scientific Positivism.

> The subjective theory of God [he writes] enables us to conciliate all without concessions to any, by showing that theological beliefs were spontaneous institutions of Humanity for providing, in her childhood, imaginary guides which the predominant species could not find in the real order: . . . we now pass to the just view—to represent the pretended creator as really a creation, not of man, but of Humanity, . . . Thus the Positivists honour, according to times and places, first, the gods and then their single successor as provisional creations of the Great Being.

Again, he writes to an apostate Positivist who had returned to Catholicism:—

> Neither calm nor dignity is any longer possible for the heart and intellect of the Westerns of our day, save in the bosom of Positivism, which, while devoting us to Humanity, directs us to pay fitting honour to your God as well as to the divinities which preceded him, as spontaneous institutions which She developed to guide Her childhood, though they have now become incapable of acceptance by Her maturity.

Comte smiles benignly on the world which has not yet put away the 'things of a child,' much as a mother with an infant in her arms might smile on the little girl sitting at her feet who nurses a rag doll which she has made.

> 'Towards Humanity, who is for us the true Great Being, we, the conscious elements of which She is composed, shall henceforth direct every aspect of our life, individual or collective.

Our thoughts will be devoted to the knowledge of Humanity, our affections to Her love, our actions to Her service.'

To meet the obvious difficulty that much of Humanity, as she manifests herself, is anything but an object of supreme reverence, Comte explains that 'the new Great Being is formed by the co-operation only of such existences as are of a kindred nature with itself, excluding such as have proved only a burden to the human race.'

We have thus an amended reading for the first questions in our Catechism: 'Who made you? Humanity. Why did Humanity make you? Humanity made me to know It, to love It, and to serve It in this world, and to be'—here, however, we must stop; for Humanity has no world but this, and so we cannot 'be happy with It for ever in the next.' Comte has destroyed immortality, or, rather, he has 'emancipated' us from the degrading belief in the old 'objective immortality.' We ought to part willingly with that, for 'it could never clear itself of the egoistic selfish character.' 'When I say that my soul is immo I mean that my soul shall never die': is a statement crude literal significance is unworthy of altruism. allows a 'noble subjective immortality to our s heaven and a hell which is freed from the indivic of the theological hell and heaven. 'The good interred with their bones,' is a line the truth of Comte would stoutly deny. 'Why,' he would say, 'the g lives after them: it is the *Subjective Altruistic Immortal of their souls*.' 'Positivism,' he hastens to explain, 'pr serves this valuable term *soul* to stand for the whole o our intellectual and moral functions without involving any allusion to some supposed entity answering to the name.' These intellectual and moral functions remain in their effects on a grateful or ungrateful posterity; and thus it is that our soul is immortal.

Humanity, we are told, is the real Providence, controlling our destines: 'We are in circumstances in which Humanity, by the whole of its antecedents, has placed us.' 'The least among us can and ought to aspire constantly to

maintain and even improve this Being.' This becomes the natural object of all our activity, both public and private; and it gives the character of our whole existence either in feeling or in thought. For our existence, as a whole, must be devoted to love and to know in order rightly to serve our Providence by a wise use of all the means which it furnishes to us. In its turn again, this continued service of our lives, whilst strengthening our true unity, renders us at once both happier and better. And at length it has the power to incorporate us at the end of life in that Great Being, in the development of which we have had a part to bear.

The notion of this new God is not one easy to grasp; indeed, Mr. Harrison, one of Comte's most enthusiastic English disciples, admits that 'the most difficult of all the conceptions of Positivism is the abstract sense of Humanity.' Comte tells us that this Great Being 'can be decomposed into its chronological Trinity—the collective beings Priority, the Public and Posterity'; that is to say, past, present, and future mankind. Of this Trinity, *Priority* is primarily proposed as an object of worship. Comte, however, does discourage acts of adoration of the living, especially if 'abstract sense of Humanity' is concreted in some r of the female sex who inspires a tender reverence. warns us of our duty in this matter, saying:—

> e ought to push as far as adoration our respect and grati- for living beings provided they offer a true superiority, hout waiting till death has idealised them. . . . Adoration comes for the Positive a means of moral improvement to hich he ought to resort in as great a degree as possible. . . . n the Positive State, it is sufficient that the adored being, without being considered perfect, should be really superior to us, even though this superiority should be only partial, especially if it concerns the heart, as in the ordinary case of feminine types, who are the principal objects of persona. worship.

Writing of Clotilde de Vaux, Comte says:—

> My noble and tender friend understood that the systematization of the worship of woman was to form one of the chief social results of the new philosophy. It was just that the great attribute should be first realized in my private adoration of

her. . . . She is, for all time, incorporated into the true Supreme Being, of whom her tender image is allowed to be for me the best representative. In each of my three daily prayers I adore both together.

He determines that in painting or in sculpture the symbol of the new Divinity will always be a woman at the age of thirty with her son in her arms.

So far we have introduced the positive God and the concrete symbols through which Abstract Humanity was to receive its worship. Public prayer has its forms provided, the Roman Missal evidently suggesting such an Advent Collect as the following:—*Thou Supreme Power, who hast hitherto guided Thy children under other names, but in this generation hast come to Thy own in Thy own proper person revealed for all ages to come by thy Servant Auguste Comte, etc.*—a prayer which, we believe, is recited piously by present-day Positivists at their religious services.

The 'communion of saints' has its analogue in the Positivist system, the difference being that Positive saints being incorporated into the Divinity receive adoration proper.

The Comtest martyrology contains over five hundred names. It includes all those who were judged by Comte to have benefitted their posterity in any marked degree. The thirteen months of the *Positive Calendar* are dedicated to Moses, Homer, Aristotle, Archimedes, Cæsar, St. Paul, Charlemagne, Dante, Gutenburg, Shakespeare, Descartes, Frederick II., Bichat. These are the greater saints. Each month is divided into four weeks, a special week-patron being assigned for each. Numa, Budda, Mahomet, Æschylus, Virgil, Plato, St. Augustine, Hildebrand, St. Bernard, Milton, Raphael, Moliére, Mozart, Aquinas, Hume, Cromwell, Richelieu, Innocent III., St. Louis—are names of some of these week-saints or '*worthies*,' as Mr. Congreve calls them in his translation of the *Catechism*. The first few letters in Mr. Ingram's selection are dated in the customary manner, but, after arranging his calendar, Comte heads his letters with such dates as 6 Homer, year 65; 8 St. Paul, 1 Archimedes, 12 Cæsar, 25 Moses.

Canonization is at the discretion of the head of the Positive Religion : as a rule it is not proclaimed till seven years after a 'worthy's' death. In a letter to Alexander J. Ellis Comte writes :—

I thank you for sending me the two extracts from the unfortunate Shelley, of whom I have formed the same opinion as you, though his poems were hitherto unknown to me. After reading these important passages, I resolved to give their author a place, as adjunct of Byron, in the next reprint of the *Positive Calendar*.

Twenty-seven lines of poetry quoted to the great Pope of Positivism thus won his apotheosis for Shelley.

Comte hoped that a judicious use of his powers of canonization might assist materially in adding to the number of his proselytes. Thus, in a letter to Henry Edger, he writes :—

The addition of the name of the admirable Indian woman Marina to the *Positive Calendar* as adjunct to Joan of Arc, ought to furnish, at the right time, a germ of some adhesions amongst the unfortunate Mexican race, who will thus be led to feel that they are thought of at Paris.

He similarly hopes to win Catholics by a glorification of the Blessed Virgin. He writes to Georges Audiffent :—

In your intended communication with the local Jesuits, I advise you to represent Positivism as condensed in the utopia of the Virgin Mother, which must attract to us the special attention of all worthy Catholics of both sexes.

Again—

It is not by the Mass that the Catholic *cultus* can serve as a preparation for the Positive adoration. The transition will be better made through the worship of the Virgin who furnishes to Spanish and Italian souls a spontaneous idealization of Humanity by the apotheosis of woman.

Writing to John Metcalf he says :—

In relation to the last stage of Catholicism, Positivists should specially glorify the Virgin as the mystic precursor of Humanity. Her adoration will be easily transformed so as to lead Catholic souls, especially those of women, to the Positive worship. It is chiefly by directing this transition that the Jesuits, regenerated as Ignatians, will be able to aid us in reorganising the West,

provided only that they recognise the normal superiority of the religion founded on the natural existence of the benevolent inclinations, which Catholicism was forced to deny, in order to leave a perfectly clear field for the egoism of its Divinity.

A religion must have a doctrine as well as an object of worship: a creed as well as a God. The Positive faith embraces all objects of positive knowledge from the multiplication table and the fact of gravitation to the laws of political economy.

By doctrine Comte meant simply the sum of positive knowledge, the consensus of all science, the real laws of the whole field of phenomena, physical and moral, cosmological, or all those relating to the world, and sociological, or all those relating to mankind. Thus is science reconciled with religion, by religion having as one of its parts, as its external and intellectual basis the sum of science. Science is itself in its natural sense the *creed* . . . which religion idealises by *worship*, and carries out into harmonious action by *discipline*.

Comte was the first High Priest of Positivism. He says, in 1855:—

I must proceed, with the assistance of all true Positivists, to constitute directly a priesthood, which cannot always consist of myself alone, whatever antipathy its creation may inspire in literary men incapable of being admitted into it . . . Religion is insufficient without a suitable clergy.

The faithful were exhorted to contribute a regular subsidy for the support of their pastors. As High Priest Comte was intolerant of interference or criticism; he complains bitterly of the old habits of distrust and insubordination which prompt some Positivists to isolate themselves from the others and even schismatically from their head.

Even though pretended Positivists should admit all our dogmas, their social action would be essentially fruitless if they did not subordinate themselves to the universal Pontiff, the one source of the regenerating group.

Comte is the supreme and infallible judge of doctrine. The duty of his disciples is, he tells them, to propagate and apply his doctrine 'without aiming at critising or even improving it.' In 1856 he writes to Georges Audiffent:—

In order to consolidate and develop discipline, by creating

the first element of a hierarchy, I have lately proclaimed in the Positive Society my thirteen Testamentary Executors, and have invited my followers to consider the persons thus chosen as forming a fraternal aristocracy amongst my disciples, which will render our Church more stable and more active, since no association can really exist without inequality.

The Positive priesthood is not conferred before the age of 42: aspirants, corresponding to sub-deacons, are ordained at 28; vicars (or deacons?) at 35. It is the duty of Positive priests to instruct the faithful in their creed—*i.e.*, the sciences, with a special obligation of instructing them in ethics and politics. The preparation for the due performance of this task involved many years of laborious study. There are perhaps no degrees conferred in a modern university which a really well-trained Positive priest would be unfitted to receive, except, perhaps, those in Divinity; his scientific studies having presumably 'emancipated' him too thoroughly from the 'theological state' for a serious application of his mind to dogma. A Positive aspirant would be unable to sign the Thirty-nine Articles, even in their widest and 'most catholic' sense. Marriage is an essential prerequisite to taking vicar's orders; Comte having decided that no man could duly perform the duty of a priest unless he were constantly under the influence of woman. A bachelor was—in theological language—*irregularis*.

The new religion was well provided with sacraments. They number nine, viz: Presentation, Initiation, Admission, Destination, Marriage, Maturity, Retirement, Transformation, and Incorporation.

'Mixed marriages are,' says Comte, 'one of the essential privileges of Positivism. They will be frequent in the early future, so as to promote the universal advent of the final faith.'

One of Comte's disciples, Henry Edger, wrote to him about a scheme for instituting Positive monasteries of a kind, but he was sharply checked by his chief:—

I cannot adopt your project of a sort of Positivist monastery. It seems to me directly opposed to the development of the domestic affections, which our religion regards as the necessary foundation of social existence. If, amongst the exceptional

men who surround you, some, weary of their isolation, feel a vague impulse to come together, it is far better that the pressure should push them toward family life.

Comte discovered that the *Imitation of Christ* could be adopted to meet the needs of his new disciples. It was his practice to read a chapter of à Kempis every morning, and he tells one of his correspondents that if he made it a rule to read the *Imitation* daily he would gain more, intellectually and morally, than by an endless perusal of journals, reviews, or pamphlets. He did not venture to publish an amended edition of à Kempis, saying: 'At present the transformation of the *Imitation* by substituting *Humanity* for *God* does not seem to me capable of a suitable execution for the public, notwithstanding its private utility for all true Positivists.' He strongly disapproved of the Bible: 'The substitution of this dangerous reading, which has only an historical value, for that of the *Imitation* would be an anarchical retrogradation.'

The founder of Positivism did not look for the immediate and universal diffusion of his religion through the world, for he was aware that the greater bulk of mankind showed no anxious desire to be 'emancipated' from the theological, metaphysical, and scientific states. He was, however, convinced that his invention was a panacea for the ills of mankind, and he had no doubts about its ultimate acceptance by the majority of men. Comte possessed at least one qualification essential to success in the foundation of a new school of thought, he believed fully in himself and in his mission. 'Positivists,' he writes to Mr. Hutton, 'destined as they are to direct the world, . . . cannot fulfil their mission aright without a constant feeling of their mental and moral superiority.' 'Positivism is henceforth without any competitor in the intellectual and moral reorganisation of the West.' Comte concluded his third course of philosophical lectures on the general history of Humanity with these words:—

> In the name of the Past and of the Future, the Servants of Humanity—theoricians and practicians—come forward to claim as their due the general direction of the world in order to

construct at last the true Providence, moral, intellectual, and material; excluding once and for all from political supremacy all the different servants of God—Catholic, Protestant, or Deist—as at once belated and a source of trouble.

Again,—

The Faith of Positivists, now complete, enables them to offer decisive and coherent solutions on all questions of the past, the future, and even of the present, which can ever arise, whilst always exhibiting the character which I have summed up in the formula, 'Conciliatory in act, inflexible in principle.' Neither calm nor dignity is any longer possible for the Westerns of our day, save in the bosom of Positivism.

According to Comte's announcement the twentieth century is to see Positivism sufficiently accepted by the rulers of the world. He congratulates himself in 1853 on the fact that 'the British Cabinet contained *one incomplete Positivist.*' 'Conservatives,' he says, 'are everywhere, and especially in the United States, naturally the best adherents of Positivism.'

Comte was disappointed with the British workingman. He speaks of his 'distrust and reserve,' of his 'obstinately passive though by no means indifferent attitude' towards Social and Religious Positivism. He says, however,

Positivism must find among the workingmen of America the best promoters of the regeneration of the British proletariate, too much repressed in the mother country by aristocratic domination and the Anglican hypocrisy.

Of the French working class he says, in 1857 :—

It is truly a shame that M. Magnin is hitherto the only French workingman whom Positivism has thoroughly converted, though his old revolutionary habits still often show themselves in the details of civic life.

The philosopher was anxious to win the support of the Society of Jesus, and sent a representative to Rome in 1857 to interview Father Beckx, the General of the Order. As might be expected the latter refused to accept any league which had not for its direct object the triumph of the name of Jesus. Nothing daunted Comte renewed the attempt by forwarding to Father Beckx copies of the *Positive Catechism* and his *Appeal to Conservatives.* The receipt of the books

was acknowledged—a fact which Comte hopefully comments on as follows:—

> I feared the Papal Customs might intercept the transmission by post of my presentation. His (Fr. Beckx') written thanks have been quite courteous to M. Sabatier and me; we now entertain the hope that the books will be seriously read at the Jesuit centre. . . . Perhaps the reading of these books may strike the present chiefs of Catholicism (*sic*) sufficiently to induce them to utilise the sojourn at Rome of my excellent envoy without waiting for the publication of my *Appeal to the Ignatians*. In designating them as Ignatians, I recall the fact that our calendar has justly honoured their chief, and I deliver them from a name as faulty in itself as it is associatad with general discredit. . . . They can, however, only serve as our auxiliaries, accepting our presidency, after having recognised our superiority—especially on the moral side.

Comte regarded Catholicism as the creed most closely allied to his own, and he welcomed conversions from Protestantism to the Catholic faith as a step towards reception into his own religion. He counted on enlisting one in every hundred of the French clergy—an expectation which in the sequel, we need hardly say, was not realised.

Such, then, is Religious Positivism. We trust that the less formal expression of Comte's thoughts on the great question may have proved interesting to those of our readers who have not seen the published editions of his letters to his intimates.

We have to be grateful to the founder of Positivism for one striking omission in the exposition of his new faith. He has not trifled with that name which was given to the truest and greatest representative of Humanity, the real benefactor and regenerator of our race, Whom we can adore without idolatry, the name which is above all names, at the sound of which every knee should bow. Jesus Christ is not mentioned in any of Comte's letters nor in his *Catechism*.

In the latter he alludes indirectly to Christ when he attributes the foundation of Christianity to St. Paul, 'whose sublime self-abnegation facilitated the growth of the new unity by accepting a founder who had no claim.' St. Paul, he would say, is the first great altruist for,

having himself introduced Catholicism into the world, he attributed its foundation to Christ.

We have finished our brief description of Comte's parody of Christianity. Does it need any refutation? We think that our readers will agree with us that nothing can so effectually bring its absurdity into prominence as the simple exposition of its doctrines and ritual. 'Love your fellowmen' is the only moral precept of any value which it promulgates: but nineteen hundred years ago that lesson was inculcated by the words and example of Him who laid down His life for love of His fellowmen, and who having drawn to Himself the love of all, with a higher altruism reflected the rays of charity upon mankind, saying to those who love Him: 'What ye do to the least of these My little ones, Amen I say to ye, you are doing it to Me.' 'By this shall men know that ye are My disciples, that ye love one another.'

FRANCIS WOODLOCK, S.J.

THE CASE OF IRELAND AGAINST THE SCIENCE AND ART DEPARTMENT

'THE South Kensingson Department of Science,' writes Dr. Chalmers Mitchell, 'is probably the most costly, the most wasteful, and the most stupid of our educational shams.' So quotes Fr. Dowling in his fine paper in your issue of December last, entitled 'Save the Child.' 'And,' says Father Dowling, 'we are being South Kensingtonised here.'

I propose to give some account of the history and workings of this Department in Ireland, and to make such a case as will encourage our Parliamentary representatives to bring the matter forward in the debate on the Address, or at such other time as may be opportune.

My case will be confined to four points, which are:—(1) The manner in which the London Science and Art De-

partment has for the past fourteen years administered the Equivalent Grant, so that Ireland could not get its full share of the money ; (2) The failure of the alternative system known as the May Examination System, which the Science and Art Department forced on this country ; (3) The capture by the Science and Art Department of £58,629, if not more, of Irish money ; and (4) The loss which the discontinuance of the Equivalent Grant would mean to Ireland.

The principal Acts effecting Ireland in the matter of technical education are the Technical Instruction Act of 1889, and the Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act, 1899. Fifteen years ago the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 laid down that the conditions on which Parliamentary Grants might be made in Ireland in aid of technical or manual instruction should be those contained in the minutes of the Department of Science and Art for the time being. This enactment placed the interpretation, the entire working out and management of the Act of 1889, in the hands of the Science and Art Department.

Now, what did the Department do with these enormous powers ? How did it seek to discharge the public trust so imposed upon it ? Why, it at once drew up a special minute so oppressive in character to Ireland as to render the working of the Act an impossibility in this country—a minute, mark you, affecting Ireland alone. This minute will be found at page 62 of the *Science and Art Directory* for 1900, and is as follows :—

> Grants will be made in Ireland in aid of technical instruction given under the Technical Instruction Act, 1889. The grant in aid will be made to the school aided by the Local Authority, and will be equal in amount to the sum contributed by the Local Authority out of the rates for instruction in subjects *other* than those for which the Board gives aid under the Science and Art Directory.

That is what is known as the Equivalent Grant. The above minute declares that the Department will give technical schools in Ireland no money out of the Equivalent Grant, for teaching any subject which the Department may have taken upon itself to place upon the index to its

Directory. Now when the Department drew up this penal law which affected Ireland alone, it set out in its *Directory* almost every subject which could be taught in an Irish technical school, so as to limit the benefits of the Equivalent Grant to Ireland. For example, the Department would not allow any money out of the Equivalent Grant for teaching the principles of tillage, meadowing, or pasturage, the scientific application of manures, dairy work, poultry management, or the treatment of live stock, because, forsooth, all these subjects formed branches of the Department's subject called Agriculture, and Agriculture was one of the banned subjects set out in the *Directory* of the Department in respect of which no money would be paid out of the Equivalent Grant. Here at one stroke of the pen this London Department deprived the whole farming classes of Ireland of the benefits of the Equivalent Grant. The result of this London worked system was, that from 1889 local authorities in Ireland naturally hesitated to levy a rate for instruction in technical. manual, or agricultural subjects, in the vain hope of getting an equivalent grant from the Science and Art Department.

In the year 1898 I had occasion to investigate the working of the Equivalent Grant in Ireland, and as a result of my inquiries I found that in no case was a technical school in Ireland able to obtain from the Science and Art Department a grant equal in amount to that raised by the local rates for technical instruction. The school managers in Ireland did the best they could to get the grant. I knew one school where artisans were, amongst other things, taught to work simple sums and do a little writing. The managers of this school asked for a portion of the Equivalent Grant for their year's work in these subjects, but the Department said that it could not pay fees for teaching mere writing, and as for sums, that sums were arithmetic, that arithmetic was a branch of mathematics, and that mathematics was one of the science subjects mentioned in the *Directory* of the Department, in respect of which no portion of the Equivalent Grant could be paid. So the managers lost their fees that year. The next year they came with enlightened

minds, and while teaching the writing and the sums as before they called these subjects by the grand name of Commercial Penmanship and Accounts. And they got paid for them out of the Equivalent Grant that year as Commercial Subjects. The London Department was not a bit deceived by these methods. It had placed obstructions in the way of the Irish Managers, who, in turn, disposed of those obstructions by walking round them.

But these were not the sole results of this London system. The Department determined to drive the Irish schools into using the May Examination System, forming Science and Art Classes, and seeking to obtain results fees by passing the May Examinations. But with what results? The Department's own inspector tells us. In the *Forty-fourth Report of the Science and Art Department*, page 64, Mr. T. Preston, Science Inspector to the Department, reports as to the Science and Art Classes in Ireland as follows :—

In a previous report I have directed attention to the generally defective state of science instruction, and to the almost complete absence of 'local effort' in Ireland. I regret that I am unable to report any improvement in this state of affairs during the two years which have since elapsed, but rather the reverse ; for, while there has been neither advance in the method of teaching, nor increase of local interest or effort, there has been a persistent and serious falling off in the number of schools working in connection with the Department, as well as the number of students presented annually for examination, and the amount of grant earned. Mr. Preston then goes into figures as follows :—

IRELAND.							UNITED KINGDOM.
Year.	Total Number of Schools.	SCIENCE.		ART.		Total Results Paid in Ireland.	Total Results Paid in the United Kingdom.
		Pupils Presented	Results Paid.	Pupils Presented	Results Paid.		
			£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1893	236	9,157	5,607 5 10	4,443	1,716 0 2	7,325 6 0	182,532 13 10
1894	201	7,388	4,175 7 11	4,156	1,754 13 11	5,930 1 10	197,136 18 5
1895	182	6,547	3,514 15 11	3,885	1,294 11 7	4,809 7 6	202,268 18 2

Mr. Preston continues :—

Taking the examination results for 1893, 1894, and 1895, as exhibited in the accompanying table, it will be seen that there has been a continuous and alarming decrease in the amount of grant earned by Irish schools, and this cannot be attributed merely to the falling away of weak schools ; for the figures show that, although the number of schools in connection has decreased, yet the total grant earned has decreased in a greater proportion, and the average amount of grant earned per school has decreased as well as the average amount per student, and this notwithstanding the fact that the whole grant awarded to the United Kingdom has steadily increased from year to year.

Under the existing circumstances, I do not think it likely that the teaching of Science is likely to improve in the schools, and the same may to a large extent be said of Art. No doubt, the educational systems at present in force might be very easily modified so as to place Science and Art instruction on a sound basis, or, at any rate so as to give instruction in these subjects a fair chance.

The returns of the Department for 1896 show that the total number of science schools in Ireland working in connection with the Department decreased to 140, while the total results paid in the United Kingdom rose to £231,139, Ireland's share of which was only £4,213.

Here is a complete admission by one of its own officials of the failure of South Kensington to deal with the problem of science and art and technical instruction in Ireland. But this report and these results did not affect the London Department. It boldly told Parliament that it was doing splendidly in Ireland. Parliament gave it all the money asked for, and charged the credit of Ireland with the bill. Let us look into the figures. We find that the Science and Art Department has been in the habit, from 1889 to 1897, of taking separate votes on the Civil Service Estimates for Results Fees in Science and Art for Ireland and Great Britain. But while the gross vote for Ireland remained pretty constant the expenditure under this sub-head diminished steadily from £8,481 in 1890 to £4,213 in 1896, with the result that there has been a big balance of Irish money each year left in the hands of the Department. The tot of these balances for eight years makes the grand total of £58,629

of Irish money retained by the Department during that period, or on an average of about £7,500 a year.

The following table, compiled from the official returns of the Department itself, will show, amongst other things, how this £58,629 is obtained.

Estimates for Science and Art in Great Britain and Ireland.					Estimates for Science and Art in Ireland.										
Year.	Total Annual Vote for Science and Art Department.	British Museum.	National Gallery.	Total.	Results Fees in Ireland to 31st December each year.	Royal College of Science, Dublin.	Botanic Gardens, Glasnevin.	Science and Art Museum.	National Library.	School of Art, Dublin.	Geological Survey.	National Gallery, Dublin.*	Royal Irish Academy.	Technical Education Grants to 31st March each year.	Total
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1870	232,253	9,765	15,968	257,986	Not given separately.	6,803	1,931	1,530	1,470	—	4,970	2,240	1,684	—	—
1875	278,170	102,442	6,346	386,958		6,883	2,148	1,672	1,677	—	5,566	2,380	2,084	—	—
1880	329,409	110,949	17,241	450,599		6,480	2,550	3,890	1,980	621	5,924	2,339	2,000	—	—
1885	364,825	152,133	16,643	533,601		6,845	2,851	8,631	1,783	850	5,701	2,241	2,450	—	—
1890	462,957	155,975	14,487	633,419	13,854 (a) 8,481 (b)	6,927	3,030	9,723	1,834	850	4,951	2,501	2,000	—	40,297
1891	474,896	155,970	Suppl. 25,000	670,460	13,237 (a) 1,534 (b)	6,999	3,022	11,126	1,799	810	3,007	2,501	2,000	—	38,798
1892	530,986	155,825	14,387	701,198	12,586 (a) 7,253 (b)	7,021	3,172	12,510	1,853	820	2,028	2,501	1,600	—	38,758
1893	600,054	161,060	14,577	775,691	14,411 (a) 7,325 (b)	6,937	3,209	12,499	1,748	830	2,069	2,500	1,600	500	39,217
1894	645,015	160,000	14,432	819,447	11,868 (a) 5,930 (b)	6,916	3,227	12,996	1,972	840	2,138	2,515	1,867	1,000	39,431
1895	692,122	156,000	19,368	867,490	13,348 (a) 4,809 (b)	6,908	3,235	13,418	2,017	1,715	1,807	2,400	2,077	2,500 (a) 1,860 (b)	40,246
1896	719,156	193,830	19,340	932,326	13,770 (a) 4,213 (b)	7,145	3,368	14,224	2,041	1,772	1,885	2,451	2,077	2,500 (a) 2,016 (b)	41,195
1897	754,795	164,609	13,286	932,690	13,097 (a) Unascertained. Say 4,000 (b)	7,067	3,393	13,403	1,800	1,757	1,952	2,443	1,714	2,500 (a) 2,422 (b)	39,956

(a) Estimate. (b) Expenditure—this goes into the totals, * Not under Science and Art Department.

In order that the £58,629 may be arrived at an amplification of column number 6 of the above table is necessary.

Year	Total Amount of Estimate for Ireland for Science and Art Results Fees to 31st December each year.	Actual Amount of Estimate *spent* in Ireland.	Actual Amount of Estimate *retained* by Science and Art Department.	Percentages. Amounts Retained.
	£	£	£	
1890	13,854	8,481	5,373	38·80
1891	15,237	7,534	7,703	50·56
1892	12,586	7,253	5,333	42·37
1893	14,414	7,325	7,689	49·18
1894	11,868	5,930	5,938	50·00
1895	13,348	4,809	8,539	64·00
1896	13,770	4,213	9,557	69·46
1897	13,097	Unascertained Say, 4,000	9,097	69·32
TOTALS,	108,174	49,545	58,629	AV. 54·26

The question now arises, what became of this £58,629? From the foregoing tables it will be seen that the entire money voted to the Science and Art Department for Great Britain and Ireland has almost invariably been expended —in some cases exceeded. The conclusion is that the Department estimated for a larger vote than was required in order to have at its disposal funds which, by a subsequent arrangement, might be made available for England, thereby depriving Ireland of more than half its vote for Science and Art. As shown by the tables above a separate estimate for Ireland had been given for the years 1889 to 1897 in these Science and Art Estimates. *But no separate estimate has been given since.*

In the Civil Service Estimates since 1896 there is simply a gross estimate for Science and Art for Great Britain *and* Ireland. Does not this concealment show a guilty mind on the part of the Department? On the 15th of July, 1898, a question was asked in the House of Commons why it was that the grant for the Science and Art Department in Ireland was not placed separately on the list and included with the other Irish votes, as was done in the case of Scotland. And Sir John Gorst, the Minister for Education, replied :—

That as the Science and Art Department in London was responsible for the Science and Art Department in Ireland it

was impossible to separate the votes; that the Scotch Office had taken charge of the Department in Scotland, and when the Irish Office did the same for Ireland the change could be made.

So that all the Irish public had to do was to wait patiently until the new Irish Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction was formed, when all evils would be removed. This same night in the debate on the Irish Estimates it was pointed out that the money spent for technical education in Ireland was ludicrously insufficient.

While as much as 8*d*., 9*d*., and even 10*d*., per head was the allowance in England and Scotland, in Ireland the highest allowance was 6*d*. per head which was for County Dublin; while Cork had 2½*d*. per head, Waterford 1*d*., Kerry ¼*d*., my own County of Wicklow ¼*d*., and so on, as low down as one-fortieth of a penny in the case of Donegal. And it was asked how were the people of Donegal and Wicklow to contribute out of the rates,—for that was what it came to,—to compete with rich districts in England. It was impossible to do so. Then the Chief Secretary (who is now Premier of England) felt the force of the case that had been made, and stated that he was about to bring in a Bill on the subject and to form a new Department in Dublin for the purpose of developing agriculture and for the promotion of technical education in Ireland. We know that the Agriculture and Technical Instruction Act of 1899 was then passed, and the present Department formed in Dublin. To this new Irish Department many powers were given for the promotion of technical education is Ireland, amongst others (1) the administration of the Science and Art Department in Ireland; (2) the administration in Ireland of the grant in aid of technical instruction as defined by the Act of 1889 and which is commonly known as the Equivalent Grant.

To assist in carrying out these objects a grant £55,000 a year was made in aid of technical instruction. So that Ireland now had three sources of revenue for the work, namely—(1) The Science and Art Grant; (2) The Equivalent Grant; and (3) The £55,000 a year. Local authorities were empowered to raise 2*d*. in the £ on the rateable value, that

is 1*d.* under the Act of 1889, and another 1*d.* under the Act of 1899. The Irish Act of 1899 directed that all these moneys were to be applied only with the approval of the new Irish Department.

The London Science and Art Department were then issuing minutes in the most liberal manner enabling technical schools in Ireland to avoid the penal clause which prevented Irish schools being paid out of the Equivalent Grant for subjects set out in the *Directory* of the Department. Irish schools were to get paid on all sorts of subjects. The London Department preserved an amusing appearance of consistency in connection with the penal clause which at this time was still to be found in the *Directory*. The *Directory* emphatically stated that no fees could be paid out of the Equivalent Grant for dairy-work, as dairy-work was a branch of the *Directory* subject, agriculture. The minutes, however, stated that fees could be earned for teaching butter-making. Butter-making was not a branch of the Department's subject, agriculture, and therefore had nothing to say to agriculture in any shape or form. The Department would not pay for the teaching of botany, as botany was a Science subject in the *Directory*. But the minutes would allow payment for the teaching of horticulture, as of course it was plain to the meanest intelligence that botany and horticulture were as far asunder as the Poles. As to the little plan about commercial penmanship and accounts the Department seemed pleased to find such a laudable anxiety in Ireland to master these difficult subjects. And when the school managers went a step further and called their new subject workshop arithmetic, the London Department seemed quite pleased. Arithmetic might be called a branch of mathematics but workshop arithmetic, never.

A popular gentleman, with a seat in Parliament, was placed at the head of the new Irish Technical Department and the Irish public felt that technical education was about to be developed in the country, schools formed and fostered, and all the grants the country was entitled to obtained and administered. But these hopes were

doomed to disappointment. The London Science and Art Department probably finding that Irish schools would soon advance sufficiently to secure their proper share of the Equivalent Grant, made up its mind to deprive Ireland of all benefits thereunder. So an ukase was issued that in the year 1904 Ireland should cease to receive any part of the Equivalent Grant. This meant a serious loss to Ireland. It worked out in this way. By the Act of 1889 the Science and Art Department was enabled to give a penny out of the Equivalent Grant for every penny raised locally for the purpose of technical instruction. A penny in the £ was the limit of taxation under this Act, Now, a penny in the £ on the entire valuation of Ireland would bring in £63,000 a year, so that £63,000 a year would be the limit of the amount which the Science and Art Department could pay each year under the Equivalent Grant. Therefore, the discontinuance of the Equivalent Grant would mean a possible loss to Ireland of £63,000 a year. To a school like Kevin Street in Dublin, the discontinuance of the Equivalent Grant would mean a loss of from £1,000 to £1,500 a year, and so on with other schools in proportion.

The conduct of the Science and Art Department all through is open to grave comment. First it blocked the schools in Ireland by the penal clause, and so prevented Irish schools from earning their share of the Equivalent Grant since the passing of the Technical Instruction Act of 1889. Then when the new Irish Department was formed and Ireland was getting under way to earn its share of the Equivalent Grant, this London Department deprives Ireland of the Equivalent Grant at one blow.

The defence of the Science and Art Department was that the Technical Instruction Act of 1889, unlike the Irish Act of 1899, was an enabling Act merely, the Treasury being enabled to find the money provided that the Science and Art Department recommended the grant, and put it on the Estimates each year. Further, that the Department had done this in the past, but that as Ireland now had £55,000 a year for technical education under the Irish Act of 1899, the Department considered that Ireland had quite enough

money for the purpose, and therefore refused to recommend the grant beyond the year 1904.

But the Treasury allowed the Irish Department, which was the successor in title of the Science and Art Department, to declare that for every penny raised locally for technical instruction under the Act of 1889 a penny out of the Equivalent Grant would be paid. And on the faith of that promise the Irish people taxed themselves generously. And having taxed themselves the Treasury stopped the grant. That this was contrary to the tacit understanding with Parliament on the passing of the Techincal Instruction Act of 1889 is borne out by the fact that the Treasury through the Science and Art Department paid money on foot of the Equivalent Grant for a number of years. This breach of faith on the part of the Treasury not only hampered Irish managers in their financial engagements, but was seriously calculated to mar the future of technical education in Ireland.

Things were in a bad way when, in August, 1902, the Cork Technical Congress, under the able presidency of Father Dowling took the matter up, and brought it prominently before the public. In the following month a deputation from all Ireland waited upon the Chief Secretary to put forward the claims of the country to the Equivalent Grant. There were about a hundred of us, and as we trooped into the Privy Council Chamber we had the light hearts of men that had an unanswerable case.

Mr. Wyndham received us with perfect courtesy. He was polite and sympathetic. He was even kind. He waived aside facts as being quite out of place between such good friends as the gentlemen of the deputation and himself, and placed the case on the high standpoint of Ireland's needs. He admitted frankly that Ireland required technical education badly, and that something should be done. He gave us to understand that we would be wise to leave the matter entirely in his hands and that he would do what he could with the Treasury. Indeed, he impressed me as a man who was anxious to do good, just for the pleasure of the thing. And this, I think, was the general opinion. So we left the case in his hands. Well, the result was that we

got £7,000 a year as a limit of the sum to be earned each year under the Equivalent Grant. But under the Technical Instruction Act of 1889, as I have shown, the limit should be a penny for every penny raised by local taxation which might mean anything up to £63,000 a year. Now, £7,000 about represented what was captured each year by the Science and Art Department between 1889 and 1898, as shown by my last table above. So that although the Chief Secretary had doubtless the very best intentions, the net result of the deputation was that we only got back our own.

Time rolled by. Our County Wicklow Committee had raised large sums for technical instruction in the county, and we here in Arklow had, in addition, contributed generously towards a prize fund. Mr. Preston's gloomy observations no longer applied, because we now had a system suitable to the wants of the country and we were determined to avail ourselves of it to the full. It therefore occurred to me that we should try and earn some of the Science and Art money, and so add to our other funds. Accordingly I wrote to the Irish Department on 5th of November last, and received a reply which concludes as follows :—

> With regard to the question of grants, I have to inform you that the Administration of the sums voted by Parliament for Science and Art instruction in Ireland is now vested in the Department. Grants are not payable upon the results of Local Science and Art Examinations, but in respect of attendances at instruction given under the Regulations at present in force, viz., those of the *Science and Art Directory* for 1901, as modified by Circular 2 and Form S. 46. The *Directory* is now out of print, but copies of the other documents are enclosed for your information.

This Circular 2, which is dated August, 1901, contains some fifteen paragraphs which refer to the *Directory* and is unintelligible without it. Form S. 46 deals with teachers, principally those under the National Board. It is also dated 1901.

It would appear from the above statement that no rules or regulations can be had so as to enable managers, say in

Arklow, to form classes to earn their share of the annual grant for Science and Art for Great Britain and Ireland. The Irish Department states that the regulations at present in force are those contained in the London *Science and Art Directory*, and that that is *out of print*. This letter suggests the inquiry. How much money has been earned each year by Ireland out of the grant for Science and Art since the Irish Department took over charge on 1st April, 1901? True, some of the classes under the old *régime* may have continued on. Probably, too, some persons with commendable foresight may have secured copies of the *Science and Art Directory* for 1901 before it went out of print, and formed classes accordingly, but I fear that Ireland as a whole has earned less of this Science and Art Grant under the new Irish Department than under the old London one. And this in truth was small enough. The question then comes: Has the Irish Department, since 1st April, 1901, done everything in its power to enable Ireland to earn its full share of this Science and Art Grant? If so, where are the regulations of the Department governing the matter? For, if the Department in 1901 had power to modify the Science and Art Regulations it had power to draft a new set of regulations for Ireland, or else the above letter is open to explanation.

In July, 1898, Sir John Gorst, Minister of Education, said that as soon as we got our Irish Department, Ireland's share of the Science and Art Grant would be handed over to that Department to be administered by it for Ireland, as is done by the Scotch Department for Scotland. Yet here we are five years after that date, and the story is South Kensington and its *Directory* still. Why does Scotland get facilities that are denied to Ireland? Simply because the people of Scotland insist and have always insisted upon their rights in the matter of education. But what are we to expect while we allow ourselves to be dragged at the tail of an English Department? Imagine! Ireland's progress in Science and Art is to be hampered, I may say blocked, because, forsooth, the *Directory* of the *English* Science and Art Department has gone out of print!

How long is this state of things to continue? For continue it will until Ireland gets a separate Grant for Science and Art, and the Irish Department made wholly responsible for its administration. The opportunity is at hand. Will our Parliamentary representatives avail themselves of it? Or, are we for ever to be harassed by South Kensington, 'the most costly, the most wasteful, and the most stupid of our educational shams'?

GEORGE F. FLEMING, *Solicitor.*

THE ORIGIN OF THE SCAPULAR

(From Original Sources.)

THE WINCHESTER MIRACLE

IN a previous article[1] we traced the establishment of the Carmelite Order in England from its first arrival on these shores to the violent persecution it encountered at the hands of the secular clergy, that is, through a period of about twenty years; and with the help of unimpeachable documents, chiefly Papal Bulls, we have analysed its successes and its misfortunes. The latter, vestiges of which date back to the first decade of the settlement of the Carmelites in Europe, took an acute form about the year 1256, and were only dispelled after six years or more of severe suffering from without and profound discouragement from within. During this period an event happened which gave rise to the devotion to the scapular, for, when things were at their worst, Our Lady appeared to St. Simon Stock, General of the Order, promising that whosoever should die in the Carmelite habit should not suffer eternal fire, and advising him to address himself to the Pope in order to obtain a remedy for his grievances. The date of this vision is given by the chief document, a narrative of the vision from the pen of the Saint's secretary and confidential companion, Peter Swanyngton, as 1251, but we have shown reasons for placing it some ten years later.

The continuation of Swanyngton's account marks an

---

[1] See the I. E. RECORD for May, 1901. Circumstances over which we had no control have caused a long delay in the publication of this and the article to follow, but in the meantime many facts have come to our knowledge which throw most welcome light on this intricate matter. In one point our former results have undergone a slight modification, as will be seen later on. It is only fair to mention that a writer in the (now extinct) *Weekly Register* has pointed out that four lines quoted from *Piers the Ploughman* on the 'lace of our Lady smok' refer, not to the Scapular as we assumed, but to the 'Girdle of Our Lady,' and were, therefore, wide of the mark. This mistake, however, in no way affects our argument.

important stage in the history of the scapular. This is what he says :—

On the seventeenth of the Kalends of August,[2] while the aforesaid Blessed Simon was on his way to Winchester being accompanied by me, in order to obtain letters of introduction to Pope Innocent IV. from the Bishop of Winchester who was favourably disposed towards our Order, Peter de Linton (Lhyntonia) dean of St. Helen's at Winchester, met us in great haste[3] beseeching the Blessed Father to come quickly to the help of his brother who was in a state of despair and at the point of death. His name was Walter ; he was a man shamefully given to the pursuit of sin, quarrelsome, practising the art of a magician, contemning the Sacraments, and molesting his neighbour. Whilst fighting with another nobleman he was mortally wounded, and seeing himself about to appear before the judgment seat of God (the devil placing before his eyes the heinousness of his sins), he would not so much as hear of God and the Sacraments, but as long as his speech remained he shouted and blasphemed : ' I am damned ; revenge me, Satan, of my assassin.' Arriving at the house we found him foaming, gnashing his teeth, and rolling his eyes like a mad dog, apparently at the point of death and unconscious. Whereupon Blessed Simon making the sign of the Cross, threw his habit over the sick man, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, asked forgiveness for him, saying : ' Allow not, oh God, one who has been redeeemd by Christ, to become a prey of the devil.' And suddenly he who was thought to be dying grew stronger again, and calmly signing himself and regaining the power of speech, repelled the attacks of the demons, saying with a tearful voice : ' O how miserable am I ! How I tremble to be eternally lost ! My iniquities are more numerous than the sands of the sea-shore. Have mercy on me, O God, for Thy mercy surpasseth Thy justice. Help me, Father, for I wish to make my confession.' Retiring into a corner Dean

[2] It appears to us that the words : ' On the seventeenth of the Kalends of August ' belong, not to what follows, but to what precedes, ' The day after the Division of the Apostles,' *i.e.* the 16th of July. If on that day St. Simon was at Cambridge he could not get anywhere near Winchester, and to suppose that this incident took place a year later would be absurd, seeing the importance of his interview with the bishop. We shall see that the Winchester miracle must have taken place towards the end of September. The feast of the Division of the Apostles was not kept by the Carmelites until a much later period, for it does not appear in the official Ordinale of 1315, nor in the English Carmelite Calendars, the Oxford Breviary or the Kilcormic Missal. On the Continent, however, it appears in the Bruges Obituary of 1340, and also in all the printed missals and brevaries from 1480 till 1579. Was the feast observed in the English secular churches ? It certainly appeared in the martyrology in the first place.

[3] *Celeri vectura.*

Peter told me how, seeing the impenitent heart of his brother and praying for him in solitude, he heard a voice saying : ' Arise Peter, and seek my servant Simon who is on his way hither.' Looking round to know whence came this voice he could see no one, but again and again the words were repeated. Whereupon, taking them for a heavenly message, he mounted his horse to meet the venerable Father, and now he could not thank God enough for having found him so speedily.

After his confession Walter publicly renounced all dealings with the devil, received the last Sacraments with many signs of repentance, made his last will, and asked his brother the Dean to assure him on oath that he would make ample satisfaction for all the injustice of which he, Walter, had been guilty, and about the eighth hour of the night he peacefully breathed forth his soul. The Dean had still some misgivings as to the salvation of his brother but the latter appearing to him assured him that all was well through the powerful intercession of the Queen of Angels, who had preserved him against the assaults of the Evil One with the habit of the Blessed Father as a shield.

The news of this event spread through the whole town. Peter de Linton informed the venerable Bishop of Winchester wishing to have his opinion on so unusual a matter. The bishop was much surprised, and, after taking counsel with his household, decided upon questioning Blessed Simon as to the virtue of his habit. He appeared before the bishop and gave a full account in writing, signed and sealed. The aforesaid Peter in thanksgiving for the miracle wrought by the most glorious Virgin Mary on behalf of his brother, made a foundation for the friars at Winchester, giving them some land as well as building for them a very commodious and fairly large convent. When these facts became known in England and abroad many towns offered places for our habitation, and numerous *grandees* desired to be affiliated to our Order, so that they might participate in its blessings and die in the holy habit and thus, through the merits of the glorious Virgin Mary, end their lives by a happy death. In this way, by the help of our Lord Jesus Christ and His Mother Mary, the Order of the Blessed Virgin of Mount Carmel began to spread in the Western parts, there being many provinces, in each province many houses, and in each house a sufficient number of able men bringing ample fruit to the increase of the Catholic Faith.[4]

It will be remembered that Our Blessed Lady appearing to St. Simon Stock at Cambridge, promised that those who

[4] Daniel a Virgine Maria, *Speculum Carmelitanum*. Antwerp, 1680, Vol. i., p. 519.

die in the habit of the Order should not suffer eternal fire, thus allaying the discouragement which the brethren had experienced on account of the opposition they had encountered from various quarters. And further, she advised him to send a message to the Pope, who, as she promised, would provide a remedy against the grievances. Thereupon, Swanyngton tells us, St. Simon Stock went to Winchester in order to obtain letters of introduction (*litterae formatae*) to the Pope from the bishop whom he knew to be favourably disposed towards the Order. Cambridge belongs to the diocese of Ely, but it was neither the Bishop of Ely nor of one of the neighbouring dioceses, Norwich or London, but the distant prelate of Winchester from whom he expected a powerful introduction. It is important for us to know who this bishop was. The see of Winchester having become vacant in 1250, the king sent word to the chapter of St. Swithin's that he would assist in person at the coming election; accordingly he hastened to Winchester and having assembled the monks, gave them in unmistakable language to understand that they were to elect his half-brother, Ademar de Lezignan, to the vacant see. This young man, the fourth son of Isabelle, relict of King John by her second husband, Hugh, Earl of March, had been studying in Paris until the death of his parents when he came to England to make his fortune; Henry III. received him with open arms and bestowed ecclesiastical benefices upon him until his revenues equalled those of the king himself. Twice already had Henry endeavoured to secure a bishopric for his brother, but in vain, when at length Winchester, the richest see in England and one of the richest in Christendom, fell vacant, and the king made up his mind not to be baulked again.

The monks of St. Swithin moved, not so much by the royal threats as by the knowledge that they would not be upheld by the Pope in their resistance, proceeded, however reluctantly, to the election of the young man of twenty-three in Minor orders, and the Pope confirmed their choice. But they soon found out that their worst fears were only

too well justified, for Ademar proved totally unfit for his dignity. He took no interest in ecclesiastical matters beyond quarrelling with his chapter and squandering his princely revenues ; his chief occupations were politics and hunting, and his life was distinctly disedifying, until at length matters came to a climax and the barons left him the alternative of prison or exile (1258). He chose the latter and the monks proceeded to a new election which, however, was set aside as soon as it became known that Ademar had at last consented to be consecrated, for hitherto he had only been acolyte. But when returning to England against the will of the king, he was overtaken by death in Paris, 4 December, 1260. The next election to the bishopric of Winchester having been cancelled by the Pope on account of a canonical impediment on the part of the nominee, the Pope appointed John of Exeter, Chancellor of York (11 July, 1262), who was at once consecrated and took possession of his see in the autumn of the same year. He must, indeed, have been *persona grata* with the Pope to be promoted by him *motu proprio* to one of the most enviable bishoprics of the whole world. On the other hand, St. Simon Stock must have known him personally, for John of Exeter was, as we have said, Chancellor of York when St. Simon founded a Carmelite friary in the Northern metropolis (1255). He could, therefore, know by experience whether the new Bishop of Winchester was favourably disposed towards the Order or not. The question then arises to which of the two prelates St. Simon went all the way to Winchester to ask for introductions to the Pope ; it ought to be clear to the most casual observer that it could not but have been the latter. This is a further proof that St. Simon's vision could not have taken place in 1251 but considerably later, namely, on the 16th of July, 1262, and that the saint's journey to Winchester fell in the early autumn of the same year, soon after the bishop's return from the Papal court.

As to the Dean of St. Helen's, Peter de Linton, we have no further mention. There never has been a church of

this name at Winchester, but there existed, in the diocese of Winchester, a small alien priory dependent upon Cluny, and situated in St. Helen's, Isle of Wight. Of this priory Peter must have been dean or Provost as he is sometimes called. The priory was suppressed in the middle of the fifteenth century, its revenues being handed over to the newly founded school of St. Mary's, Eton, but unfortunately its archives have disappeared ; at least enquiries concerning them have led to no result. According to Swanyngton, Dean Peter proved his gratitude by making a Carmelite foundation at Winchester. Although the exact date of the foundation cannot be ascertained, it must have taken place between 1273 and 1278. But it is highly improbable that the dean waited such a long time. The first establishment may have taken place somewhere else ; in fact we possess a notice to the effect that at one time a convent was founded at Newport, Isle of Wight, but that the inroads of the sea compelled the brethren to transfer their habitation elsewhere.[5] Again, a Papal Bull of 6th October, 1268, informs us that there existed at that time a Carmelite convent at Birdport, Co. Dorset, but that the bishop and chapter of Salisbury disputed the right of the brethren to celebrate Divine service. This convent was then 'about seven years old,' which would very nearly harmonise with the date assigned by us to the Winchester incident. Since it is not further mentioned, we conclude that the quarrel could not have been amicably settled, and that the Carmelites had to go elsewhere. It is, to say the least, possible that one or other of these attempted foundations had been made by Peter de Linton, and that, so far from being discouraged by failure, he had transferred the convent in 1273 or thereabouts to Winchester.

In his last paragraph Swanyngton speaks of the marvellous development of the Order in consequence of the Winchester miracle. Here we are again upon strictly historical ground, but the evidence is once more entirely

[5] MS. Cotton, Titus D. X., p. 128.

in favour of 1262 as the date of the famous vision instead of 1251. For we find only three foundations to have been made in the course of sixteen years counting from 1261, namely, Oxford, York, and Norwich, which certainly does not agree with Swanyngton's boast that 'many cities offered us places for our habitation,' and that 'provinces were multiplied, each of which comprised many houses.' But, taking 1262 as the date of the vision, his words are fully justified by the events; for, between 1267 and 1305 (when he wrote) scarcely a year passed without a foundation on English soil: Bristol, Winchester, Lynne, Lincoln, Berwick, Newcastle, Northampton, Nottingham, Sandwich, Gloucester, Stamford, Yarmouth, Ipswich, Chester, Appleby, Kingston-upon-Hull, Pontefract, Maldon, Plymouth, Boston, Sutton-in-Holderness (?), and New Shoreham. To these might be added some abortive foundations, namely, beside the two already mentioned, Ruthin, Cardiff, Coventry, etc., and of course about a dozen flourishing houses in Ireland and half that number in Scotland. As to the multiplication of provinces, Swanyngton cannot have forgotten that the separation of the Scotch and Irish houses from the English province was the cause of his writing his account at Bordeaux instead of Oxford or Burnham-Norton.[6]

THE AUTHENTICITY OF SWANYNGTON'S REPORT

Much, but not everything, depends upon the question whether Swanyngton's report is authentic or not. If not, we still have almost contemporary evidence in the account given by Sibert de Beka or St. Simon's vision,[7] and in an

[6] We have assumed that Swayngton is principally concerned with the 'persecution' of the Order in England, since the remedy was also given there and he refers chiefly to England when speaking of the development following upon the Winchester miracle. But a similar state of affairs prevailed elsewhere, notably in France, as may be seen from the history of Bordeaux (see Ribadieu, *Revue Catholique de Bordeaux*, 1884, and *Gallia Christiana*, edition of 1720, vol. ii., p. 825). It should also be noted that the period of 'persecution' from 1256 to 1264, coincides with the anti-Mendicant movement inaugurated by William de St. Amour.

[7] MS. Harley 3,838 (Bale's *Heliades*) chap. xviii.

extract from a writing of William de Coventry,[8] not to mention numerous later authors. But, if it can be proved authentic. Swanyngton's narrative will be found doubly valuable as being that of an eye-witness, whereas the other writers only transmit what they have heard at second or third-hand. It is our firm conviction that both external and internal evidence is absolutely in favour of the authenticity and that no reasonable ground to the contrary can be alleged, unless one wish to deny all supernatural intervention in human affairs.

And first as to the history of the manuscript. Swanyngton was about seventy years old when, in 1305, he was sent to Bordeaux by way of punishment. What became of him afterwards we do not know ; in all probability he died there. During this, his second residence in that town, he wrote a Life of St. Simon Stock, from which the two chapters translated by us have been taken. For he could not have written the last paragraph during his first visit which lasted from 1265 until about 1270. The Life does not appear to have been much read, for it has never been quoted nor so much as mentioned, and it is possible that the very quality which went to make Swanyngton an excellent historian, namely, his sobriety and judgment, may have proved less agreeable to his contemporaries than the high-flown language of a Sibert, or a William de Coventry, etc. In 1570 a terrible outbreak of the plague ravaged Bordeaux and carried away the entire Carmelite community. After that, the convent was for a time under the guardianship of the civic authorities until a number of religious from some other convent were ready to take the place of those who had succumbed to the plague. Before their arrival the town council were kind enough to have the convent thoroughly cleansed and disinfected, on which occasion a literary outrage took place which is almost unequalled in the history of libraries ; parchments and books were torn from their shelves, and thrown into the fire lest they should spread infection ! How much

[8] See Daniel, *l.c.*, vol. i., p, 521.

or how little escaped this well meant act of vandalism it is impossible to say, but Swanyngton's Life of St. Simon Stock was saved from the wreckage. When, in 1640 or thereabouts, the then prior of Bordeaux, John Cheron, undertook to answer Launoy's attacks against St. Simon and the scapular, he had before him and was able to quote, Swanyngton's work ; and his book, *Privilegii Scapularis et Visionis S. Simonis Stock Vindiciae,* which appeared at Bordeaux in 1642, is the *editio princeps* of our two chapters from which all later editors have copied. We can hardly blame Cheron for not having inserted the entire text of Swanyngton as the occasion did not demand it, but it is a matter for deep regret that he did not publish it at some other time. After 1650 he contributed some important chapters to Lezana's fourth volume of the *Carmelite Annals* which appeared in 1656, but Swanyngton's Life of St. Simon, which would have found its proper place there, was not among them. It is possible that he reserved its publication to himself and this need hardly surprise us seeing that, notwithstanding many excellent qualities, he suffered from a narrowness of mind which caused great discomfort to his province and disedification to the faithful, besides embittering many years of of his own life. In 1663 he was instrumental in translating the relics of St. Simon Stock to a noble shrine, and in 1671, two years before his death, he was on a committee to enquire into the cult and miracles of the saint. On one or other of these occasions he appears to have written a Life of St. Simon which, however, has never been published and no longer exists in manuscritpt.[10]

What became of Swanyngton's book after Cheron's death ? We cannot answer this question with any degree of certainty, but there is no reason for presuming that it disappeared from the convent where Cheron left it, either at

[9] Daniel, *l.c.*, vol. ii., p. 437.

[10] 'Alors aussi, selon toute probabilité, le P. Chéron publia une Vie de S. Simon Stock qui est in 8vo mais que je n'ai pu découvrir et qui est restée inconnue au P. Cosme de Villiers.' Lantenayt in the *Revue Catholique de Bordeaux*, 1884, in a most interesting biographical sketch of this remarkable man.

Bordeaux, Lectoure, or Langon. Searching enquiries made by the present writer in a number of French libraries and Departmental archives have yielded no result, yet it is quite possible that it is still extant. The contents of the archives of our convents at the time of the Revolution were packed in boxes and deposited in the public archives, and to our certain knowledge those of the Gironde possess at the present day as many as twenty boxes of documents taken from the various Carmelite houses which have never been opened, much less searched and calendered. It would be rash to affirm that Swanyngton's manuscript is hidden there and will one day come to light, but it would also be premature to bemoan its loss.

Internal evidence is not less in favour of authenticity. The Life must have borne the name of its author, for Cheron could know nothing about him beyond the scanty notices published by Trithemius who was ignorant of his acquaintance with St. Simon Stock; as to the trouble that befell Swanyngton towards the end of his life, neither Trithemius nor Cheron knew anything about it. Comparing his account of Our Lady's promises with those given by Sibert, William de Coventy, and later writers, there can be no question as to the superiority of Swanyngton's version. He clearly distinguishes what he has learnt from St. Simon from what he has seen himself; he has a keen perception of cause and effect, and above all he keeps strictly to what is possible and probable. Take, for instance, his assertion that Our Lady appeared to St. Simon holding the habit of the Order, and compare it with later writers according to whom she brought a scapular ready made from heaven, which the saint received from her hands, put on himself, and used as pattern for similar ones to be distributed to the brethren. Compare also her dignified words in Swanyngton's report with the flowery speech Sibert attributes to her. Throughout the two chapters there is a ring of conviction, or earnestness, and of simplicity, which contrasts favourably with other reports.

In one point, however, we have found Swanyngton at

fault, and we acknowledge that our first impression was that his writing must have been tampered with. He assigns the year 1251 to the vision whereas three incidents allowing of further investigation point to a later date, namely, 1262. That the former date is impossible has been demonstrated in our first article, but it is also clear that it was not due to a clerical error, since it harmonises with a Bull transcribed by another contemporary writer, William of Sandwich, bearing the date 13th January, 1252. This Bull we at first considered spurious, partly because the *Bullarium* of the Order knows nothing of it, and partly because it is identical with another, of Clement IV., of 31st October, 1265. Since writing that article we have, however, discovered that so far from being suppositious the Bull is perfectly genuine, since it occurs in its proper place in the Register of Innocent IV.[11] This fact at once supplies the key to the whole riddle. That the Bull remained ineffective or at least did not fulfil its whole purpose, is obvious from the fact that only a few years after its issue the 'persecution' broke out on a larger scale and worse than ever, and that this very Bull had to be repeated by a later Pope. On the other hand, Swanyngton, writing as he did half a century after the events and in advanced age, may well be pardoned for having mistaken the one for the other. He knew that this particular Bull put an end to the persecution, but he mistook its first issue for the second. And this all the more easily that in its first edition it bore the revered name of Innocent IV., who, on account of the approbation granted to the Rule and the numerous benefits bestowed upon the Order, was always considered *the* great protector of the Carmelites. It may be added that other historians of the Order, such as Philip of the Blessed Trinity,[12] have questioned the date of St. Simon's vision, though we do not know on what particular grounds. That there must be a mistake somewhere is

[11] No. 5,563 in Elie Berger's edition.

[12] *Theologia Carmelitana*, Rome, 1665, pp. 334 and 387. In both places he says distinctly 1261, and to show there is no misprint, he adds: 'In the first year of Urban IV., *i.e.*, four years before St. Simon's death.'

certain, for, if once we allow 1251 as the real date, we come to the conclusion that no sooner had Our Lady promised a remedy against all troubles from without and a privilege for the brethren to quell their own discontent, than these troubles began to break out and discontent to fill their hearts, with the result that not only was the development of the Order entirely paralysed for sixteen years, but interior disorganisation threatended its very existence. Moreover, the events of Swanyngton's own life render it doubtful that at this early date he could have acted as St. Simon's companion and secretary, and the Winchester miracle becomes unintelligible since the saint can have had no inducement to approach a prelate of the stamp of Ademar. Our conclusion is, therefore, that Swanyngton's report must be accepted as fully authentic, that both external and internal evidence are in its favour, and that the only exception that could be taken to it admits of a simple and efficacious explanation.

BENEDICT ZIMMERMAN, O.C.D.

[*To be continued.*]

Notes and Queries

LITURGY

DECR. S.R.C. 'VARIA DUBIA'; DECR. S.C. IND. 'AMPLIATIO FACULTATIS EPIS. INDULGENTIAS IMPERTIENDI'

S. R. CONGREGATIONIS DECRETA

ORDINIS MINORUM PROVINCIAE ANGLIAE

R. P. Thaddaeus Hermans, Kalendarista Provinciae Angliae Ordinis Minorum, de consensu sui Rmi. Procuratoris Generalis, a S. R. C. solutionem sequentium dubiorum humillime postulavit nimirum :

1. An commemoratio festi simplicis primarii debeat praecedere commemorationem festi simplicis secundarii, ita ut in festo duplici S. Romualdi Ab., quod die 15 Febr. repositum colitur, prius commemorari oporteat festum natale Ss. Faustini et Iovitae Mm., quam Translationem S. Antonii Patavini ?

2. An festa Dedicationis Basilicarum Assisiensium, de Portiuncula nempe atque de S. Francisco, quae a Benedicto XIII uti Matrices et Capita ecclesiarum Ordinis Seraphici declarantur, uti festa primaria debeant in universo Fratrum Minorum Ordine haberi, quemadmodum sunt in universo Orbe Dedicationes Basilicarum Urbis ?

3. An sub die 5 Iulii Commemoratio octavae Ss. App. Petri et Pauli, etiam in ecclesiis consecratis, anteponenda sit commemorationi diei infra octavam Dedicationis omnium ecclesiarum Ordinis Seraphici, quamvis in Breviario Romano-Seraphico contrarium hucusque ordinetur ?

4. An festum gaudens octava, si dies libera infra octavam occurrit, in repositione praeferatur festo altioris ritus vel dignitatis, quod octavam non habet ?

5. An in festo Translationis S. Francisci atque Inventionis S. Clarae, silente Breviario Romano-Seraphico, hymni proprii, qui sunt ordine historico exarati, debeant in casu impedimenti transponi, vel pro casuum diversitate coniungi ?

6. An die octava S. Thomae Cantuariensis legi possint in

III Nocturno Lectiones Homiliae *Audistis*, ut in Dom. II post Pascha, quae multis locis iam concessae sunt, licet nondum in Octavario insertae ?

7. An ex Decreto n. 2390, *Varsavien.*, 7 Maii 1746 ad V, collecta de Ss. Sacramento prohibeatur in Missis privatis durante expositione, quae non fit pro publica causa, vel addi possit, pro libitu Sacerdotis ?

8. Missa Conventualis incipiendane est dicto *V. Benedicamus Domino* et *R. Deo gratias*, praecedentis horae canonicae in Nocte Nativitatis Domini, vel adhuc addendum est *Fidelium animae etc.* et *Pater noster*, ut quidam volunt ?

9. Sunt quaedam in Anglia ecclesiae Missionum, quae conventum Monialium S. Clarae adnexum habent, quarum chorus, modo consueto, vel per crates, cum ecclesia communicat. Num istae ecclesiae, quoad Missae celebrationem, habendae sint tamquam ecclesiae Monialium, ita ut inibi Missae legi debeant Officio earum conformes ?

Et S. eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisita sententia Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibus sedulo expensis, respondendum censuit :

Ad I. *Affirmative*, iuxta Decreta. Ad II. *Affirmative*. Ad III. *Affirmative*. Ad IV. *Affirmative*. Ad V. *Affirmative* ad utramque partem. Ad VI. *Affirmative*, ex indulto. Ad VII. Commemoratio Ss. Sacramenti omnino omittitur durante expositione ex causa privata. Ad VIII. *Affirmative* ad primam partem iuxta Rubricam specialem in Nativitate Domini ; *Negative* ad secundam. Ad IX. *Negative.*

Atque ita rescripsit et indulsit.

Die 20 Novembris 1903.

S. Card. Cretoni, *S.R.C. Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. Panici, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

THE FACULTIES OF BISHOPS TO GRANT INDULGENCES[1]

S. CONGREGATIO INDULGENTIARUM

URBIS ET ORBIS

Pontificale Iubilaeum fel. rec. Leonis XIII, solemnibus

[1] This decree of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences amplifies the Episcopal powers in the matter of granting Indulgences. By the act of the

ubique laetitiis ab orbe catholico peractum, congruam sane occasionem praebuit, qua plures sacrorum Antistites, praesertim ex regione Neapolitana et Sicula, ad auspicatum eventum novo quodam pietatis religiosique fructus pignore consecrandum, enixas, coniunctis simul litteris, preces admoverunt, ut sua, in indulgentiis elargiendis, facultas aliquantum ab Apostolica Sede adaugeretur.

Has vero postulationes, Pontificis optimi obitu, interceptas sed, ex S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae consulto, ab infrascripto Cardinali, eidem Congregationi Praefecto, in audientia die 28 Augusti, hoc vertente anno, ad Vaticanum habita, rursum et suppliciter exhibitas, cum primum agnovit sanctissimus Dominus noster Pius Papa X, nihil se in votis magis habere est testatus, quam ut gloriosam Antecessoris memoriam digno, hac etiam in re, honoris documento prosequeretur, et propriam insuper, erga universos ecclesiasticos ordines, paternam charitatem oppido ostenderet. Quapropter Sanctitas Sua, percepta omnium relatione, non modo memoratis votis annuere, verum etiam clementer decernere dignata est, ut, in posterum, Emi. Patres Cardinales, in suis Titulis aeque ac Dioecesibus, *bis centum*, Archiepiscopi *centum*, atque denique Episcopi *quinquaginta* dierum Indulgentiam elargiri valeant, dum tamen serventur cuncta huc usque ab eisdem servata, in huiusmodi Indulgentiarum elargitionibus. Hanc autem concessionem futuris quoque temporibus perpetuo valituram exstare voluit. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae, ex Secretaria S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, die 28 Augusti an. 1903.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

Pro R. P. D. FRANCISCO, Archiep. Amiden., *Secret.*

IOSEPHUS M. Can. COSELLI, *Substit.*

---

fourth Lateran Council these powers were restricted to indulgences of *forty* days, except on the occasion of the consecration of a church or an altar, when Bishops might grant an indulgence of *one year*. Now, however, in virtue of this decree, Bishops are empowered to grant an indulgence of *fifty*, Archbishops one of *a hundred*, and Cardinals one of *two hundred* days in places within their respective jurisdictions, and subject to the same conditions as formerly. Indulgences granted by any authority inferior to that of the Supreme Pontiff are not applicable to the souls in Purgatory.

USE OF ALTAR-STONES WITHOUT RELICS

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have an altar-stone which has been in use from time immemorial. It has no relics. I have seen it stated somewhere that an altar-stone, not containing relics, may be used in an Irish diocese, provided (1) it has been so used *continuously* from the distant past, and (2) that the use of such stones (without relics) has never been prohibited in the diocese. May I use the stone mentioned above?

Yours truly,

PRÊTRE.

The use of portable altars or altar-stones without relics was, we believe, sanctioned in the past by legitimate authority in certain places in Ireland. We have not seen the document by which this usage, so strangely at variance with Rubrical requirements, was tolerated, and therefore we cannot say under what conditions, or for what reasons the anomaly was permitted. We may presume, however, that the privilege of using such stones was not granted without cause, and that it was meant to be discontinued with the cessation of the reasons that demanded it. Now, taking into account the gravity of the obligation of the Rubrics, and the facility, at the present day, of obtaining everything that is becoming as well as essential for the decent celebration of the Holy Sacrifice, is there sufficient reason for still continuing to use altar-stones that are not consecrated according to the laws of the Liturgy?

The Synod of Maynooth forbade the consecration of altar-stones that were not of sufficient size to conveniently contain the chalice, host, and ciborium. Is not the absence of relics a more essential defect than insufficiency of size? The Sacred Congregation of Rites has declared that an altar, which has lost its relics, should be reconsecrated,[2] and lays down most precise instructions as to how the relics are to be enclosed and securely deposited in their sepulchre. Then,

[1] Acta et Decreta Synodi Man. (1875), p. 80.
[2] *Cf.* Decr. S.R.C., n.n. 2876, 2880, 3575.

too, the presence of the relics of the holy martyrs beneath the altar on which the Divine Sacrifice is offered is full of profound and mystical significance. They remind us of the close union that now exists between Christ immolated on the altar and the saints who loved Him even to shedding their blood, and of the sufferings and tribulations through which they have passed to their rest. Again, when the celebrant, at the beginning of Mass, is ascending the altar steps, he says the prayer 'Oramus te Domine per merita sanctorum tuorum, *quorum reliquiae hic sunt*,' etc. How can these words be verified unless the relics are present? Or these other words from the hymn in honour of the Holy Innocents :—

Araum sub ipsam simplices
Palma et coronis luditis.

We are of opinion then, unless the time when the Rubrics are to be observed in this country in all their essential details is to be indefinitely postponed, that there can be no justification at the present day for using an altar-stone without relics.

COMMEMORATION OF 'PATRONUS LOCI' IN OFFICE. CUSTOM REGARDING ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly answer the following questions :—

1. In the *Suffragia Sanctorum* the Patron of the parish is to be commemorated, if such exists, and if not the Patron of the diocese. Now, I happen to be in a parish whose Patron though acknowledged by the pious tradition of the people, is not mentioned in the *Breviary*. In the circumstances am I to commemorate the Patron of the Parish or the Patron of the diocese?

2. In a certain locality the people have the custom of asking a priest for an 'Oration,' that is, the beginning of St. John's Gospel written by the priest on a slip of paper. This is folded tightly, and worn amulet-like, by the patient. What sanction is there for this custom?

NEO-SACERDOS.

1. It is only where such a custom exists that the Patron of the *place*, as distinct from the Titular or Patron of the

Church is to be commemorated in the *Suffragia* of the Office.[3] In the rubric of the Roman *Breviary* on this point the directions given are :—' De Patrono vel Titulari ecclesiae fiat commem.' etc., and there is nothing about the Patron of the place. We assume then there is custom for making the commemoration of the Patron of the place in the case contemplated by our correspondent, and we shall discuss the question on this assumption. The *Patronus loci*, therefore, to be entitled to any honours in the Divine Office, must be properly constituted, and for this it is necessary that he be elected by the people of the district in concert with the clergy and Bishop of the Diocese, and approved of by the Holy See. The conditions of election are set out in a general decree of the Congregation of Rites issued on the 23rd March, 1630. They are briefly :—

(1) No one is to be chosen Patron whose name is not on the list of Canonized Saints.

(2) The selection must be made by the people of the particular district in conjunction with the Clergy and Bishop and with the sanction of the Holy See.

(3) The election of new Patrons must be referred to the Congregation of Rites whose approval is to be obtained.

If, then, the Patron of the place in question has not been duly and legitimately elected nothing is to be mentioned about him in the Divine Office. Our correspondent, therefore, should satisfy himself about two things, viz., the custom of commemorating the Patron and the fact of his canonical institution, before making up his mind about the course he should follow.

2. We are quite familiar with the practice referred to, but, up to the present, we are not in a position to give definite information as to its origin and sanction. We shall continue to look the matter up, and, in the meantime, shall be glad if any of our readers can throw light on the subject. In some parts of the country the people ask for a ' Gospel,' and where the habit of making this request is

[3] *Cf.* De Hert, *Sacra Lit. prax.*, vol. ii., p. 377 : Wapelhorst, *Comp. Lit.*, p. 371 : S.R.C. Decr. 4043.

common, the priests provide themselves with printed forms of the whole Gospel of St. John, which they fold in a peculiar way and bless with holy water before giving away. It is then carried about the person, and is regarded with a certain religious respect. Of course care should be taken that people do not regard the 'Gospel' with any superstitious reverence. Our opinion is that it is commonly held in the same religious estimation as the 'Agnus Dei,' and, consequently, we are inclined to regard it as a kind of 'Sacramental.'

P. MORRISROE.

DOCUMENTS

'MOTU PROPRIO' OF POPE PIUS X. ON SACRED MUSIC

AMONG the cares of the pastoral office, not only of this Supreme Chair, which We, though unworthy, occupy through the inscrutable disposition of Providence, but of every local church, a leading one is without question that of maintaining and promoting the decorum of the House of God in which the august mysteries of religion are celebrated, and where the Christian people assemble to receive the grace of the Sacraments, to assist at the Holy Sacrifice of the altar, to adore the most august Sacrament of the Lord's Body, and to unite in the common prayer of the Church in the public and solemn liturgical offices. Nothing should have place, therefore, in the temple calculated to disturb or even merely to diminish the piety and devotion of the faithful, nothing that may give reasonable cause for disgust or scandal, nothing, above all, which directly offends the decorum and the sanctity of the sacred functions and is thus unworthy of the House of Prayer and of the Majesty of God.

We do not touch separately on the abuses in this matter which may arise. To-day Our attention is directed to one of the most common of them, one of the most difficult to eradicate, and the existence of which is sometimes to be deplored in places where everything else is deserving of the highest praise—the beauty and sumptuousness of the temple, the splendour and the accurate performance of the ceremonies, the attendance of the clergy, the gravity and piety of the officiating ministers. Such is the abuse affecting sacred chant and music. And indeed, whether it is owing to the very nature of this art, fluctuating and variable as it is in itself, or to the succeeding changes in tastes and habits with the course of time, or to the fatal influence exercised on sacred art by profane and theatrical art, or to the pleasure that music directly produces, and that it is not always easily contained within the right limits, or finally to the many prejudices on the matter, so lightly introduced and so tenaciously maintained even among responsible and pious persons, the fact remains that there is a general tendency to deviate from the

right rule, prescribed by the end for which art is admitted to the service of public worship and which is set forth very clearly in the ecclesiastical canons, in the Ordinances of the general and provincial Councils, in the prescriptions which have at various times emanated from the Sacred Roman Congregations, and from Our Predecessors the Sovereign Pontiffs.

It is grateful for Us to be able to acknowledge with real satisfaction the large amount of good that has been effected in this respect during the last decade in this Our fostering city of Rome, and in many churches in Our country, but in a more especial way among some nations in which illustrious men, full of zeal for the worship of God, have, with the approval of the Holy See and under the direction of the Bishops, united in flourishing Societies and restored sacred music to the fullest honour in all their churches and chapels. Still the good work that has been done is very far indeed from being common to all, and when We consult Our own personal experience and take into account the great number of complaints that have reached us during the short time that has elapsed since it pleased the Lord to elevate Our humility to the supreme summit of the Roman Pontificate, We consider it Our first duty, without further delay, to raise Our voice at once in reproof and condemnation of all that is seen to be out of harmony with the right rule above indicated in the functions of public worship and in the performance of the ecclesiastical offices.

Filled as We are with a most ardent desire to see the true Christian spirit flourish in every respect and be preserved by all the faithful. We deem it necessary to provide before aught else for the sanctity and dignity of the temple, in which the faithful assemble for no other object than that of acquiring this spirit from its foremost and indispensable fount, which is the active participation in the most holy mysteries and in the public and solemn prayer of the Church. And it is vain to hope that the blessing of heaven will descend abundantly upon us, when our homage to the Most High, instead of ascending in the odour of sweetness, puts into the hand of the Lord the scourges wherewith of old the Divine Redeemer drove the unworthy profaners from the Temple.

Hence, in order that no one for the future may be able to plead in excuse that he did not clearly understand his duty and that all vagueness may be eliminated from the interpreta-

tion of matters which have already been commanded, We have deemed it expedient to point out briefly the principles regulating sacred music in the functions of public worship, and to gather together in a general survey the principal prescriptions of the Church against the more common abuses in this subject. We do therefore publish, *muto proprio* and with certain knowledge, Our present *Instruction* to which, as *to a juridical code of sacred music* (*quasi a codice giuridice della musica sacra*), We will with the fulness of Our Apostolic Authority that the force of law be given, and We do by Our present handwriting impose its scrupulous observance on all.

INSTRUCTION ON SACRED MUSIC

I.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

1. Sacred music, being a complementary part of the solemn liturgy, participates in the general scope of the liturgy, which is the glory of God and the sanctification and edification of the faithful. It contributes to the decorum and splendour of the ecclesiastical ceremonies, and since its principal office is to clothe with suitable melody the liturgical chant proposed for the understanding of the faithful, its proper aim is to add greater efficacy to the text, in order that through it the faithful may be the more easily moved to devotion and better disposed for the reception of the fruits of grace belonging to the celebration of the most holy mysteries.

2. Sacred music should consequently possess, in the highest degree, the qualities proper to the liturgy, and precisely *sanctity* and *goodness of form*, from which its other character of *universality* spontaneously springs.

It must be *holy*, and must, therefore, exclude all profanity not only in itself, but in the manner in which it is presented by those who execute it.

It must be true art, for otherwise it will be impossible for it to exercise on the minds of those who listen to it, that efficacy which the Church aims at obtaining in admitting into her liturgy the art of musical sounds.

But it must, at the same time, be universal in the sense that while every nation is permitted to admit into its ecclesiastical compositions those special forms which may be said to constitute

its native music, still these forms must be subordinated in such a manner to the general characteristics of sacred music that nobody of any nation may receive an impression other than good on hearing them.

II.

THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF SACRED MUSIC

3. These qualities are to be found, in the highest degree, in the Gregorian Chant, which is, consequently, the Chant proper to the Roman Church, the only Chant she has inherited from the ancient fathers, which she has jealously guarded for centuries in her liturgical codices, which she directly proposes to the faithful as her own, which she prescribes exclusively for some parts of the liturgy, and which the most recent studies have so happily restored to their integrity and purity.

On these grounds the Gregorian Chant has always been regarded as the supreme model for sacred music, so that it is fully legitimate to lay down the following rule : *the more closely a composition for church approaches in its movement, inspiration, and savour the Gregorian form, the more sacred and liturgical it becomes ; and the more out of harmony it is with that supreme model, the less worthy it is of the temple.*

The ancient traditional Gregorian Chant must, therefore, be largely restored to the function of public worship, and everybody must take for certain that an ecclesiastical function loses nothing of its solemnity when it is accompanied by no other music but this.

Special efforts are to be made to restore the use of the Gregorian Chant by the people, so that the faithful may again take a more active part in the ecclesiastical offices, as was the case in ancient times.

4. The above-mentioned qualities are also possessed in an excellent degree by the classic polyphony, especially of the Roman School, which reached its greatest perfection in the fifteenth century, owing to the works of Pierluigi da Palestrina, and continued subsequently to produce compositions of excellent quality from the liturgical and musical standpoint. The classic polyphony agrees admirably with the Gregorian Chant, the supreme model of all sacred music, and hence it has been found worthy of a place side by side with the Gregorian Chant

in the more solemn functions of the Church, such as those of the Pontifical Chapel. This, too, must, therefore, be restored largely in ecclesiastical functions, especially in the more important basilicas, in cathedrals, and in the churches and chapels of seminaries and other ecclesiastical institutions in which the necessary means are usually not lacking.

5. The Church has always recognised and favoured the progress of the arts, admitting to the service of the cult everything good and beautiful discovered by genius in the course of ages—always, however, with due regard to the liturgical laws. Consequently modern music is also admitted in the Church, since it, too, furnishes compositions of such excellence, sobriety and gravity, that they are in no way unworthy of the liturgical functions.

Still, since modern music has risen mainly to serve profane uses, greater care must be taken with regard to it, in order that the musical compositions of modern style which are admitted in the Church may contain nothing profane, be free from reminiscences of motifs adopted in the theatres, and be not fashioned even in their external forms after the manner of profane pieces.

6. Among the different kinds of modern music that which appears less suitable for accompanying the functions of public worship is the theatrical style, which was in the greatest vogue, especially in Italy, during the last century. This of its very nature is diametrically opposed to the Gregorian Chant and the classic polyphony, and therefore to the most important law of all good music. Besides the intrinsic structure, the rhythm and what is known as the *conventionalism* of this style adapt themselves but badly to the requirements of true liturgical music.

III.

THE LITURGICAL TEXT

7. The language proper to the Roman Church is Latin. Hence it is forbidden to sing anything whatever in the vernacular in solemn liturgical functions—much more to sing in the vernacular the variable or common parts of the Mass and Office.

8. As the texts that may be rendered in music, and the order in which they are to be rendered, are determined for every liturgical function, it is not lawful to confuse this order or to change the prescribed texts for others selected at will, or to

omit them either entirely or even in part, unless when the rubrics allow that some versicles of the text be supplied with the organ, while these versicles are simply recited in choir. However it is permissible, according to the custom of the Roman Church, to sing a motett to the Blessed Sacrament after the *Benedictus* in a Solemn Mass. It is also permitted, after the Offertory prescribed for the Mass has been sung, to execute during the time that remains a brief motett to words approved by the Church.

9. The liturgical text must be sung as it is in the books, without alteration or inversion of the words, without undue repetition, without breaking syllables, and always in a manner intelligible to the faithful who listen.

IV.

EXTERNAL FORM OF THE SACRED COMPOSITIONS

10. The different parts of the Mass and the Office must retain, even musically, that particular concept and form which ecclesiastical tradition has assigned to them, and which is admirably expressed in the Gregorian Chant. Different, therefore, must be the method of composing an *introit*, a *gradual*, an *antiphon*, a *psalm*, a *hymn*, a *Gloria in excelsis*.

11. In particular the following rules are to be observed :—

(*a*) The *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, etc., of the Mass must preserve the unity of composition proper to the text. It is not lawful, therefore, to compose them in separate pieces, in such a way as that each of such pieces may form a complete composition in itself, and be capable of being detached from the rest and substituted by another.

(*b*) In the Office of Vespers it should be the rule to follow the *Cærimoniale Episcoporum*, which prescribesthe Gregorian Chant for the psalmody and permits figured music for the versicles of the *Gloria Patri* and the hymn.

It will nevertheless be lawful on the greater solemnities to alternate the Gregorian Chant of the choir with the so-called *falsi-bordoni* or with verses similarly composed in a proper manner.

It may be also allowed sometimes to render the single psalms in their entirety in music, provided the form proper to psalmody be preserved in such compositions ; that is to say, provided the

singers seem to be psalmodising among themselves, either with new motifs or with those taken from the Gregorian Chant or based upon it.

The psalms known as *di concerto* are therefore for ever excluded and prohibited.

(*c*) In the hymns of the Church the traditional form of the hymn is preserved. It is not lawful, therefore, to compose, for instance, a *Tantum ergo* in such wise that the first strophe presents a romanza, a cavatina, an adagio, and the *Genitori* an allegro.

(*d*) The antiphons of the Vespers must be as a rule rendered with the Gregorian melody proper to each. Should they, however, in some special case be sung in figured music they must never have either the form of a concert melody or the fulness of a motett or a cantata.

V.

THE SINGERS

12. With the exception of the melodies proper to the celebrant at the altar and to the ministers, which must be always sung only in Gregorian Chant, and without the accompaniment of the organ, all the rest of the liturgical chant belongs to the choir of levites, and, therefore, singers in church, even when they are laymen, are really taking the place of the ecclesiastical choir. Hence the music rendered by them must, at least for the greater part, retain the character of choral music.

By this it is not to be understood that solos are entirely excluded. But solo singing should never predominate in such a way as to have the greater part of the liturgical chant executed in that manner ; rather should it have the character of a hint or a melodic projection (*spunto*), and be strictly bound up with the rest of the choral composition.

13. On the same principle it follows that singers in church have a real liturgical office, and that therefore women, as being incapable of exercising such office, cannot be admitted to form part of the choir or of the musical chapel. Whenever, then, it is desired to employ the actue voices of sopranos and contraltos, these parts must be taken by boys, according to the most ancient usage of the Church.

14. Finally, only those are to be admitted to form part of

the musica chapel of a church who are men of known piety and probity of life, and these should by their modest and devout bearing during the liturgical functions show that they are worthy of the holy office they exercise. It will also be fitting that singers while singing in church wear the ecclesiastical habit and surplice, and that they be hidden behind gratings when the choir is excessively open to the public gaze.

VI.

ORGAN AND INSTRUMENTS

15. Although the music proper to the Church is purely vocal music, music with the accompaniment of the organ is also permitted. In some special cases, within due limits and within the proper regards, other instruments may be allowed, but never without the special licence of the Ordinary, according to prescriptions of the *Cærimoniale Episcoporum.*

16. As the chant should always have the principal place, the organ or instruments should merely sustain and never oppress it.

17. It is not permitted to have the chant preceded by long preludes or to interrupt it with intermezzo pieces.

18. The sound of the organ as an accompaniment to the chant in preludes, interludes, and the like must be not only governed by the special nature of the instrument, but must participate in all the qualities proper to sacred music as above enumerated.

19. The employment of the piano is forbidden in church, as is also that of noisy or frivolous instruments such as drum, cymbals, bells, and the like.

20. It is strictly forbidden to have bands play in church, and only in a special case and with the consent of the Ordinary will it be permissible to admit a number of wind instruments, limited, judicious, and proportioned to the size of the place—provided the composition and accompaniment to be executed be written in a grave and suitable style, and similar in all respects to that proper to the organ.

21. In processions outside the church the Ordinary may give permission for a band, provided no profanc pieces are executed. It would be desirable in such cases that the band confine itself to accompanying some spiritual canticle sung in Latin or in the vernacular by the singers and the pious associations which take part in the procession.

VII.

THE LENGTH OF THE LITURGICAL CHANT

22. It is not lawful to keep the priest at the altar waiting on account of the chant or the music for a length of time not allowed by the liturgy. According to the ecclesiastical prescriptions the *Sanctus* of the Mass should be over before the elevation, and therefore the priest must here have regard to the singers. The *Gloria* and *Credo* ought, according to the Gregorian tradition, to be relatively short.

23. In general it must be considered to be a very grave abuse when the liturgy in ecclesiastical functions is made to appear secondary to and in a manner at the service of the music, for the music is merely a part of the liturgy and its humble handmaid.

VIII.

PRINCIPAL MEANS

24. For the exact execution of what has been herein laid down, the Bishops, if they have not already done so, are to institute in their dioceses a special Commission composed of persons really competent in sacred music, and to this Commission let them entrust in the manner they find most suitable the task of watching over the music executed in their churches. Nor are they to see merely that the music is good in itself, but also that it is adapted to the powers of the singers and be always well executed.

25. In seminaries of clerics and in ecclesiastical institutions let the above-mentioned traditional Gregorian Chant be cultivated by all with diligence and love, according to the Tridentine prescriptions, and let the superiors be liberal of encouragement and praise towards their young subjects. In like manner let a *Schola Cantorum* be established, whenever possible, among the clerics for the execution of sacred polyphony and of good liturgical music.

26. In the ordinary lessons of Liturgy, Morals, Canon Law, given to the students of theology, let care be taken to touch on those points which regard more directly the principles and laws of sacred music, and let an attempt be made to complete the doctrine with some particular instruction in the æsthetic side of the sacred art, so that the clerics may not leave the seminary

ignorant of all those notions, necessary as they are for complete ecclesiastical culture.

27. Let care be taken to restore, at least in the principal churches, the ancient *Scholæ Cantorum*, as has been done with excellent fruit in a great many places. It is not difficult for a zealous clergy to institute such *Scholæ* even in the minor and country churches—nay, in them they will find a very easy means for gathering around them both the children and the adults, to their own profit and the edification of the people.

28. Let efforts be made to support and promote in the best way possible the higher schools of sacred music where these already exist, and to help in founding them where they do not. It is of the utmost importance that the Church herself provide for the instructions of its masters, organists, and singers, according to the true principles of sacred art.

IX.

CONCLUSION

29. Finally, it is recommended to choir-masters, singers, members of the clergy, superiors of seminaries, ecclesiastical institutions, and religious communities, parish priests, and rectors of churches, canons of collegiate churches and cathedrals, and, above all, to the diocesan ordinaries to favour with all zeal these prudent reforms, long desired and demanded with united voice by all ; so that the authority of the Church, which herself has repeatedly proposed them, and now inculcates them, may not fall into contempt.

Given from Our Apostolic Palace at the Vatican, on the day of the Virgin and Martyr, St. Cecilia, November 22, 1903, in the first year of Our Pontificate.

PIUS X., POPE.

PAPAL LETTER TO THE CARDINAL VICAR OF ROME

The carrying out of the above regulations for the restoration of sacred music is laid upon Cardinal Respighi, Vicar-General of Rome, in the following letter from His Holiness :—

LORD CARDINAL,—The desire to see flourish again in all places the decorum and the dignity and holiness of the liturgical functions has determined Us to make known by a special writing

under Our own hand Our will with regard to the sacred music which is largely employed in the service of public worship. We cherish the hope that all will second Us in this desired restoration, and not merely with that blind submission, always laudable though it be, which is accorded out of a pure spirit of obedience to commands that are onerous and contrary to one's own manner of thinking and feeling, but with that alacrity of will which springs from the intimate persuasion of having to do so on grounds duly weighed, clear, evident, and beyond question.

Even a little reflection on the end for which art is admitted to the service of public worship, and on the supreme fitness of offering to the Lord only things in themselves good, and where possible, excellent, will at once serve to show that the prescriptions of the Church regarding sacred music are but the immediate application of those two fundamental principles. When the clergy and choirmasters are penetrated with them, good sacred music flourishes spontaneously, as has been constantly observed, and continues to be observed in a great many places ; when on the contrary those principles are neglected, neither prayers, admonitions, severe and repeated orders nor threats of canonical penalties suffice to effect any change ; for passion, and when not passion a shameful and inexcusable ignorance, always finds a means of eluding the will of the Church, and continuing for years in the same reprehensible way.

This alacrity of will We look for in a very special way among the clergy and faithful of this Our beloved City of Rome, centre of Christendom and the seat of the Supreme Authority of the Church. Indeed it would seem but natural that none should more deeply feel the influx of Our word than those who hear it directly from Our mouth, and that the example of loving and filial submission to Our fatherly invitations should be given with greater solicitude by none more than by that first and most noble portion of the flock of Christ, the Church of Rome, which has been specially entrusted to Our pastoral care as Bishop. Besides, this example is to be given in the sight of the whole world. Bishops and the faithful are continually coming here from all parts to honour the Vicar of Christ and to renew their spirit by visiting our venerable basilicas and the tombs of the martyrs, and by assisting with redoubled fervour at the solemnities which are here celebrated with all pomp and splendour throughout the year. '*Optamus ne moribus nostris offensi*

recedant,' said Our Predecessor Benedict XIV. in his own time in his Encyclical Letter *Annus qui*, speaking of this very subject of sacred music: 'We desire that they may not return to their own countries scandalised by our customs.' And farther on, touching on the abuse of instruments which then prevailed, the same Pontiff said: 'What opinion will be formed of us by those who, coming from countries in which instruments are not used in church, hear them in our churches, just as they might in theatres and other profane places? They will come, too, from places and countries where there is singing and music in the churches of the same kind as in ours. But if they are persons of sound judgment, they must be grieved not to find in our music that remedy for the evil in their own churches which they came hither to seek.' In other times the contradiction between the music usually executed in the churches and the ecclesiastical laws and prescriptions was, perhaps, far less noticeable, and the scandal caused by this contradiction was doubtless more circumscribed, precisely because the evil was more widely diffused and general. But now that so much study has been employed by distinguished men in illustrating the liturgy and the art used in the service of public worship, that such consoling, and not unfrequently, such splendid results have been obtained in so many churches throughout the world in the restoration of sacred music, notwithstanding the very serious difficulties that had to be faced, and that have been happily overcome; now, in fine, that the necessity of a complete change in the order of things has come to be universally appreciated, every abuse in this matter becomes intolerable, and must be removed.

You, therefore, Lord Cardinal, in your high office as Our Vicar in Rome for spiritual matters, will, We are sure, exert yourself with the gentleness that is characteristic of you, but with equal firmness, to the end that the music executed in the churches and chapels of the secular and regular clergy of this City may be in entire harmony with Our instructions. There is much to be corrected or removed in the chants of the Mass, of the Litany of Loreto, of the Eucharistic hymns, but that which needs a thorough renewal is the singing of the Vespers of the feasts celebrated in the different churches and basilicas. The liturgical prescriptions of the *Cæremoniale Episcoporum* and the beautiful musical traditions of the classical Roman School are no longer to be found. For the devout psalmody of the

clergy, in which the people also used to join, there have been substituted interminable musical compositions on the words of the psalms, all of them modelled on old theatrical works, and most of them of such meagre artistic value that they would not be tolerated for a moment even in second-rate concerts. Certain it is that Christian piety and devotion are not promoted by them ; the curiosity of some of the less intelligent is fed, but the majority disgusted and scandalised, wonder how it is that such an abuse can still survive. We therefore wish the cause to be completely extirpated, and that the solemnity of Vespers should be celebrated according to the liturgical rules indicated by Us. The Patriarchal basilicas will lead the way by the example of solicitous care and enlightened zeal of the Lords Cardinals who preside over them, and with these will vie especially the minor basilicas, and the collegiate and parochial churches, as well as the churches and chapels of the religious orders. And do you, Lord Cardinal, neither grant indulgence nor concede delays. The difficulty is not diminished but rather augumented by postponement, and since the thing is to be done let it be done immediately and resolutely. Let all have confidence in Us and in Our word, with which heavenly grace and blessing are united. At first the novelty will produce some wonder among individuals ; here and there a leader or director of a choir may find himself somewhat unprepared ; but little by little things will right themselves, and in the perfect harmony between the music with the liturgical rules and the nature of the psalmody all will discern a beauty and a goodness which have perhaps never before been observed. The Vesper service will indeed be notably shortended. But if the rectors of the churches desire on a special occasion to prolong the function somewhat, in order to detain the people who are wont so laudably to go in the evening to the particular church where the feast is being celebrated, there is nothing to hinder them—nay, it will rather be so much gained for the piety and edification of the faithful—if they have a suitable sermon after the Vespers, closed with the Solemn Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament.

Finally, We desire that sacred music be cultivated with special care and in the proper way in all the seminaries and ecclesiastical colleges of Rome, in which such a large and choice body of young clerics from all parts of the world are being educated in the sacred sciences and in the ecclesiastical spirit.

We know, and We are greatly comforted by the knowledge, that in some institutions sacred music is in such a flourishing condition that it may serve as a model for others. But there are some seminaries and colleges which leave much to be desired owing to the carelessness of the superiors, or the want of capacity and the imperfect taste of the persons to whom the teaching of the chant and the direction of the sacred music is entrusted. You, Lord Cardinal, will be good enough to provide a remedy for this also with solicitude, by insisting especially that the Gregorian Chant, according to the prescriptions of the Council of Trent and of innumerable other councils, provincial and diocesan in all parts of the world, be studied with particular diligence, and be as a rule preferred in the public and private functions of the institute. It is true that in other times the Gregorian Chant was known to most only through books which were incorrect, vitiated and curtailed. But the accurate and prolonged study that has been given to it by illustrious men who have done a great service to sacred art has changed the face of things. The Gregorian Chant restored in such a satisfactory way to its early purity, as it was handed down by the fathers and is found in the codices of the various churches, is sweet, soft, easy to learn and of a beauty so fresh and full of surprises that wherever it has been introduced it has never failed to excite real enthusiasm in the youthful singers. Now, when delight enters into the fulfilment of duty, everything is done with greater alacrity and with more lasting fruit. It is Our will, therefore, that in all seminaries and colleges in this fostering city there be introduced once more the most ancient Roman Chant which used to resound in our churches and basilicas and which formed the delight of past generations in the fairest days of Christian piety. And as in former times that chant was spread abroad over the whole Western Church from Rome, so we desire that Our young clerics, educated under Our own eyes, may carry it with them and diffuse it again in their own dioceses when they return thither as priests to work for the glory of God. We are overjoyed to be able to give these regulations at a time when we are about to celebrate the 13th centenary of the death of the glorious and incomparable Pontiff St. Gregory the Great, to whom an ecclesiastical tradition dating back many centuries has attributed the composition of these sacred melodies and from whom they have derived their name. Let Our dearly-beloved youths exercise

themselves in them, for it will be sweet to Us to hear them when, as We have been told will be the case, they will assemble at the coming centenary celebrations round the tomb of the Holy Pontiff in the Vatican Basilica during the sacred liturgy which, please God, will be celebrated by Us on that auspicious occasion.

Meanwhile as a pledge of Our particular benevolence, receive, Lord Cardinal, the Apostolic Benediction which from the bottom of Our heart We impart to you, to the Clergy, and to all Our most beloved people.

From the Vatican on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of 1903.

PIUS X., POPE.

'MOTU PROPRIO' OF POPE PIUS X. ON CATHOLIC ACTION

PIUS X., POPE

In our first Encyclical to the Bishops of the World, in which we echo all that Our glorious Predecessors had laid down concerning the Catholic action of the laity, We declared that this action was deserving of the highest praise, and was indeed necessary in the present condition of the Church and of society. And We cannot but warmly praise the zeal shown by so many illustrious personages who have for a long time dedicated themselves to this glorious task, and the ardour of so many brilliant young people who have eagerly hastened to lend their aid in the same. The nineteenth Catholic Congress lately held at Bologna, and by Us promoted and encouraged, has sufficiently proved to all the vigour of the Catholic forces and what useful and salutary results may be obtained among a population of believers, when this action is well governed and disciplined, and when unity of thought, sentiment and action prevail among those who take part in it.

But We are very sorry to find that certain differences which arose in the midst of them have produced discussions unfortunately too vivacious, which, if not dispelled in time, might serve to divide those forces of which We have spoken, and render them less efficacious. Before the Congress We recommended above all things unity and harmony, in order that it might be possible to lay down by common accord the general lines for the practical working of the Catholic movement, and We cannot, therefore,

be silent now. And since divergencies of view in matters of practice have commonly their origin in the domain of theory, and indeed necessarily find their fulcrum in the latter, it is necessary to define clearly the principles on which the entire Catholic movement must be based.

Our illustrious Predecessor, Leo XIII. of holy memory, traced out luminously the rules that must be followed in the Christian movement among the people in the great Encyclicals *Quod Apostolici Muneris* of December 28, 1878, *Rerum Novarum* of May 15, 1891, and *Graves de communi* of January 18, 1901, and further in a particular instruction emanating from the Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs of January 27, 1902.

And We, realising, like Our Predecessor before Us, the great need that the Christian movement among the people be rightly governed and conducted, desire to have those most prudent rules exactly and completely fulfilled, and to provide that nobody may dare to depart from them in the smallest particulars. Hence, to keep them more vividly present before people's minds, We have deemed it well to summarise them in the following articles, which will constitute the fundamental plan of the Catholic popular movement.

FUNDAMENTAL REGULATIONS

I. Human society, as established by God, is composed of unequal elements, just as the different parts of the human body are unequal—to make them all equal is impossible, and would mean the destruction of human society (Encyclical, *Quod Apostolici Muneris*).

II. The equality existing among the various social members consists only in this : that all men have their origin in God the Creator, have been redeemed by Jesus Christ, and are to be judged and rewarded or punished by God exactly according to their merits or demerits (Encyclical, *Quod Apostolici Muneris*).

III. Hence it follows that there are, according to the ordinance of God, in human society princes and subjects, masters and proletariat, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, nobles and plebeians, all of whom, united in the bonds of love, are to help one another to attain their last end in heaven, and their material and moral welfare here on earth (Encl., *Quod Apostolici Muneris*).

IV. Of the goods of the earth man has not merely the use, like the brute creation, but he has also the right of permanent proprietorship—and not merely of those things which are consumed by use, but also of those which are not consumed by use (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*).

V. The right of private property, the fruit of labour or industry, or of cession or danation by others, is an incontrovertible natural right; and everybody can dispose reasonably of such property as he thinks fit (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*).

VI. To heal the breach between the rich and the poor, it is necessary to distinguish between justice and charity. There can be no claim for redress except when justice is violated (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*).

OBLIGATIONS OF JUSTICE

VII. The following are obligations of justice binding on the proletariat and the working man: To perform fully and faithfully the work which has been freely and, according to equity, agreed upon; not to injure the property or outrage the person of masters; even in defence of their own rights to abstain from acts of violence, and never to make mutiny of their defence (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*).

VIII. The following are obligations of justice binding on capitalists: To pay just wages to their workmen; not to injure their just savings by violence or fraud, or by overt or covert usuries; not to expose them to corrupting seductions and danger of scandal; not to alienate them from the spirit of family life and from love of economy; not to impose on them labour beyond their strength, or unsuitable for their age or sex (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*).

IX. It is an obligation for the rich and for those that own property to succour the poor and the indigent, according to the precepts of the Gospel. This obligation is so grave that on the Day of Judgment special account will be demanded of its fulfilment, as Christ Himself has said (Matthew xxv.) (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*).

X. The poor should not be ashamed of their poverty, nor disdain the charity of the rich, for they should have especially in view Jesus the Redeemer, who, though He might have been born in riches, made Himself poor in order that He might be one

poverty and enrich it with merits beyond price for heaven (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*).

XI. For the settlement of the social question much can be done by the capitalists and workers themselves, by means of institutions designed to provide timely aid for the needy, and to bring together and unite mutually the two classes. Among these institutions are mutual aid societies, various kinds of private insurance societies, orphanages for the young, and, above all associations among the different trades and professions (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*).

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY.

XII. This end is especially aimed at by the movement of Christian Popular Action of Christian Democracy in its many and varied branches. But Christian Democracy must be taken in the sense already authoritatively defined. Totally different from the movement known as *Social Democracy*, it has for basis the principles of Catholic faith and morals—especially the principle of not injuring in any way the inviolable right of private property (Encyclical, *Graves de Communi*).

XIII. Moreover, Christian Democracy must have nothing to do with politics, and never be made to serve political ends or parties; this is not its field; but it must be a beneficent movement for the people, and founded on the law of nature and the precepts of the Gospel (Encyclical, *Graves de Communi*, Instructions of the S. Con. for E. E. Affairs).

Christian Democrats in Italy must abstain from participating in any political action—this is under present circumstances forbidden to every Catholic *for reasons of the highest order* (Instruction).

XIV. In performing its functions Christian Democracy is bound most strictly to depend upon ecclesiastical authority, and to offer full submission and obedience to the bishops and to those who represent them. There is no meritorious zeal or sincere piety in enterprises, however beautiful and good in themselves, when they are not approved by the Pastor (Encyclical, *Graves de Communi*).

XV. In order that the Christian Democratic movement in Italy may be united in its efforts, it must be under the direction of the Association of Catholic Congresses and Committees, which, during many years of fruitful labour, has deserved so well of Holy Church, and to which Pius IX. and Leo XIII., of holy

memory, entrusted the charge of directing the whole Catholic movement, always, of course, under the auspices and guidance of the bishops (Encyclical, *Graves de Communi*).

CATHOLIC WRITERS

XVI. Catholic writers must, in all that touches religious interests and the action of the Church in society, subject themselves entirely in intellect and will, like the rest of the faithful, to their bishops and to the Roman Pontiff. They must, above all, take care not to anticipate the judgments of the Holy See in this important matter (Instruction).

XVII. Christian Democratic writers must, like all other Catholic writers, submit to the previous examination of the ordinary all writings which concern religion, Christian morals, and natural ethics, by virtue of the Constitution *Officiorum et munerum* (Art. 41). By the same Constitution ecclesiastics must obtain the previous consent of the ordinary for the publication of writings of a merely technical character (Instruction).

XVIII. They must, moreover, make every effort and every sacrifice to ensure that charity and concord may reign among them. When causes of disagreement arise, they should, instead of printing anything on the matter in the papers, refer it to the ecclesiastical authority, which will then act with justice. And when taken to task by the ecclesiastical authority, let them obey promptly without tergiversation or giving vent to public complaints—the right of appeal to a higher authority being understood when the case requires it, and to be made in the right way (Instruction).

XIX. Finally, let Catholic writers take care, when defending the cause of the proletariat and the poor, not to use language calculated to inspire aversion among the people for the upper classes of society. Let them refrain from speaking of redress and justice when the matter comes within the domain of charity only, as has been explained above. Let them remmeber that Jesus Christ endeavoured to unite all men in the bond of mutual love, which is the perfection of justice, and which carries with it the obligation of working for the welfare of one another (Instruction).

The foregoing fundamental rules We of Our own initiative and with certain knowledge do renew by Our apostolic authority in all their parts, and We do ordain that they be transmitted to all Catholic Committees, Societies, and Unions of every kind.

All these societies are to keep them exposed in their rooms and to have them read frequently at their meetings. We ordain, moreover, that Catholic papers publish them in their entirety and make declaration of their observance of them—and, in fact, observe them religiously, failing to do this they are to be gravely admonished, and if they do not then amend let them be interdicted by ecclesiastical authority.

But as words and energetic action are of no avail unless preceded, accompanied and followed constantly by example, the necessary characteristic which should shine forth in all the members of every Catholic association is that of openly manifesting their faith by the holiness of their lives, by the spotlessness of their morals, and by the scrupulous observance of the laws of God and of the Church. And this because it is the duty of every Christian, and also in order that *who stands against us may blush, having nothing evil to say of us* (Tit. ii. 8).

From this solicitude of Ours for the common good of Catholic action, especially in Italy, We hope, through the blessing of God, to reap abundant and happy fruits.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, on December 18, 1903, in the first year of Our Pontificate.

PIUS X., POPE.

POPE PIUS X. AND THE CECILIA SOCIETY

BREVE APOSTOLICUM SOCIETATEM CAECILIANAM CONCERNENS

PIVS PP. X.

Dilecte Fili Noster, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Societatem Caecilianam iamdudum apud vos ex instituto id agentem, ut cantus gregoriani scientiam peritiamque in usum sacrorum late promoveat, merito tu quidem ac iure Nobis commendasti. Dignum enim omni commendatione studium est hominum, in re elaborantium, quae quum ad sanctissimas caeremonias, ea qua par est religione, peragendas conferat, magnopere ad fovendam pietatem publicam valet. Ex istorum autem a S. Caecilia sodalium sollertiâ industriaque fructus evenire, ubicumque germanicus sermo obtinet, laetos atque uberes, quamquam non ignotum Nobis erat, iucundum fuit ex tuis quoque litteris cognoscere. Nominatim didicimus libenter, ipsorum operam in finibus dioecesis tuae proficere et valere plurimum. Itaque non potest esse dubium, quin Caeciliana ista Societas aeque probetur Nobis, ac decessoribus Nostris Pio IX et Leoni

XIII fel. rec. probaretur : nec Nos minus habemus certum, fore ut illa novis praescriptionibus, quas in hoc genere dandas censuerimus, eâdem voluntate et fide obsequatur, qua obsequi Sedis Apostolicae mandatis consuevit. Eidem interea non exiguas nec vulgares laudes, quas meretur, Nostro etiam nomine tribuas, volumus : simulque divinorum munerum auspicem ac benevolentiae Nostrae testem habe tibi, dilecte Fili Noster, Apostolicam benedictionem, quam laudate quoque Societati universae et clero populoque tuis curis credito peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die 1 Decembris MDCCCCIII, Pontificatus Nostri Anno primo.

PIUS PP. X.

VALIDITY OF RESCRIPTS OF THE HOLY SEE

E SACRA POENITENTIARIA

RESCRIPTA MINORA S. SEDIS, LICET AB EXCOMMUNICATO IMPETRATA, VALIDA SUNT IN FORO CONSCIENTIAE [1]

Tizio sacerdote nel tempo in cui era innodato da scomunica riservata occulta, da cui ottenne poscia l'assoluzione, chiedeva ed otteneva dalle S. Rom. Congregazioni alcune grazie personali, che gli furono concesse con speciali Rescritti ; cioè dalla S. Congregazione dell'Indice la facoltà di leggere i libri proibiti—dal S. Uffizio la facoltà, ossia la dispensa dal digiuno—dalla S. Congregazione delle Indulgenze la facoltà di benedire corone ed altri oggetti con applicazione di Indulgenze—dalla S. Congregazione de' Riti di benedire S. Suppellettili ed altro.

Ma avendo ora rilevato che gli scomunicati sono incapaci di impetrare grazie Pontificie, trovasi in molte angustie nel dubbio se possa validamente usare delle facoltà e grazie di cui sopra, per cui col mio mezzo chiede :

(*a*) se abbiano a ritenersi validi i Rescritti di cui sopra ottenuti da Tizio, quando trovavasi vincolato da scomunica,

[1] Titius sacerdos, tempore quo erat innodatus excommunicatione reservata occulta, . . . petiit et obtinuit a S. R. Congregationibus nonnullas gratias privatas, ipsi speciali Rescripto concessas ; id est : a S. C. Indicis facultatem legendi libros prohibitos—a S. Officio dispensationem a ieiunio—a S. C. Indulgentiarum facultatem benedicendi coronas etc cum applicatione Indulgentiarum—a S. C. Rituum benedicendi sacras supellectiles etc. Audiens autem excommunicatos incapaces esse ad impetrandas gratias Pontificias, in multis angustiis versatur, dubitans utrum possit nec ne uti facultatibus supradictis, unde quaerit : (*a*) utrum pro validis habenda sint Rescripta supradicta a Titio obtenta quum erat excommunicatis vinculo irretitus ? (*b*) in casu negativo quomodo se genere debeat Titius ne manifestetur causa invaliditatis praedictorum Rescriptorum ?

(*b*) e nel caso negativo come abbia a contenersi Tizio per non manifestare la causa della invalidità degli ottenuti Rescritti.

Sacra Poenitentiaria, mature consideratis expositis, rescribit : Orator super praemissis acquiescat. Pro foro conscientiae tantum.

Datum Romae, ex Sacra Poenitentiaria die 9 Septembris 1898.

A. CARCANI, *S.P. Reg.*
R. CELLI, *S.P. Subst.*

INDULGENCE FOR THE LITTLE OFFICE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM

URBIS ET ORBIS—DECRETUM

QUO INDULGENTIAE RECITATIONI LATINAE PARVI OFFICII B. M. V. ADNEXAE, AD EIUSDEM VULGAREM RECITATIONEM PRIVATAM EXTENDUNTUR

Quamvis S. C. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita in una *Sebenicen.* sub die 13 Septembris 1888, expresse edixerit, non expedire ut extenderentur ad recitationem parvi Officii B. Mariae Virginis, in quodcumque vulgare idioma translati, Indulgentiae a RR. PP. adnexae recitationi eiusdem Officii, uti illud prostat in fine Breviarii Romani ; nihilominus instantius ab hac eadem S. Congregatione expostulatum est, ut praefatam Indulgentiarum extensionem concedere dignaretur, hisce potissimum de causis, quod hac nostra aetate latini sermonis quamplurimi sint omnino ignari, ususque in pluribus catholici Orbis regionibus iam inoleverit, hoc officium recitandi lingua vernacula expressum, et admodum difficile foret fideles ab hoc usu retrahere.

Quare haec S. C. sequens postulatum denuo examinandum duxit :

' An, non obstante Decreto in una *Sebenicen.*, die 13 Septembri 1888, expediat Indulgentias a RR. PP. concessas Christifidelibus recitantibus parvum Officium B. Mariae Virginis, uti extat in fine Breviarii Romani, extendere ad illos, qui idem Officium recitaverint in aliam linguam translatum, praevia recognitione et approbatione Ordinarii loci, ubi vulgaris est lingua ? '

Et Emi. Patres ad Vaticanum coadunati die 18 Augusti 1903 responderunt:

Affirmative pro privata tantum recitatione.

SSmus. vero Dnus. Noster Pius PP. X in Audentia habita die 28 Augusti 1903 ab infrascripto Card. Praefecto sententiam

Emorum. Patrum approbavit, et Indulgentiarum petitam extensionem benigne concessit.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis die 28 Augusti 1903.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Praefectus.*

L. ✠ S.

Pro R. P. D. FRANCISCO SOGARO, Arch. Amiden., *Secr.*
IOSEPHUS M. Canonicus COSELLI, *Substit.*

DECREES OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF THE INDEX.

I

DECRETUM. VARIA DAMNANTUR OPERA

Feria VI, die 4 Decembris 1903.

Sacra Congregatio Eminentissimorum ac Reverendissimorum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalium a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papae X, Sanctaque Sede Apostolica Indici librorum pravae doctrinae, eorumdemque proscriptioni, expurgationi ac permissioni in universa christiana republica praepositorum et delegatorum, habita in Palatio Apostolico Vaticano, die 4 Decembris 1903, damnavit et damnat, proscripsit proscribitque, atque in Indicem librorum prohibitorum referri mandavit et mandat quae sequuntur opera :

CHARLES DENIS, *Un carême apologétique sur les dogmes fondamentaux.* Paris, 1902.

CHARLES DENIS, *L'Eglise et l'Etat ; les leçons de l'heure présente.* Paris, 1902.

L'ABBE GEORGEL. *La matière ; sa déification ; sa réhabilitation au point de vue intellectuel et aimant ; ses destinées ultimes.* Oran, 1902-1903.

JOSEPH OLIVE. *Lettre aux membres de la pieuse et dévote association du Cœur de Jésus et de N.-D. des sept Douleurs.* Cette, 1886-1903.

P. SIFFLET, Decreto S. Congregationis, edito die 5 Martii 1903, quo liber ab eo conscriptus notatus et in Indicem librorum prohibitorum insertus est, laudabiliter se subiecit.

Itaque nemo cuiuscumque gradus et conditionis praedicta opera damnata atque proscripta, quocumque loco et quocumque idiomate, aut in posterum edere, aut edita legere vel retinere audeat, sub poenis in Indice librorum vetitorum indictis.

Quibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papae X per me

infrascriptum Secretarium relatis, Sanctitas Sua Decretum probavit, et promulgari praecepit. In quorum fidem, etc.

Datum Romae, die 4 Decembris, 1903.

ANDREAS Card. STEINHUBER, *Praef.*

Loco ✠ Sigilli.

Fr. THOMAS ESSER, Ord. Praed., *a Secretis.*

Die 7 Decembris 1903, ego infrascriptus Mag. Cursorum testor supradictum Decretum affixum et publicatum fuisse in Urbe.

HENRICUS BENAGLIA, *Mag. Curs.*

II

DECRETUM.

Feria VI, die 4 Decembris 1903.

Sacra Congregatio Eminentissimorum ac Reverendissimorum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalium a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papa X, Sanctaque Sede Apostolica Indici librorum pravae doctrinae, eorumdemque proscriptioni, expurgationi ac permissioni in universa christiana republica praepositorum et delegatorum, habita in Palatio Apostolico Vaticano, die 4 Decembris 1903, damnavit et damnat, proscripsit proscribitque, vel alias damnata atque proscripta in Indicem librorum prohibitorum referri mandavit et mandat quae sequuntur opera:

ALBERT HOUTIN. *La question biblique chez les catholiques de France au XIX^e^ siècle.*

ALBERT HOUTIN. *Mes difficultés avec mon évêque.*

ALFRED LOISY. *La Religion d'Israël.* Decr. S. Off. fer. IV, 16 Dec. 1903.

ALFRED LOISY. *L'Evangile et l'Eglise* do. do.

ALFRED LOISY. *Etudes évangéliques.* do. do.

ALFRED LOISY, *Autour d'un petit livre.* do. do.

ALFRED LOISY. *Le quatrième Evangile.* do. do.

Itaque nemo, etc.

Quibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papae X per me infrascriptum Secretarium relatis, Sanctitas Sua Decretum probavit, et promulgari praecepit. In quorum fidem, etc.

Datum Romae, die 23 Decembris, 1903.

ANDREAS Card. STEINHUBER, *Praef.*

Loco ✠ Sigilli.

Fr. THOMAS ESSER, Ord. Praed., *a Secretis.*

Die 24 Dec. 1903, ego infrascriptus Mag. Cursorum testor supradictum Decretum affixum et publicatum fuisse in Urbe.

HENRICUS BENAGLIA, *Mag. Curs.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

DIE PENTATEUCHFRAGE, IHRE GESCHICHTE UND IHRE SYSTEME. By Joseph Kley. Münster: Alphonsus-Buchhandlung, 1903. 239 pp. 8vo. Price 4*s.* 6*d.*

ABOUT five years ago the Theological Faculty (Catholic) in the University of Tübingen offered a prize for the best historical and critical essay on the many erroneous theories that have been broached in modern times regarding the origin and antiquity of Genesis. The prize was won by Kley, and the work just published represents his essay in an improved and enlarged form. As a matter of course, in order to defend against higher criticism the Mosaic authorship of Genesis he found it necessary to extend the sphere of his remarks to the middle books and to Deuteronomy. His readers will rejoice at the necessity, for the result is that they have an admirable treatise on a most important subject.

It consists of two parts. The first division contains a clear, concise description and refutation of the four great hypotheses in support of which respectively all the manifold theories of Pentateuchal criticism have been invented. The comparative table of systems given on page 139 is particularly good. Some phases, however, in their chequered evolution might, with advantage have been explained in detail; for instance, Ewald's change of opinion respecting the Supplement-Hypothesis and the cause of Hupfeld's opposition to it. But on the whole, Kley gives a graphic account of what is known as negative or destructive criticism, and especially of Wellhausen's plan of attack, which as being the method in vogue at the present day, is entitled to special attention.

The second part deals with the language of the Pentateuch, its alleged anachronisms, etc.; monotheism, unity of sanctuary, sacrifices, priests, and levites, etc., etc.; in a word, it discusses in connection with the Pentateuch the chief critical questions of the day. The answers which the author makes to some objections may not be so full and satisfactory as those we find in Smith's *Pentateuch*, or in Van Hoonacker's *Le Sacerdoce Levitique*,

but what he says, often from a new standpoint, is very suggestive. Nearly all the books he refers to are written by Germans, and this may, perhaps, account for the comparatively shorter treatment of problems which are considered important in France, England, and the United States. But he does know the literature of his subject, and to anyone desirous of learning what is being said by rationalists in Germany his book will be both interesting and useful. It supplies what has for the past few years been felt as a want by some Catholic students.

R. W.

CHRISTIAN APOLOGETICS. By Rev. W. Devivier, S.J.

1. Translated by Rev. L. Peeters and Rev. J. Sasia, S.J. Burns & Oates.

2. Translated by E. McMahon. Benziger.

AT the present day the value of work ssuch as this is so obvious as hardly to admit of comment. People read of so many ephemeral productions more or less secular in their nature and drift, that there is especial need of good Catholic literature which may serve as an antidote. And people are often heard to ask for a solidly learned book that will enlighten them on some point of doctrine or of history which they instinctively feel has been misrepresented in the magazine or newspaper they have just laid down. Men whose faith might be weakened by an objection which they themselves could not answer will generally find it already refuted in Father Devivier's pages. For special attention is paid by him to current topics and to the specious arguments by means of which those outside the Church attack her infallible teaching. In all the departments of science and literature the author shows that modern discoveries and the unanimous voice of the learned concur in giving testimony to the Catholic Church.

And there is another class of persons for whom he writes, viz., the intelligent and fairly well educated laymen who desire to know more about the truths of their holy religion than is contained in catechisms and school-books. Though they have no opportunity of reading a course of theology, nevertheless, they would fain understand something about the questions that belong to the domain of the queen of sciences. To meet their

legitimate wishes Father Devivier discusses, *e.g.*, the historical value of Scripture, the proofs of the divine origin of Christianity, the notes of the Church, Infallibility, Primacy, and the relations between Church and State.

The French original of his work has now reached its sixteenth edition in the course of a few years, and it has been translated into several languages. Many Cardinals, and the Archbishops and Bishops in various countries, have given it their cordial recommendation. A better book for a parochial library, or for the reading-room of a Catholic association could hardly be procured.

As the two translations named above reached us together, it seemed better to review them simultaneously. Both are faithful to the original, and both are written in clear flowing English. We notice that some references and notes are found only in the one, some only in the other. But it is mere justice to add that the larger number is peculiar to the translation in two volumes by the Jesuit fathers. This condition contains also a valuable introduction by Father Peeters, enlarged and adapted by Father Sasia. It treats of God and of the human soul. Moreover, in this edition the reader will find lists of the best books on the subject of which each section treats. These render the original work still more useful to students of theology or to priests on the mission. It will be understood from this brief comparison, that the translations respectively are suited to different classes of readers. One is for those who have leisure and a library, the other—a handy one volume edition—is for the busy man or woman.

P. G.

LEX ORANDI: OR, PRAYER AND CREED. By Rve. George Tyrrell, S.J. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. Price 5*s.* net.

THIS is not a book for the man in the street; only the trained thinker is capable of rating its importance. It is what may be called the heart apology for the Catholic religion. Assuming the existence in man's soul of a 'religious sense' and a *de facto* exigency of the 'supernatural,' the author develops the thesis that Catholicity is true because it is the ascertained realization of man's highest and fullest life. It would seem that

great minds have been influenced by this view of religion. In his preface to *J. H. Newman*, par Georges Grappe, Paul Bourget says :—

Ce que Newman a vu nettement, ce que M. Olle-Laprune a reconnu de son coté et dit non moins nettement, c'est que la question de la vérité religieuse n'est pas purement intellectuelle. Cette vérité n'est pas une vérité abstraite. C'est une vérité. vivante. Elle ne s'adresse pas dans l'homme à la seule intelligence, elle s'adresse au cœur et à la volunté. Elle doit etre sentie autant que comprise, et voulue autant que sentie . . . C'etait bien cette idée qu'entrevoyait Pascal quand il parlait de ' raisons de cœur que la raison ne comprend pas,' et surtout orsqu'il écrivait dans son mystère de Jesus, sur les péchés. A mesure que tu les expieras, tu les connaitres.' Phrase d'une portée extraordinaire ! Elle significe que pour penser la verite religieuse il faut d'abord la vivre.

The first sentence in the preface to his book contains Fr. Tyrrell's defence against any objections that the dogmatic theologian might make to this line of apologetics. ' Truth,' he says, ' can and ought to be approached from many sides ; it is not different because their aspects and approaches are different.' The author tries to show how the Creed may be approached or rather apprehended through the spirit of prayer taken in a wide sense. Hence the title of his book. *Spiritus spirat ubi vult*, and we can believe that this view of religion might appeal to many whom the scientific treatment of the subject would leave unmoved. Fr. Tyrrell writes for the learned and affects putting simple truths in a novel way. He uses such words as ' will-attitude,' ' will-union,' ' Christocentricism.' A quotation from St. Augustine is sometimes welcome as a simplification of the author's idea. The following extract will illustrate the complex character of his way of viewing things :—

Through that world to which our body belongs and of which our senses, memory, and understanding take account, we are made aware of other wills which impress themselves therein, as we ourselves do, by the sensibly evident results of their action. It is in our *felt* relation to those other wills that our spiritual life in reality consists. That relation is, with regard to each several will, one of agreement and attraction or of revolt and dislike, or rather of a complex bending of likes and dislikes, according to the innumerable elements into which each moral personality, each total will-attitude may be virtually resolved. Like the

motes in a sunbeam the whole world of wills is in ceaseless commotion: each changing its attitude with regard to all the rest, as moment by moment the shifting situation demands a new response. Whenever we find another will accordant with our own in any particular we experience a sense of re-enforcement and expansion of our spiritual life and being. (Page 12.)

To sum up what we think, Fr. Tyrrell's book is a highly successful attempt to dress old thoughts in a new garb which will, perhaps, make them acceptable to those 'intellectuals' and *dilletanti* to whom the common way of talking would not appeal. The ordinary Catholic reader will scarcely understand the bearing of such language as the following:—

It (the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity) is a conception of the Divinity which shapes, characterises, and expresses that particular quality of supernatural love towards God and man that burned as a fire in the Heart of Christ and was thence kindled over the face of the earth among His disciples. It gives a new and far more explicit constitution to that will-world in which our inner life of grace is lived, determining more exactly the nature of its source, end, and centre, and by consequence of our relations to it and to one another through it. Like every other doctrine of the Christian faith, this of the Trinity is the creation of love and life; it was felt and lived before it was expressed in terms of the understanding . . . not till it gathered to its utmost force and intensity in the human soul of Christ was its origin clearly revealed to man's mind as a Trinity of divine persons, Father, Son, and Spirit (page 110).

We heartily commend the book to theologians, philosophers, and to all who wish to follow the unfolding of a profound thought in an original and attractive style.

T. P. G.

S. Alphonsi Mariae de Liguorio, Ecclesiae Doctoris, Opera Dogmatica ex Italico Sermone in Latinum. Transtulit Aloysius Walter, C.SS.R. Romae: Typis Philippi Cuggiani, Via della Pace.

Fr. Walter has published in two portly volumes a clear and reliable translation of the dogmatic works of St. Alphonsus. No doubt it is principally as a moral theologian St. Liguori will live in the annals of ecclesiastical science. Yet in his dogmatic writings he has proved himself a thoughtful, broadminded master. We must be ever grateful to him for what he has done

in this line. We must be grateful also to Fr. Walter for having given to the world what was hitherto reserved for Italians.

It would be impossible for us, in a short notice, to discuss the many points of dogmatic theology which are inevitably raised by the publication of a work like that of Fr. Walter. We can at most, give our readers a general idea of the ground which has been covered by the great doctor of the Church in his dogmatic works. We can do this in no better way than by giving the titles of the divisions of the two volumes :—I. 'Contra Atheos et Deistas ;' II. 'Contra Sectas Dissidentes ;' III. 'De Fidei veritate contra incredulos et haereticos ;' IV. 'Vindiciae contra Febronium ;' V. 'Doctrinal Catholicae juxta Concilii Tridentini decreta expositio ;' VI. Haeresium historia et confutatio ;' VII. 'De divina revelatione considerationes;' VIII. 'De Novissimis ;' IX. 'De magno orationis medio ;' Appendix I. 'De spe Christiana ;' Appendix II. 'De Jesu Christi praedestinatione.'

Cardinal Merry del Val, in a letter written to Fr. Walter at the command of His Holiness, Pius X., gives special thanks for the great benefit which has been done to the world by making better known St. Liguori's works from which the fruits of solid doctrine and piety are rightly hoped. We congratulate Fr. Walter on such a tribute. We wish his work a wide and friendly recognition.

J. M. H.

YOUTHFUL VERSES. By J. J. Kelly, D.D., Athlone. Dublin Gill & Son.

IN his very modest preface to this little volume the author tells us that the poems it enshrines are effusions of his youthful days which he would have been satisfied to leave buried in the files of old newspapers and collections for recitation were it not for the solicitation of friends and classfellows and the tenderness of advancing years for the first fruits of his poetic ardour.

It is not very often we can congratulate poets on yielding to the entreaties of old friends in giving their verses to the world ; but there are exceptions to every rule, and this is distinctly and deservedly an exception. The poems are as pure in diction and as free from prose as they are elevated in thought and subject. Many of them are devoted to the 'Queen of May,' to the angels and saints, to patriots, famous Irishmen of letters, friends and acquaintances. The characteristics of youth are visible in

them here and there. Some few verses limp, or at least do not make harmony in our ear. But on the whole they are pleasant to read and well worthy of being preserved. The verses to his 'Alma Mater' are perhaps the best in the volume, and many of her past *alumni* will echo his prayer.

Maynooth! God guard thy loved walls well,
Thy chapels and thy halls of prayer,
Thy corridors and cloisters fair,
Where youths' bright memories ever dwell

. . . . . .

No wonder aged priests who bear
The burden of accomplished days
With saddened eyes should backward gaze
On these dear walls and all declare—

Maynooth! our happiest years are thine!
Thine are the springs of sacred truth,
The unforgotten friends of youth;
Fair through the years thy turrets shine.

. . . . . .

While memory of the past endures,
Fair Mother of a royal race,
Of noble form and queenly grace,
Our true and changeless love is yours.

We hope that Mgr. Kelly's confidence may be justified by the sale of this pretty little volume.

J. F. H.

HISTOIRE DES LIVRES DU NOUVEAU TESTAMENT. E. Jacquier. (Tome premier). Paris: Lecoffre.

THIS is an admirable little work on the Epistles of St. Paul. The writer has evidently made the subject his own. Those who know the excellent articles which he has contributed to the present three volumes of Vigouroux' *Dictionnaire de la Bible* will be prepared for this. 'Colossiens,' 'Corinthiens,' etc., are by him, and in the present work we have the matured result of his studies in a very attractive form. He traces the events that led to St. Paul's writing, the date and the place of the composition, etc., and gives a very minute analysis. We do not indeed

remember to have seen within restricted limits a better account of the peculiarities of the Apostle's diction and style. The authenticity of each Epistle is also clearly proved. On one side the current objections are stated adequately, on the other the answers of our best oommentators are given. In conclusion it may be said that the reverend author, who by the way is both Professor of Scripture and Master of Conference in Lyons, does not traverse quite the same ground as the Abbé Fouard or Conybeare and Howson. They are concerned chiefly with St. Paul himself, his mission and Apostolic journeys; Abbé Jacquier does not stop to tell us much about Asia Minor or Greece and St. Paul's doings there; he confines his attention for the most part to the Epistles themselves.

F. N.

HISTOIRE DE L'ANCIEN TESTAMENT, L'Abbé J. B. Pelt. 4me. Edition. Paris: Lecoffre.

EVERYONE knows that in recent years a vast amount of information more or less illustrative of the Old Testament has been given to the world. Discoveries in Egypt and in Assyria are shedding so brilliant light on the meaning of many parts of the inspired record, that at last we can clearly see the connexion between events in sacred and events in profane history. What may be called the worldly background of the narrative that extends from Genesis to Paralipomenon has emerged from the gloom of ages. The natural result has been a marked improvement in books that treat of the history of the Old Testament. In Germany Schöpfer's work is, we believe, regarded as one of the best on the subject. It has been translated and supplemented by the Abbé Pelt. Needless to say that it is a pleasure to read his version. No book of the kind is more likely to be useful to a busy ecclesiastic that desires to have in compendious form a reliable account of Israel's place in the world's history, and at the same time to know accurately something about the critical questions that are mooted in respect of the Old Testament the present day.

E. L.

ST. CHRYSOSTOM ON THE PASTORAL OFFICE[1]

I.

CHRYSOSTOM and Basil (not the great Basil) grew up together at Antioch, were of the same social standing, had similar tastes, and were fast friends. They commenced life as young men of the world and ended by becoming, first monks and afterwards bishops. Basil was the first to quit the world and betake himself, not without his books, to solitude. John remained at Antioch, held back it would seem by the attractions of the law-courts and of the theatres; and so the constant intercourse of the two friends was interrupted. 'But,' says Chrysostom, 'as soon as I too raised my head somewhat above the billows of this life, he received me with outstretched arms.' Basil invited his old friend to come away from his home and his mother that they might both dwell together in solitude, friendship, and holiness. John was ready to break with the world.

But [he tells us] the constant caresses of my mother prevented me from doing him that favour . . . She took me by the hand and brought me into her room, and making me sit down by the bed where she gave me birth, she burst into a flood of tears, and added words more affecting than tears. . . . 'My dear son,'

---

[1] *On the Priesthood.* A treatise in six books. By St. John Chrysostom. Translated by the Rev. Patrick Boyle, C.M. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son; London; Art and Book Co.; New York: Benziger Bros. 1903.

said she, ' as God so willed it I was not allowed to possess long your virtuous father. For his death, which took place soon after you were born, left you an orphan and me prematurely a widow with the trials of widowhood, which they alone can understand who have experienced them ; for no words can describe the flood of affliction which a young woman, who has but recently left her father's home and is yet inexperienced in business, endures when she is suddenly overwhelmed with extreme grief and compelled to undertake cares beyond her age and sex. For she is obliged to correct the domestics for their negligence, and watch to hinder their infidelity, and guard against the intrigues of relatives, and resist courageously the exactions and harshness of the tax-gatherers . . . . Yet none of these things induced me to contract a second marriage, nor to bring a second husband into your father's house ; but I remained in the tempest and the din, and I did not fly from the fiery furnace of widowhood. . . . Await my death. . . . When you have laid me in the earth by the bones of your father, then . . . sail on whatever sea you please ' (page 4).

Basil, to whom John related this and other similar interviews, was unmoved, but no son could resist such an appeal. ' While we were thus engaged,' Chrysostom continues, ' he continually pressing his request and I not assenting, all of a sudden a rumour arose that filled us both with alarm. The rumour was that we were to be promoted to the Episcopal dignity.' It was now John's turn to be immovable. Basil proposed to his friend that ' in this as on former occasions, they should display unity of action and purpose ;' saying, says Chrysostom, ' that he was ready to follow whatever course I should adopt either in declining or submitting.' It would seem that John's answer left Basil under the impression that this was a bargain, but when the ordaining prelate arrived sometime after, John was not to be found, and Basil was consecrated Bishop of Raphanaea, having been induced to accept the yoke by the false statement that his friend John had already submitted to the will of God. Basil was greatly annoyed on ascertaining the truth and came to his friend in a state of great excitement. ' Seeing him,' says Chrysostom, ' bathed in tears and under the influence of great emotion, and knowing the cause, I began to laugh for very joy, and taking his hand I began to kiss it, and I praised God that my stratagem had ended

well and in the way I had always desired.' Basil replied that the deception practised on him by a life-long friend was not now his bitterest trial. What was he to say to those who accused Chrysostom of refusing the Episcopate through a spirit of vain-glory.

'Some,' he said to him, 'accuse you of arrogance and others of vainty, and those who are most unsparing in their charges accuse us both and, moreover, they add the charge of insolence towards those who elected us to this dignity . . . For they passed over so many deserving men and straightway promoted to a dignity such as they could never have dreamt of obtaining, mere boys who until the other day were immersed in the business of the world, because, forsooth, they had put on a serious look and dressed plainly, and assumed an air of affected gravity . . . This and more they are constantly saying to me. As for me, I know not what reply to make and I beg of you to tell me.'

Chrysostom's *apologia* in answer to his friend's appeal is his famous treatise on the Pastoral Office which the learned Rector of the Irish College, Paris, has translated into smooth and readable English. The work is divided into six books, any of which might be read in less than two hours. The Editor of the I. E. RECORD was kind enough to ask me to review Father Boyle's translation, and reading it over I thought it a pity to dismiss so interesting and practical a work with the usual few complimentary remarks. I hope the Editor will kindly allow me space to describe the scope and character of the book and to give a few extracts which, I think, will show how absolutely modern in its application is the idea of the Pastoral Office as conceived by St. John Chrysostom in the latter end of the fourth century.

II.

The substance of the first book is contained in the foregoing remarks, the quotations being all from Father Boyle's translation. Designed as an introduction to his treatise on the Priesthood, it contains interesting details of the saint's early life. The iron austerity of the man who would entice young Chrysostom, an only son, away from his widowed mother is typical of the asceticism of the first ages, and would be called inhuman barbarity by many well-meaning

people of our time. The remaining five books are a defence of his conduct in evading a dignity and responsibility which he was willing to have placed on the shoulders of his friend Basil. Without committing himself to a detailed programme or following a logical order he touches on the excellence, difficulties, and responsibility of the Pastoral Office, on the duty of the electors to the Episcopacy, on the duty and method of preaching, and, more than all, on the qualifications requisite for the efficient exercise of the pastor's mission. The work is in the form of a dialogue between Basil and himself, but Chrysostom does nearly all the talking. What makes the book particularly interesting and readable is, that it is not a formal treatise on the Pastoral Office, but rather a personal explanation in which Chrysostom talks very candidly about his own shortcomings and the peculiar circumstances of his day. The original work is a classic, for though a living picture of the age in which Chrysostom lived, it deals with those weaknesses of human nature which are always with us, and its style is characterised by those qualities which have won for Chrysostom the reputation of being among the greatest of Christian orators.

Eloquent, forcible, and elegant as is this work, it is, I venture to say, more remarkable for the practical knowledge of life and of Sacred Scripture displayed in its every page. Chrysostom was anything but a theorist. He had lived what he wrote. This book was, it seems, written some years after the event which occasioned it, at a time when Chrysostom was engaged as deacon in the Church of Antioch, and so, though not yet Patriarch of Constantinople he was able to draw on a wide experience of monastic and missionary life to illustrate his views. A small man himself and weak, too, it seems, in bodily health, he drew his ideals and inspirations from the writings and character of St. Paul. Here, then, is a work which realises all the conditions of a Christian classic, a work which no pastor can read without profit, which charms while it instructs, which is as applicable to our time as to the conditions of the fourth century, and from the perusal

of which no serious soul can fail to carry away a haunting sense of the majesty and dreadful responsibility of the priestly office.

III.

But it is time to let the golden-mouthed John speak. Here is what he says about Episcopal elections as they were conducted in his day about Antioch :—

> Go and witness the solemn festivals when, according to usage, ecclesiastical elections are generally held, and you will see the priest assailed by as many accusations as he has subjects. For all who have right to vote for the office are split up into many sections, and you would hardly ever find the assembly of priests agreed amongst themselves or with the presiding bishop, but taking each his own view, one votes for one candidate, and another for a different one. The reason is, that all do not pay attention to the very point they should look to, that is, to virtue, but they assign various motives for conferring the office. One says : Let us elect the candidate for he is of noble family ; or this one, because he is wealthy and does not require the revenues of the Church for his support ; or that other, because he comes to us from the ranks of our adversaries. One votes for an acquaintance, another for a relative, a third tries to get one of his flatterers preferred to all others. But no one wishes to consider who is fit for the office nor to examine his qualifications.

I am sure the last sentence is an exaggeration, for John himself was chosen in 397 to succeed Nestorius as Bishop of Constantinople, though indeed 'Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria, a man of a proud and turbulent spirit, was come thither to recommend a creature of his own to that dignity.'[2] Chrysostom's views on the qualifications for the Pastoral or Episcopal Office are very definite and practical. He insists of course on personal sanctity as a primary requisite.

'The soul of a priest,' he says, 'should be purer than the rays of the sun, that he may not be abandoned by the Holy Ghost.' But he requires in the pastor a great deal more :—

> Even [he says] if a man had great piety, yet I should not

[2] Butler's *Lives of the Saints* : St. John Chrysostom.

wish to elect him for that reason unless along with piety he possessed great prudence. For I have known many who practised constant self-denial and emaciated themselves by fasting, and were pleasing to God as long as they were able to live retired and attend to themselves only; but when they were advanced to a public office and were obliged to correct the faults of the people, some of them from the outset were unequal to the task (page 61).

Writing in the same strain at page 130, he says :—

Nor is this strange. For when the contest and the training have not the same object, the combatant is no better than one untrained. He who enters those lists must, first of all, despise glory, be above anger, and possess great prudence. Now they who embrace a monastic life have no opportunity to exercise themselves in these things. They have not the people to excite them to anger, that so they may learn to control it, nor to praise and admire them, that they may learn to despise popular applause, nor do they attach great importance to prudence so necessary in ecclesiastical affairs. On entering then on contests of which they had no experience, they become perplexed and dazed and helpless, and, besides making no progress in virtue oftentimes they lose what they already possessed.

In addition then to personal holiness, St. Chrysostom would require in candidates for the Pastoral Office that tact, prudence, and patience which are learned only in the school of trial and experience. He has a piquant passage (page 68) on the necessity of patience :—

But I do not consider such magnanimity (detachment from money) enough, though it is more important than other qualities. . . . But along with it another qualification is requisite. Now that quality is patience, a virtue which is the source of all good things to men, and which wafts the soul as it were to the pleasant harbour of tranquillity. For by reason of their poverty and their age and their sex, widows are immoderately free in speech (for that is the best way of putting it); they clamour without reason, and complain without cause, and lament where they ought to be thankful, and find fault where they ought to be grateful. And he who is set over them must bear all with courage, and not be moved to anger by their unseasonable brawls and their unreasonable complaints.

In this passage we see the Deacon of Antioch distributing relief to the distressed, and one is struck in reading it at

the unprogressive character of human nature. The qualifications of a pastor are eloquently summed up in the following paragraph (page 66) :—

> Consider then, what manner of man he ought to be whose duty it is to bear up against so great a tempest and surmount so many obstacles. He ought to be grave yet not haughty, awe-inspiring yet kind, full of authority yet affable, no acceptor of persons yet condescending, humble yet not servile, strong yet meek, that he may be able with ease to cope with all these difficulties, and with full liberty promote the qualified candidate though all oppose, and not promote the unqualified even though all combine in his favour ; and to look to one thing only, the edification of the Church, and do nothing through hatred or partiality.

IV.

Running through the whole book is an expression of Chrysostom's sense of the difficulties and responsibility of the pastor's office. The labour of the monastic state he speaks of as the ' passing over a river,' but the Episcopacy is, to his mind, ' the labour of crossing the boundless sea.' ' The billows,' he says, ' which assail the soul of a priest are greater than those which the tempests raise in the ocean.' Speaking about his own character he singles out what he calls ' the most dangerous rock of vain-glory ' :—

> If one [he says] were to impose this dignity upon me he would, as it were, deliver me up with my hands bound behind my back, to be torn in pieces day by day by the monsters that dwell on that rock. What are those monsters ? Anger, sadness, envy, contention, detraction, accusation, falsehood, hypocrisy, snares, aversion to those who have done us no wrong, satisfaction at the disgrace of fellow-labourers in the ministry, grief at their success, love of praise, ambition of honours (a passion which most of all leads the soul to destruction), preaching to please, servile adulation, ignoble flattery, contempt of the poor, servility towards the rich, unreasonable marks of respect, blameworthy tokens of gratitude, as dangerous to those who give as to those who receive them, servile fear befitting only the meanest slaves, the absence of liberty, the appearance of humility without the reality, no courage to rebuke and admonish, or rather unmeasured severity towards the poor, while hardly daring to open one's lips to those in power (page 49).

We are certain that Chrysostom was unjust to himself

in the above passage, for as Bishop of Constantinople he had the courage to rebuke the Empress Eudoxia, but how marvellously accurate was his knowledge of poor human nature. In another passage (page 58) he speaks of the office itself as a fiery ordeal :—

Men [he says] ought to be elected whose souls are such as grace rendered the bodies of the ancient saints in the furnace of Babylon. For the fuel of this fire is not wood, pitch, tow, but far worse than these ; for it is not palpable fire that is in question, but the devouring flame of envy surrounds the priest spreading on all sides . . . When it finds the smallest trace of stubble it immediately seizes on it, and consumes the vitiated part, and begrimes with smoke and blackens the rest of the building were it more beautiful than the rays of the sun. As long as the life of a priest is well ordered, he is exposed to no such an attack. But if he be negligent in the smallest thing, as may easily happen, since he is but a man, voyaging on the tempestuous sea of life, his past good works are powerless to protect him from the tongues of accusers.

And in truth how little do his past good works weigh with men when they sit in judgment on the fault of a human brother. Here is a passage (page 74) on the troubles of the Bishop as judge and patron, which shows how observant was the Deacon of Antioch :—

Again, the office of judge occasions innumerable troubles, much labour, and even greater difficulties than secular judges have to meet with. For it is difficult to find out the law, and when found out, not to violate it. Not only is there labour and difficulty, but there is also no small risk. For there are instances of some of the weaker brethren who have made shipwreck of the faith, because having got into trouble they could not find a protector. . . . And as I have mentioned patronage, allow me to disclose to you another subject of complaint. Unless the Bishop visits daily, even more than seculars do, he gives untold offence. Not only the sick but the healthy also, desire to be visited, and many desire it not from a motive of piety, but rather as a mark of honour and respect. And if, perchance, for a special reason and for the interest of the Church, he visits the rich or powerful more frequently, at once he gets the name of a courtier or a flatterer. But why speak of patronage and visits, even salutations occasion such annoying complaints as often to make one feel depressed and discouraged. For people observe even one's looks ; many scrutinise the least actions, the tone of the voice, the motion of the eyes and one's manner of

laughter. 'He smiled blandly,' they say, 'to such a one, and saluted him with a cheerful countenance and in a loud voice, but he treated me with less ceremony and in a formal way.'

Chrysostom's views about the punishment that awaits the negligent pastor are not in the least softened by his appreciation of the manifold difficulties and trials incident to the office. Basil, in one of the few places where he speaks, says *apropos* of John's expression of these views, 'I know no longer where I am, with such fear and terror have your words inspired me.'

Speaking of pastoral duties Chrysostom lays special stress on sympathy with the poor, and on preaching. After quoting from Eccles. iv. 8, 'Bow down thine ear cheerfully to the poor and answer him cheerful words with mildness,' he goes on to say :—

> Though one does not withhold the means of support, yet if he loads them with reproaches, if he insults them and is angry with them, he is so far from relieving them by his alms, that he increases their sufferings by his reproaches. . . . When, therefore, through fear of hunger, they are forced to beg, and in begging, to be saucy, and then have to suffer insult on account of their boldness, their minds are clouded, and enveloped in deep gloom and dejection. Now, he who is charged with their care should be a man of such longanimity that he will not increase their affliction by his indignation, but rather alleviate it by words of consolation (page 69).

While insisting that a pastor ought to be a good manager, he does not believe in laying by a reserve fund which may be diverted from its object. 'What is contributed,' he says, 'should be immediately distributed to the poor ; and the liberality of the faithful should be looked upon as the treasury of the Church' (page 70).

V.

What he says about preaching is worthy of special attention, for he was himself, according to Bossuet, the 'greatest of Christian orators.' His views on this as on other matters are not in the nature of a formal essay, but rather the practical directions of a man who knew

from experience and observation what he was talking about :—

After good example [he says] there is but one instrument and means of healing ; that is preaching. This is the instrument, this the regimen, this the salubrious climate, this serves as medicine, as fire and knife. If it be necessary to burn or to cut this must be used, and if it fail all the rest is useless (page 92).

The preacher should, in his view, be equal to the task of refuting all the current errors of his time :—

For [he says] we have to prepare not for one kind of combat, but for a warfare waged by various enemies who do not all use the same weapons nor the same method of attack. It behoves him who has to engage in conflict with all, to know the arts of all, and to be at once archer and slinger, brigadier and captain, soldier and general, foot-soldier and horseman. . . . For what advantage is it to fight nobly against the Gentiles if the Jews plunder the Church, or that both are conquered if the Manicheans ravage it, or that all three are overcome if the Fatalists slaughter the sheep within the Fold.

While insisting on the cultivation of the oratorical gift, he is still more emphatic on the necessity of purity of intention and his views on these subjects, and on the general trials and difficulties of a great public preacher, are evidently taken from life. Eloquence was in those days the standard of excellence.

Are you not aware [he says] of the great passion for eloquence which has taken possession of the minds of Christians, and that they who practise it are held in honour not only by those without, but also by the members of the household of the faith. Who then can bear the disgrace that when he speaks all are still and seem bored, and look forward to the conclusion of the discourse as the end of their suffering.

One wonders that such a close observer did not note the coughing, if this means of relief was then known. Hence, he argues the necessity of cultivating eloquence. But even the great orator was not, in his view, without serious trials. Many of the audience came, it seems, as to a theatre to be electrified, or at least to be tickled, and, of course, criticised the relative merits of different preachers. This occasioned a temptation to aim at pleasing rather than instructing and

reproving. Furthermore, a great preacher might not be in form on a particular occasion and would be obliged to swallow the bitter pill of dispraise.

> Hence [says Chrysostom], when an orator surpasses all others in talent, he must study and labour more than others. Not to succeed always in everything, which is the common lot of men, is not permitted to him; for if his discourse does not come up to his reputation, he is scoffed at and censured by the public . . . Moreover, men are wont to overlook the good qualities of their neighbour, however numerous and great; but if any defect appears, be it ever so slight or long past, they soon perceive it, lay hold on it and never forget it. And that defect, though small and trivial, often dims the glory of many distinguished men (page 112).

Another trial of the orator in those days was the envy excited by his reputation in the minds of the lesser luminaries. 'Those,' according to our author, 'do not exercise their vengeance in person only. They try to do so by means of others, and sometimes they take up a man destitute of oratorical talent, praise and admire him beyond his deserts . . . not to praise the man who does not deserve it but to destroy the reputation of the other, (page 113). Two remedies are all that Chrysostom suggests against the many difficulties and trials incident to the discharge of this great pastoral duty, 'contempt of praise and a talent for oratory.'

'For if one of the two,' he says, 'be wanting, that which remains is useless without the other . . .' (page 108). Beyond insisting on a knowledge of Sacred Scripture, on careful preparation of one's discourse, and 'on constant labour in cultivating a talent for oratory,' he lays down no precise rules for the composition of a sermon. His own numerous sermons are homiletic in form and are, perhaps, more remarkable for directness of aim than elegance of phrase. I shall allow one of his admirers to speak about the character of Chrysostom's preaching :—

> Great as was his gift of oratory, it was not by the fertility of his imagination or the splendour of his diction that he gained the surname of the 'Mouth of Gold.' We shall be very wrong if we suppose that fine expression, or rounded periods, or figures

of speech were the credentials by which he claimed to be the first doctor of the East. His oratorical power was but the instrument by which he readily, gracefully, and adequately expressed,—expressed without effort and with facility—the keen feelings, the living ideas, the earnest practical lessons which he had to communicate to his hearers. He spoke because his heart, his head were brimful of things to speak about. His elocution corresponded to that strength and flexibility of limb, that quickness of eye, hand, and foot, by which a man excels in manly games or in mechanical skill. It would be a great mistake, in speaking of it, to ask whether it was Attic or Asiatic, terse or flowing, when its distinctive praise was that it was natural. His unrivalled charm, as that of every really eloquent man, lies in his singleness of purpose, his fixed grasp of his aim, his noble earnestness.[3]

On the second remedy, viz., a 'contempt of praise,' he is exceedingly insistent, showing evidently that he felt himself its necessity :—

Let not the preacher [he says, at page 114] give heed to the praise of the people, nor lose heart if it fail him. But while he make it the purpose of his discourse to please God—for this and not the applause of men should be the guide and only aim of his best efforts—should he be praised, let him not despise the praise, and should he receive no applause from his audience, let him not seek it or feel hurt. . . . If the preacher permits himself to be carried away by a desire of praise, his labour and his talent will profit him nothing For the mind that cannot bear the foolish criticism of the people becomes discouraged and loses zeal for preaching.

In another place he says :—

A priest should have for his people the sentiments of a father for his children. And as we are not concerned when children insult and strike us and lament, nor are we elated when they laugh and rejoice with us ; so a priest ought not to be elated by the praise of the people, nor cast down by their unreasonable dispraise.

At the same time no one knew better than he how difficult of attainment is this philosophic indifference. For he adds, 'This, my dear friend, is a matter of difficulty, or rather I think it is perhaps impossible. For not to feel pleased at being praised is, I am inclined to think, what has

[3] Newman's *Historical Sketches*: St. Chrysostom.

happened to no man.' The harm is when a man cannot get on without this stimulant, and is dejected and desolate when it is not forthcoming for, as Chrysostom adds, 'dejection and constant anxiety are capable of destroying strength of soul and leading to utter weakness.' Here then we find ourselves thinking of Newman's direction, that a preacher is not to aim even at eloquence but always at his end—viz., the spiritual good of his hearers.

Such, in brief, are Chrysostom's views on the Pastoral Office. Composed towards the close of the fourth century are they not singularly modern in their application? Written in defence of his conduct in escaping the dignity and responsibility to which he thought himself unequal, they prove how eminently fitted he was to rule in the Church of God. Later on, when called to fill the episcopal throne of Constantinople, he realised in his own person the ideal of a bishop he had conceived when a monk, and experienced all the trials and difficulties which he had anticipated; but, far from failing, he died a saint, leaving behind him a glorious example of the character and virtues of a good pastor. Weak and small in body, he was a man of extraordinary energy. Butler says that he preached every day in Lent. It is Potter, I think, who says that he abstained from giving dinners, that he might be more free to attend to his work, but still, it should be added, kept an open hospitable house for strangers. He was unwearied in his care for the poor. Though loved by the people, he was detested by the lax section of the clergy whose manners he tried to reform, and his fearless denunciation of the Court vices cost him that long weary journey to the shores of the Euxine, which is graphically and sympathetically described by Newman in his *Historical Sketches*. While referring the reader to Newman's charming essay for an appreciation of Chrysostom's character, I feel justified in recommending Father Boyle's translation to those who would wish to look into the great soul of the man Chrysostom, for the author of this old classic treatise on the mission of the Priesthood is nothing if not candid in what he says about himself as well as in what he says about the *milieu* in which he lived.

T. P. GILMARTIN.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SCAPULAR—II

(From Original Sources.)

HABIT OR SCAPULAR ?

IT must have struck our readers that Swanyngton does not so much as mention the scapular. According to him Our Lady appeared to St. Simon holding the *habit* of the Order (*tenendo habitum Ordinis*). The saint threw his *habit* over the sick man at Winchester (*injecto habitu super languentem*) who was also preserved against the attacks of the Evil One by the *habit* of the Blessed Father (*per habitum beati viri*) ; the Bishop of Winchester decided upon questioning Blessed Simon as to the virtues of his *habit* (*de virtute habitus*), and numerous *grandees* desired to die in the holy *habit* (*desiderantes mori in habitu sancto Ordinis*). On the other hand, Sibert de Beka, whose account dates from about 1312,[1] says that :—

> Our Lady was seen bringing the religious habit from heaven which she handed him, saying, ' There is no ground to fear. Behold the *scapular* of thy Order . . .' Simon, having received this pledge, put it on his shoulders and afterwards distributed it to the brethren that they might wear it also.[2]

William of Coventry reports likewise that the Blessed Virgin appeared to St. Simon ' holding the *scapular* of the

---

[1] Bale asserts that the chapter in question is taken from Sibert, and there is no reason to question his words. The legend of the saint by Roland Bouchier (MS. Bodley 73, fol. 93a), contains the identical words, but authors of Breviary lessons are not supposed to be original, and in the matter before us he may have borrowed from Sibert as well as from other sources. Although Bale had no analytical gifts, he was wonderfully careful in transcribing notes, and whenever he does make a mistake it is generally possible to discover the origin of the error. We therefore unhesitatingly accept Bale's statement.

[2] '. . . religionis habitum a coelis afferre visa est ; quem Symoni elargiens Non est quod timeas, inquit, en tibi hoc tui ordinis Scapulare . . . Acceptum pignus in humeros ponit id fratribus deinceps utendum distribuit.

Order in her blessed hands,' etc.[3] Otherwise his account is more sober than Sibert's and the words attributed to the Blessed Virgin are identical with those given by Swanyngton, so that we may suppose that Coventry, although writing considerably later than Sibert, followed a purer source, perhaps the report of a contemporary of St. Simon, whereas Sibert's version seems to have passed through many hands before being put on record. All the later writers attach the promise to the scapular which, according to them, Our Lady brought from heaven and handed to St. Simon. This form of the tradition became so deeply rooted and yet remains so, that in some countries there still exists a belief that the original scapular given by the Mother of God to the saint and actually worn by him is preserved to the present day in some Catholic family in England.

For us who have to deal with a purely historical question Swanyngton's version appears to be the true one. St. Simon had asked Our Lady for a *privilege* for the brethren who were disconsolate on account of the persecution and so discouraged that some had already left the Order and others were anxious to do so ; he also wished to obtain some sign of her benevolence which would commend the Order to those who were opposing it. Our Lady pointed out the religious habit as the privilege : those who die in it shall not suffer everlasting fire. Unless we completely misunderstand her words, she assured those who wore the habit of the Order specially dedicated to her of her maternal protection. Surely there was no need to give them a new kind of garment to which this promise should be more especially attached : the wearing of the habit of the Order being quite sufficient. There is a general axiom in dealing with supernatural events that miracles must not be multiplied beyond what is strictly necessary, since God works no miracles where ordinary means are sufficient ; for the miracle is

[3] William de Coventry flourished about the year 1348. He was known by the surname Claudus Conversus, having been lamed by an arrowshot, in consequence of which he turned to God according to the psalmvers *conversus sum in aerumna mea dum configitur spina*. Unfortunately we possess only a short quotation from his *Scutum Carmelitarum*. 'Cui Beatissima Virgo . . . apparuit Scapulare ordinis in benedictis manibus suis tenens et dicens. . . .'

always an exception to the rule, whether this rule be the physical law of nature or the moral law.

A little reflection will convince us that St. Simon must have understood the matter in this way. When he 'threw his habit over the sick man' can we imagine that he first took off his mantle, next his hood, and finally his scapular and passed this over the shoulders of the unconscious nobleman? Surely the very idea is inconceivable.[4] Swanyngton's words *injecto habitu*, together with ordinary common sense, lead us to suppose that he simply took off his mantle and threw it over Walter de Linton. But the question arises, how then did the Carmelites, even from the beginning of the fourteenth century, come to consider the *scapular*, of all parts of their habit, to be the *vehiculum* of Our Lady's promise?

Under ordinary circumstances the promise of Our Lady, if it was to be attached to one portion of the religious garment more than to another, would certainly have been connected with the mantle as the distinguishing feature of the Carmelite Order. They were the *Whitefriars* on account of their white mantle notwithstanding the dark habit, just as the Dominicans were the Blackfriars owing to the black mantle in spite of the white habit. But when St. Simon received Our Lady's promise, he wore no white mantle but a striped one which was exchanged for the white one some twenty years after his death. There exists an old tradition that orignally the Carmelites did wear white mantles which, however, they were obliged to abandon at the pressure of the Saracens who considered the white colour as the distinguishing mark of their own grandees. It does not concern us at present at what particular time this exchange took place, certain it is that at their coming to Europe they wore a mantle composed of four white and three black vertical stripes, whence a contemporary author says:

> De Carmelo veniunt fratres virgulati
> Hi, ut vulgo dicitur, fratres sunt beati.[5]

[4] The translator of Fr. R. Clarke's articles in the *Month* (1886), 'Le Scapulaire de Notre Dame du Mont Carmel', Nemours, 1899, renders the expression 'injecto habitu' by 'ayant passé le saint habit sur les épaules du malade' (p. xlv). This certainly goes beyond the original.

[5] Pertz, Scriptt. xxv., p. 358.

Various explanations have been given for this curious mantle. By some authors it was supposed to represent the four Gospels and the three religious virtues, by others, even by a general chapter, the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, while others again thought that the black stripes signified the marks of fire left on his mantle when the prophet Elias threw it from the fiery chariot to Eliseus ; and this opinion, though violently attacked in the fourteenth century, is still to be met with in certain parts of the Carmelite liturgy at the end of the following century.[6]

However that may be the Carmelites were not very proud of their singular appearance, and obtained from Pope Honorius IV. a verbal permission to exchange the striped mantle for a purely white one. But the Pope, having died before they were able to give effect to their design, affidavits from the cardinal who had negociated the matter were obtained in view of the not improbable opposition on the part of other white religious. On the feast of St. Mary Magdalen, 1287, the general chapter assembled at Montpellier decreed the substitution of the white mantle for the striped *carpeta*. The change was proclaimed for the English province at a provincial chapter held on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross at Lincoln. Opposition was not wanting. The chronicler of Osney speaks thus of the affair :—

> In the same year the friars of Mount Carmel, nobody knows on whose authority or for what reason, except perhaps driven by their own vanity, left off their double-coloured square mantles rather shamelessly in order to resume their ancient habit which they used to wear from the first establishment of the Order, and, instead of the pallium, they began to wear thenceforth white mantles (*cappas clausas candidas*).[7]

Nearly all the chronicles of that time mention the matter for the change could escape no observer ; but the real opposi-

[6] 'Helisee Carmelita, vestis tua dispertita
Fratres tuos ornet ita, virtuose ut cum vita
Heredes sint etherei.
Pallium latum per Heliam Heliseo per aurigam
Igneum quid transfertur.'
From the Office of St. Eliseus (*Brevarium Carmelitanum*, Brussels, 1480).

[7] *Rolls' Series, Annales Monastici*, iv., 372.

tion came from the Premonstratensians who thought they alone had the right of wearing white. The Carmelites have always considered the resumption of the white mantles as one of the greatest privileges bestowed upon them by their heavenly patroness. Sibert evidently mixed up the question of the scapular with that of the mantle when in the report already quoted he says :—

'There is no ground to fear,' etc. This she said partly lest the weaker among the brethren should be shocked, and partly lest calumniators should have an occasion for detraction, for they had repeatedly asserted that those who were to introduce a different kind of garment from that worn by the brethren in general were sure to be damned.[8]

If, then, the tardy introduction of the white mantle prevented its being considered the *vehiculum* of Our Lady's promise, how came the scapular to be singled out as the means whereby the special privilege is conveyed ? All those who have written on this subject, with the exception of Swanyngton, were of opinion that previous to the vision of St. Simon Stock it was not in use in the Order. But there is no real evidence that it was introduced there and then. No one knows better than the present writer how delicately the *argumentum a silentio* should be handled on account of the extremely unsatisfactory state of our old records. The majority of our historians from the thirteenth century until quite lately have wasted their time and energy upon interminable discussions on the antiquity of the Order and have neglected, over this burning question, the more profitable work of collecting and sifting sources for contemporary history. Nevertheless it is inconceivable that the introduction of a new kind of garment could have been passed over quite so silently. The scapular, be it remembered, was in use long before the thirteenth century ; the Benedictines wore it ever since the days of their founder who considered it merely as an apron for the protection of the habit during manual labour in the field and workshop. The Carthusians, too, had it from the first establishment of

[8] *Loc. cit.* 'Nam saepius judicarant damnandos hos qui aliud indumenti genus usurpaverant quam a communi vulgo susceptum fuerat.'

their Order, and the Dominicans adopted it in 1218 at the instigation of Our Lady herself. It had then long ceased to serve as apron having acquired a more mystical meaning. Some of the most weighty historians of the Carmelite Order think that even before the time of St. Simon Stock it formed part of their religious habit, and, although the reasons on which their opinion is founded might not be universally accepted, we believe that they are right. It therefore remains for us to search for the grounds upon which it became specially connected with Our Lady's promise. And these we find in the rite used in the profession of novices.

The oldest manuscript containing this ceremony is, as far as we know, a copy of the Constitutions and the acts of the general chapters, begun in 1324 and completed in 1362, now belonging to the British Museum.[10] The rite in question appears twice with insignificant variants, namely, on a fly-leaf at the beginning of the volume and in the body of the Constitutions, Rubric XIV. As to the clothing of a novice, the following ceremony was observed. The day of the clothing having arrived, the postulant made a general confession to the master of novices and prepared for Communion. He was then shorn, or, in the case of choir brethren, tonsured, and, having put on the footgear of the Order, vested himself in the tunic, *i.e.*, the long brown habit, over which he wore some kind of secular dress. Thus attired, he was led to the chapter-house, where in the presence of the whole community he had to answer certain questions put by the prelate. This done, the latter said : ' May God bring to perfection what He hath begun in thee.' The community answered ' Amen.' Prelate : ' May God divest thee of the old man with all his actions.' Brethren : 'Amen.' At these words the secular dress was removed and the novice received, without any words of blessing being pronounced, the full religious habit. Holy water was not used for this ceremony. A procession now formed and the newly-clothed

[9] Lacordaire, *Vie de St. Dominique*, p. 316.
[10] MS. Add. 16,372.

novice was led to the choir where the hymn *Veni Creator*, was sung together with a number of invocations followed by certain prayers. After this he was sprinkled with holy water and he then kissed the altar, embraced the prior and all the brethren and finally, during the High Mass, received Holy Communion.

When the year of probation had expired and the community were satisfied with the behaviour of the novice, he was admitted to profession. The day having come, he was vested in the tunic without scapular or mantle, and was led to the chapter-house. Once more certain questions were put to him to ascertain that no canonical impediment stood in the way of his profession, and, having given satisfactory answers, he knelt down in front of the prior and putting his hands in his, pronounced the form of profession. The prior then said: 'May God bring to perfection what He hath begun in Thee.' Choir: 'Amen.' Prior: 'Show unto us O Lord Thy mercy,' etc. Then follows a long prayer after which the prior sprinkles the newly professed with holy water, saying: 'In the Name of the Father,' etc. The prior then gives him the habit with the words: 'Receive this habit unto the remission of thy sins and the increase of holy religion. In the Name of the Father,' etc. He likewise gives him the mantle, saying: 'Receive this mantle the sign of our religion unto the remission of thy sins. In the Name of the Father,' etc.[11] Then follows another long prayer after which the holy water is used once more and the ceremony in the chapter house ends, and is continued in the choir as at the clothing.

We have here the key to the whole question. Since the novice when coming to chapter already wears the tunic, the habit properly so-called, it stands to reason that the garment offered him by the prior with the words: 'Receive

[11] 'Accipe hanc cappam nostrae religionis signum in remissionem peccatorum tuorum. In nomine Patris,' etc. Elsewhere: 'Accipe hoc signum in remissionem,' etc. From this wording it clearly appears that this form was introduced between 1287 and 1324, *i.e.*, between the change of mantles and the date of our MS. The conclusion lies near that previous to 1287, there was only the one form 'Accipe hunc habitum in remissionem peccatorum tuorum et sanctae religionis augmentum. In nomine Patris,' etc., and that this served for all the parts of the habit.

this habit,' etc., is in reality the scapular which thus came to be considered as the emblem of the religious habit.

That this view of the matter is correct can, we think, be further proved if we examine the official utterances of the Order on the scapular.

In 1462 the then General, Blessed John Soreth, published new constitutions[12] embodying the various reforms he had carried out during his tenure of office. Among other things he introduced an entirely new rite for the clothing of postulants and the profession of novices, which in the main is still in use both among the Calced Carmelites (of the old observance) and the Discalced friars and nuns of St. Teresa's reform. This new form, however, was not introduced by the reform of Mantua and, since most of the liturgical books of the Order printed between 1490 and 1584 (when the Carmelite liturgy was adapted to the new Roman revision) were edited by members of that Congregation, the old rite will be found in the Breviaries of 1490, 1495, 1504, etc.

In Soreth's rite the postulant receives from the hand of the prior the various parts of the religious habit, each with a special form of blessing. For the tunic : ' May the Lord put on thee the new man who is created according to God in justice and holiness of truth.' For the cincture : ' When thou wast younger thou didst gird thyself and didst walk where thou wouldst, but when thou shalt be old another shall gird thee and lead thee whither thou wouldst not.' Imposing the scapular with the hood not sewn on to distinguish novices from professed brethren, he says : ' Bear the yoke of Christ which is sweet and His burden which is light.' Imposing the mantle he says : ' They that follow the Lamb without stain shall walk with Him in white garments. Therefore, let thy garments be ever white as a sign of inward purity.' At the profession the same form of blessing was used, except that the one given above for the tunic was used for the scapular (with the hood sewn on) : ' May

[12] MS. Add. 11,426. There are some sixteenth-century additions, but the Rule and Constitutions were written in 1462, and were printed in 1499 at Venice, and are now extremely rare.

the Lord put on thee the new man,' etc., and the one about the yoke of Christ was left out.

Surely no stronger proof could be required that as late as the middle of the fifteenth century the Order did not officially consider the scapular as the special *vehiculum* of Our Lady's promise, than this portion of the Carmelite ritual. Nothing could have been easier for Soreth than to choose a form expressive of the mystical meaning of the scapular, instead of which he attaches in one place one and in the other a second form to it, neither having any reference to the promise in question.

Turning to another part of the Constitutions we find, in Rubric VI. of the edition of 1324, and in Part I. Rubric VI. of those of 1462, an equally strong confirmation of the same point. The rubric in both places is headed : 'On the Sleeping of the Brethren,' and begins as follows : 'We ordain that our brethren when going to sleep should under all circumstances wear the tunic and scapular under penalty of a grievous fault, excepting the sick who may, or may not, wear the scapular according to their own choice.'[13] If the Order had considered the scapular as the most essential part of the habit it would have been even more important for the sick than for the sound to wear it. Thus our present Constitutions as revised and approved in 1631 prescribe (Part I., Chap. X., No. 19) : 'Finally let no one, whether sound or sick, ever take off his habit, *i.e.*, his scapular, but the sick may use a lighter one.'

Towards the end of the fifteenth century a dispute arose as to the proper colour of the habit, brown, dark, or black, according to the various congregations and reforms. The general chapter of 1472 prescribed in connection with this question that the lay-brothers, to be more easily distinguished from their Dominican *confrères*, should wear a black habit with a white scapular, the Dominicans wearing a white habit with a black scapular. It need hardly be said that so unpractical a decision was never carried out.

[13] 'Statuimus quod fratres in tunica et scapulari dormiant supracincti sub pena gravis culpe. Exceptis infirmis quorum relinquimus arbitrio ut scapulare induant vel deponant.'

Finally, the way in which the chapter of 1524 speaks of the scapular suggests, not the instrument of Our Lady's protection but rather the 'sweet yoke of the Lord.' The passage occurs in a series of regulations for the reform of the Order: 'Let there be in each convent some assistants of the prior or master of the reform whose duty it is to see that the brethren accustom themselves to keep their hands under the Pazienza or scapular.'[14] By what train of ideas the scapular came by this peculiar name we cannot even guess, but it certainly has no connection with the great promise with which it is now identified.

To sum up: While strongly upholding the reality of St. Simon's vision and Our Lady's promise, we come to the conclusion that it has reference to the habit in general and not to the scapular in particular. From a very early date popular accounts have represented Our Lady as bringing a scapular from heaven, but Swanyngton is distinctly of a different opinion. The present substitution of the scapular for the full habit arises from the fact that it was the portion of the religious habit given to novices at their profession with the words: *Accipe hunc habitum*, etc., but other official utterances prove clearly that the Order did not connect Our Lady's promise with it in preference to the other parts of the Carmelite habit.

THE CONFRATERNITY

The principal question concerning the scapular, however, is not how it affects the members of the Carmelite Order, but what effect it has on those who do not belong to that Order. The primary motive which leads people to the cloister is the desire of doing everything in one's power to assure salvation—the religious state being not only a state or perfection, but also one of security. If the religious life is strict and sometimes hard, it still presents so many opportunities that a final falling away is a rare exception. Moreover, most Orders glory in some revelation or supernatural

[14] '. . . . faciant quod fratres assuescant tenere manus sub patientia sive scapulari.'

assurance that those who persevere in the religious life will go to heaven. Thus, it is said that an angel revealed to St. Benedict that his spiritual children, if faithful to the religious life, would be saved, and similar revelations are recorded with respect to other Orders. Therefore, the question whether the Carmelites themselves would profit by the scapular and the promises attached to it, has really never entered into the discussions which from time to time have arisen concerning this devotion. The crucial point is, what assurance does it give to outsiders ? The Winchester miracle spoken of in a previous section must have taught St. Simon Stock that the promise of Our Lady was absolute, not only in favour of those who wear the habit because they belong to the Carmelite Order, but even of those who wear it independently of religious profession. The medium that brings it within the reach of the latter is the Confraternity of the Scapular, the most numerous association in the world after the Catholic Church itself. Some biographers of St. Simon say[15] that after his vision he erected the Confraternity wherever he went, a statement which is somewhat misleading and to the examination of which we must now turn. 'During this journey,' says Monbrun, 'he established in various places, particularly at Bordeaux, the Confraternity of the Holy Scapular.' No reference is given for this statement but it has, somewhat unfortunately, received only lately an authority it hardly deserves. The journey alluded to is in all probability a series of official visits paid to several convents then existing, and also to some towns where St. Simon inaugurated new settlements. It is not possible to fix the exact itinerary, but it appears at least probable that in the spring of 1259 he went to Sicily for the general chapter

[15] See among others, Alfred Monbrun, *Vie de St. Simon Stock* (Clermont-Ferrand and Paris, 1869), p. 145. This small work, which has had the honour of being translated into various languages, is for the greatest part a literal transcript (without acknowledgment) from a far more serious work : *Recueil d'instructions sur la dévotion au Saint Scapulaire*, par le R. P. Brocard de Ste. Thérèse, Gand, 1845, 1846, 1866, 1875 (and several reprints). Although our own investigations do not in every respect coincide with the results of this learned and pious writer, the work is well worth studying on account of its accuracy.

to be held on Pentecost (1st June) at Messina. On the way he may have visited Toulouse and Marseilles, perhaps also Bordeaux where he may have laid the foundation of a convent.[16] This, however, would have been, according to our view, previous to the vision. On a later occasion he probably went to Belgium, there being an old tradition that the convent of Bruges, perhaps also those at Brussels, Ypres, and other cities, were founded by him. The last journey was undertaken in 1265, a general chapter having been summoned to Toulouse for Pentecost (23rd May). On his way thither St. Simon was seized with illness at Bordeaux, where he died on Sunday after the Ascension, May 16th.

On the occasion of one of his visits to Toulouse he received and clothed a recluse, Blessed Jane of Toulouse, said to have belonged to one of the most noble families of the country, who had built for herself a small anchorage adjoining the Carmelite chapel. During her life and also after her death she enjoyed such veneration from her fellow-citizens that, in 1471, Archbishop Bernard de Rouergue caused her body to be placed in a magnificent shrine, and the general chapter held at Naples in 1510 decided to take steps towards her canonization. But when a memoir containing the story of her life was about to be drawn up, it was found that a large volume on the subject had been abstracted, and this *dampnabile furtum* frustrated all further proceedings until recent times when the matter was taken up by the Carmelite nuns of Toulouse, a certain Abbé Baurens de Molinier being nominated postulator of the cause of beatification. In his petition and still more in a printed work, he remarked[17]

[16] This chapter, the acts of which are unfortunately lost, is mentioned by Master John Trissa, who in 1362 published a list of general chapters (MS. Harley, 1819, fol. 59a). According to another notice preserved by Paleonydor, it was held in 1267 by Nicholas Gallus, the successor of our saint. The former version appears the more reliable of the two, because Trissa had access to the chapter-book; moreover, there was no reason why this particular chapter should have been held only two years after that of Toulouse, custom being in favour of triennial chapters. Nicholas Gallus may, of course, have been present without presiding over it.

[17] *Histoire de la Vie et du Culte de Ste. Jeanne de Toulouse, Vierge, Religeuse Professe Carmélite de l'ancienne observance*, par l'Abbé Baurens de Molinier. Tournai, 1895. To call her 'professed Carmelite nun,' and that on the authority of Alegre de Casanate, is even more extravagant than to consider her a Tertiary.

that owing to the loss of authentic documents, he had been obliged to have recourse to conjecture. He cannot be said to have been particularly felicitous in this matter, as the picture he gives of Blessed Jane bears no resemblance whatever to certain genuine records still extant but of which he had no knowledge. The confirmation of the cultus *ab immemorabili* took place on the 29th of January, 1895, and in the following year the Sacred Congregation of Rites approved the Breviary lessons for the feast of Blessed Jane.

In these there occurs the following passage :—

> She admitted into the pious Confraternity of the Scapular, which only a short time before had been miraculously instituted, several thousand persons whom she arrayed against the assaults of the heretics and Jews like a well ordained army. She also spread and fostered the rule of life of Tertiaries of the Carmelite Order with such excellent results that she came to be considered the foundress of that institution.

It is regrettable that such statements should be invested with the authority of the Sacred Congregation for there is really no foundation for them. The Third Order of the Carmelites was only instituted in 1452, and the Second Order, for women, somewhat later still. As to Blessed Jane having enrolled several thousands in the Confraternity of the Scapular, it should first be ascertained whether this confraternity existed in her time at all—and the answer will be either in the affirmative or in the negative according to the meaning one likes best to attach to the term confraternity. If it means what it does now, a religious body of persons practising certain devotions and in organic dependence upon the Order (however loose that organisation may be), our answer will be an emphatic No. There is no evidence whatever that such an organisation existed previous to the sixteenth century ; and if, as is sometimes done, the membership of Jane of Toulouse is put forward as a plea for the antiquity of the Confraternity, it is simply a case of begging the question. Although the various lives of St. Simon Stock do not go further back than the fifteenth century, they know nothing of a confraternity supposed to have been established by him.

If, however, we take the word confraternity in the sense that the saint and his successors after him admitted certain persons as *confratres* and *consorores* of the Order, the contention is fully borne out by documentary evidence. What, then, were these *confratres*? They were persons who, in return for services rendered to certain convents, shared the spiritual benefits of the Order, were specially prayed for in life and after death, participated in the indulgences granted to the Carmelites, and, in a word, were considered as connected with them by the bonds of spiritual relationship. St. Simon Stock and his successors could ill afford to do without such *confratres*, the chief among them being the founders of the various convents. These were not only the actual founders, who by their liberality enabled the friars to acquire the necessary ground and build the fabric of church and convent, but also their successors.

Of some convents, like Huln near Alnwick,[18] we still have the complete list of 'founders' extending over several centuries; of others, like Norwich,[19] we have the proceedings settling disputes as to who is and who is not, entitled to be considered as founder. Sometimes, as in the case of Bristol, royalty steps in as founder at a time when the actual foundation has long been completed. In such cases the convent was entitled to exhibit the royal arms over the gateway and on its seal, as at Hitchin. There are other benefactors, however, whose gifts did not entitle them to be counted as founders, but who were admitted to the Confraternity by a solemn ceremony, and to whom a deed on parchment, signed and sealed by the prior and the chapter, was handed in token of their membership. The rite as laid down by the Ceremonial presents considerable interest. It is true that the first ceremonial adopted, it appears, at the chapter held at Messina in 1259[20] is no longer

[18] MS. Bodley, 73, fol. 55b.

[19] Kirkpatrick, *History of the Religious Orders and Communities*, edition of 1845, p. 161 *sqq*.

[20] 'In hoc capitulo fuerunt plures constitutiones editae specialiter ad augmentandum officium divinum.' The Carmelites, according to the terms of their Rule, followed the rite of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, of which two manuscripts of the twelfth century are still preserved, one at Barletta,

in existence. A new ceremonial introduced in 1315, and, notwithstanding numerous changes and additions, remaining in vigour until 1584, is preserved in a volume of Lambeth library written before 1324.[21] Its Rubric XLVIII., 'On the Manner of receiving Persons to the (spiritual) Benefits,' was inserted without alteration in the missals of 1551 and 1574, although the rest of the ceremonial underwent radical changes in 1539.

If anyone desirous of participating in the spiritual benefits of the Order be of such merit that in the opinion of the prior a chapter should be convened for performing the ceremony, the prior should so arrange that some suitable brother or brothers should attend to him outside the chapter-house, and that the community should be summoned in the meantime. As soon as the chapter has assembled one of the brethren, whoever the prior charges to do so, should call in the person to be received. Upon his entrance all should rise up and remain standing, while the prior advances a little way towards the door to meet him. Should the person be a king, a bishop, a cardinal, a legate, or anyone of similar rank, the prior should offer him, provided he be agreeable to it, his own seat and remain the while close at hand. If, however, he should object to this place or be a person of less exalted dignity, then the prior should occupy it himself with the visitor by his side. As to when to rise and when not to rise, the brethren should conform to the prior's decision, whose business it is to judge of the exigencies of the case. If the person be capable and willing to make his own request, he should do so, otherwise it is for the prior to petition the chapter on his behalf; to explain what obligations the brethren have towards the petitioner, to show as conscientiously as possible his dispositions towards the Order, the benefits he has conferred upon it, and the confidence he has in the prayers of the brethren, adding that these reasons merit his reception. Then turning to the applicant, he should inform him that both the chapter and himself willingly grant his request. After which all should rise from their seats and kneel down in prayer for a short time. Finally, the prior should begin the antiphon *Suscepimus Deus*, followed by the psalm *Magnus Dominus*, which should be said

edited by Giovene (Naples, 1828); the other, in a magnificent state of preservation, at the Vatican (Barberini, 32). See also Ch. Kohler in the *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 1900-1901.

[21] MS. Lambeth, 193, on which see a series of articles by the present writer in the *Chroniques du Carmel*, 1903-1904.

alternately by the brethren, with *Gloria Patri*, etc. The antiphon having been repeated, there follow *Kyrie Eleison*, etc.

Pater noster. Et ne nos.
V. Salvum fac servum.
V. Mitte ei Domine.
V. Nihil proficiat.
V. Domine exaudi. Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Suscipiat te Christus in numero fidelium suorum et nos licet indigni te suscipimus in orationibus nostris et cedat tibi Deus per Unigenitum suum mediatorem Dei et hominum tempus bene vivendi, locum bene agendi, instantiam bene perseverandi, et ad aeternae vitae hereditatem feliciter perveniendi, et sicut nos hodie fraterna charitas spiritualiter jungit in terris ita divina pietas quae dilectionis est auctrix et amatrix nos cum fidelibus suis conjungere dignetur in coelis, praestante Domino nostro Jesu Christo qui cum Patre, etc.

The choir having answered 'Amen,' the prior says to the person in question: 'By the power vested in me I receive you to the participation in all the Masses, prayers, fasting, abstinence, watching, labours, and other good works, which by the grace of God are done by the brethren of this convent. In the name of the Father,' etc. The choir respond: 'Amen.' The person having been sprinkled with holy water, kisses the book in which the prayer *Suscipiat* is written, and afterwards embraces the prior. In the case of a lady, the former ceremony only takes place. Should, however, the person thus received be an emperor, king, cardinal, bishop, or of a similarly exalted rank, special Masses and prayers may be promised him by the prior who shall further oblige the brethren to the faithful performance of the same. He may also, it he thinks fit, thank the person (according to his rank) for his kindness towards the brethren, and recommend himself and the Order to him, and if he be a spiritual person (an ecclesiastic), ask his prayers on behalf of the brethren and himself.

If, having regard to the person's rank there be in the judgment of the prior no need of calling the whole chapter, three or four of the more prominent brethren should be assembled for the ceremony which may take place either in the chapter-house or in the church before one of the altars. When the petition has been presented the prior, turning to the applicant, should say that on account of his devotion towards the Order, and the confidence he places in the prayers of the brethren, they willingly accept his application. Then the person kneeling down, the prior and the brethren say the psalm *Magnus Dominus*, and the rest as above. And, if several persons are received together,

the ceremony is the same only that the singular number should be changed into the plural both in the verses and in the prayer. No lady should be received in this manner unless she be of such distinction and so well connected that the favour could not be denied her without detriment to the Order. The ceremony should in such a case take place in presence of her suite with due solemnity, and the prior should be careful to substitute in the formula the feminine gender for the masculine. If he who conducts the ceremony be the General of the Order or a Provincial, the same rite must be observed with this exception, that the General promises a share in the good works of the whole Order and the Provincial in those of the province only.

The Constitutions of 1324, as well as those of 1462, mention among the prerogatives of the General and Provincials the power of disposing of the spiritual goods of the Order or the province in the aforesaid manner.

We have already pointed out that the admission to the fraternity of the Order was frequently confirmed by deeds, specimens of which are preserved in various archives and collections. Thus, in one belonging to the British Museum,[22] Brother William, Prior of Oxford, admits John Lincoln and Agnes his wife to the spiritual brotherhood in consideration of their devotion to the Order. In 1516 William Brevie and John Byrd, professors of divinity and Visitors-General of the English province, caused a blank form of the letter of Fraternity to be printed, a copy of which is preserved at Oxford.[23] It is adorned with two curious woodcuts, one representing the Annunciation, the other two Carmelite friars engaged in prayer with a fish and a bird between them, probably the emblems of St. Elias (the raven) and St. Simon Stock (a dead fish, in allusion to a miracle related in the legend for his feast). The text is almost identical with that of written deeds of a much earlier date, setting forth that in respect of the singular kindness shown by the bearers towards the Order they have been admitted to the participation of the spiritual treasures of the Order, and that as soon as notice of their demise shall have been read in a chapter-house of the province they will enjoy the same

[22] Add. Charter 5,837, dated 1416.
[23] Rawlinson, D. 366.

suffrages as are wont to be offered for the brethren themselves. Then follows a list of 'indulgences and popular remissions' granted to the Carmelite Order by various Popes from Adrian II. to the 'modern Pontiff' Leo X., some of which may be gained in consideration of pecuniary aid tendered towards the sustenance of the brothers and the repair and maintenance of the convents. Finally, a concession is mentioned empowering the confessors of the Order, in dealing with *confratres* and *consorores*, to use the faculties enjoyed by Minor penitentiaries at the Roman Court.

It will be noticed that neither the ceremony of creating *confratres* described in the Ordinale of 1315, nor the letters of Fraternity contain a word about the scapular or the habit. They simply admit certain persons, chiefly benefactors, to a participation in the spiritual treasures of the Order. But a comparison of the rite set forth above with that contained in the Roman Ritual for enrolment in the Scapular, shows the relationship of the one to the other. For the part relating to the Scapular is simply inserted in the form of admission to the Confraternity. The verses *Adjutorium*, etc., with the following prayer are taken from the rite of profession introduced by Blessed John Soreth, and still in use in the Order, while the prayer *Suppliciter te*, the words *Accipe*, etc., with which the scapular is given to the candidate and the last blessing (*Benedicat te*), are of comparatively modern origin. We are not able to fix the date of their introduction, but it is certain that they cannot be traced beyond 1584 when the Carmelite liturgy was revised, so that they must have come into use either during the last part of the sixteenth century or the early part of the seventeenth century. As we shall learn from the following section, the wearing of the scapular by some of the faithful is attested to by a document dating from the first half of the fifteenth century, and most probably by others of the second half of the fourteenth, so that the conclusion forces itself upon us that in these early times the ceremony of admitting *confratres* to the spiritual benefits

of the Order was held sufficient, no special rite being used for the actual investment.[24]

THE CONFRATRES

To few writers are we indebted for more valuable information upon the history of the Order than to John Bale, who during the long years he belonged to it, missed no opportunity of collecting notes on the literary activity of his *confrères*, for which purpose he carefully examined numerous monastic libraries at home and abroad. Even after his apostacy his taste in this respect remained unchanged, with the result that his various note-books, frequently quoted in these pages, form an inexhaustible mine of information by the aid of which many a mistaken view of historians of the calibre of Lezana may be corrected. Very few of the works known to Bale are now in existence. Thousands of them have been swept away by the Reformation and revolutions which dealt as mercilessly with books as with their authors and owners. Under these circumstances we can only regret the want of system and true insight into the value of various kinds of literature which are but too noticeable in Bale's transcripts. He must have spent days and even weeks in copying what after all one can only consider as trifles, such as endless verses of the Renaissance period, whereas he often contented himself with the barest notices on historical sources of the highest import. It is also exasperating that he frequently gives long quotations without so much as hinting at their sources, whilst at other times he furnishes indications which would indeed do credit to a modern scholar.

In several parts of his books he gives lists of certain noblemen who wore the habit of the Order. From his own words we know that he found such a list with many details in the writings of Friar Nicholaus Cantilupe, but there is

[24] A new formulary having been introduced, in 1888, by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, at the request of missionaries, chiefly Redemptorists, our former rite has been set aside, after having been in force six hundred years. It would be affectation on our part to say that we were quite indifferent about this change.

every reason to believe that similar lists were derived from other sources, and in fact it is obvious that Cantilupe himself had older writings before him. It may be a matter of pure speculation whether one of these lists was the work of William de Coventry (1348), but at all events there are enough indications to entitle us to seek the prototype of Cantilupe's list in the first half of the fourteenth century.

Besides the names contained in this list there are others of *confratres* and *consorores* without any statement about the habit or scapular. Most of them belong to recluses attached to the Order who very probably wore the full religious dress, but who for this very reason must not be taken as fair examples of people invested with the scapular. Among them is Gilbert Hamarensis, suffragan of Norwich and titular bishop of some Scandinavian see, who in 1273 and 1276 granted certain indulgences to the Carmelite church at Norwich, where he was also buried 30th October 1287.[25] Although Bale does not mention Edward I. in this connection, he certainly must have enjoyed the Fraternity of the Order for he was one of its principal benefactors, having contributed largely to the foundation of quite a number of convents, among others those of Yarmouth, Nottingham, and Chester. His motive for doing so was his deliverance from a grave peril in the Holy Land.[26]

Nicholaus Cantilupe, to whom the following list is ascribed, was by birth a Welshman, a relative of St. Thomas of Hereford. He took the habit at Bristol and in due time proceeded to Cambridge for his studies, distinguishing himself in philosophy, theology, and history. Hand in hand with his learning went his personal qualities—kindness, affability, and saintliness—on account of which he was successively elected prior at Cambridge, Bristol, Gloucester, and Northampton, where he died 27th September, 1441. His virtues have been celebrated by several poets of the Order. While at Cambridge he wrote a history of the University which exists in manuscript and has been printed by Hearne.

[25] Bodley, 73, fol. 51b.; Selden, 41, *supra*. See also the Harley MSS.
[26] Rishanger, *Rolls' Series*, 69.

A lengthy writing in praise of the Carmelite Order has been preserved by Bale,[27] but it hardly contributes much to our knowledge.

St. Louis IX., King of France. After shipwreck off Cape Carmel he ascended the holy mountain where he found some fellow-countrymen of his, six of whom he took with him to France and gave them a house in Paris. *Clam detulit hoc signum.*

Thibaut, Count of Champagne, son-in-law of St. Louis, whom he accompanied on his last crusade. On his return he was taken ill whilst sailing from Africa to Sicily. He died and was buried in the Carmelite convent at Trapani, on 5th December, 1270.

Frederick, King of Sicily. Having been miraculously cured of a malignant fever through the intercession of St. Albert, he made a vow to wear the habit of the Order for three years, but on his accession obtained a dispensation. He bestowed many benefits upon the Order, and was finally buried in the habit A.D. 1308 (1337 ?).

'Saint' Edward II. of England. In thanksgiving for his miraculous escape at the battle of Bannockburn (24th June, 1314), he gave the Carmelites the royal manor at Oxford. Friar Robert Baston, prior of Scarborough, had accompanied him on the ill-fated expedition in order to put the king's expected victory in verse, but being taken prisoner by the Scots he was forced to sing the triumphs of Robert Bruce. One of Edward's confessors was Friar Richard Bliton, who even resigned his dignity as Provincial in order to devote his time entirely to the king. Few convents of the Order did not profit by the king's generosity. He is said to have worn the scapular secretly.

Henry, brother of 'Saint' Thomas of Lancaster, is likewise numbered among those who wore it during life and at death. Friar William Reynham of Lynn was one of his confessors and accompanied him abroad. The Duke of Lancaster was held in high repute on account of the saintliness of his life, and was credited with many miracles.

[27] Harley, 1819, fol. 153b.

John of Gaunt was one of the greatest protectors the Order has ever had, and both in England and abroad he and his family had Carmelites for confessors who in all probability filled also the posts of almoners and secretaries. Although in one case[28] he acted with uncalled for brutality towards a member of the Order, he did much for the improvement of some of the convents and took the lion's share in the foundation of Doncaster. In a letter to Urban VI. on behalf of the Order (of which more anon), he calls himself, according to Bale, *frater ordinis*, though the copy before us gives his words as *filius confessionis ejusdem ordinis*.[29] Needless to say how proud the Carmelites were of their mighty protector, though they cannot have been quite blind to his serious shortcomings.

Henry Percy, first Earl of Northumberland, 'and many other noblemen, both English and French, wore the scapular and desired to be buried with it.'

To these must be added Popes Gregory X. and Benedict XII. who, as Cantilupe says, wore it previous to their election; and finally, Dom Pedro, a Portuguese count. 'Nec aberant qui hoc gaudentes indusio variis fuere sanati languoribus.'[30]

If, as we think, this list was compiled in the fourteenth century, it serves as an illustration to Swanyngton's words: 'When these facts became known in England and abroad, numerous grandees desired to be affiliated to the Order so that they might participate in its blessings and die in the holy habit.'

In this and similar enumerations it is frequently stated that the scapular was worn secretly. Purposeless as such a notice may seem at first sight, it appears to us to contain a valuable hint. Of course the scapular, even if much larger than those used nowadays, would be practically a secret garment. But, considering what we already know

[28] Walsingham, *Historia (Rolls' Series)*, ii. 114.

[29] Selden, 41, *supra*; Bodley, 73, fol. 185a.

[30] Harley, 3838, chap. xix., where Cantilupe is specially quoted. The same names, with more or less extensive explanations, recur frequently in the various note-books, sometimes singly, at other times in groups.

about the manner in which it came to be regarded as the most essential part of the religious habit, and the one to which the promise of Our Lady is chiefly if not exclusively attached, it seems to us that the writer who first drew up this catalogue (in saying that the habit was worn secretly) may have intended to convey to his readers that only one part of it, the one that would adapt itself most easily to court dress as well as the coat of mail, namely the scapular, was used ; whence later writers, already accustomed to the prerogative of the scapular, concluded that there was some secrecy about it. If this is not the right interpretation we must own that we fail to see the point of this obscure remark. But perhaps the case of Frederick, King of Sicily, may help us to understand still better by what processes the scapular was substituted for the complete habit.

We ought also to add a word about the comparative scarcity of miracles wrought on account of the scapular. Modern books on this devotion abound in records of miracles, many of which have been canonically investigated. But, apart from the Winchester miracle and another reported by Leersius (which is hardly to the point), we have only the general remark that many who wore the scapular were cured through it of various diseases. An appeal to the unknown is, as a rule, bad logic, but in this case there may be some justification for it, because it seems inconceivable that Sibert de Beka in his *Flores historiarum*, William de Coventry in his *Scutum Carmelitarum*, and Nicholaus de Cantilupe in the work whence the list of persons wearing the scapular is derived, should have treated of the scapular devotion without illustrating their narratives by accounts of such miraculous events. Unfortunately these books are lost. Bale was so unsystematic in his transcripts that his silence counts for nothing. We certainly should know very little of the great devotion of the inhabitants of Toulouse to the miraculous statue of Our Lady which had been brought from Mount Carmel, had not Bale taken the trouble of copying some sixteen closely written pages containing, besides an account of the shrine, an incredible number of miracles, among them the resuscitation of nearly twenty

persons, all of which occurred within one year.[81] In taking notes he acted as a book-worm without any set purpose, not like an historian who collects materials according to a pre-arranged plan.

OUR LADY OF MOUNT CARMEL

The principal feast of the Carmelite Order is the Solemn Commemoration of Our Lady, popularly known as the Scapular feast, which is sometimes held on the Sunday following the 15th of July, but the real celebration of which is the 16th, the day 'after the feast of the Division of the Apostles,' on which day St. Simon's vision occurred. The older historians of the Order, like Lezana, were under the impression that it was introduced in 1226 in commemoration of, and thanksgiving for, the confirmation of the Rule under Pope Honorius III., because the lessons for matins gave a detailed account of the circumstances connected with this event. It appears that the Pope was willing to confirm the said Rule but that two officials of the Roman Court, whom some writers even call cardinals, offered stubborn resistance until Our Lady appeared to Honorius bidding him to protect the Order specially dedicated to her, and warning him that the anger of God had been provoked by those who put an obstacle to her will. Accordingly the two officials were struck with sudden death, and it was rumoured abroad that one of them made a bad death, *dispari exitu sed discessu pari*. The fact that in this legend were quoted the words of the second Council of Lyons (1274), whereby the Order was finally confirmed, should have warned Lezana that it must be of considerably later origin ; and in fact the feast was as yet unknown when the Ordinale of 1315 was drawn up, neither does it appear in the Calendar of 1340.[82] It occurs for the first time in the calendar prefixed to a copy of Friar Nicholaus de Lynn's astronomical tables,[83] which

[81] Harley, 1819, fol. 89b-97a.

[82] 'Obituaire du Couvent des Carmes à Bruges,' edited by W. H. James Weale in the *Annales de la Société, d'Emulation . . . de la Flandre*, 1900.

[83] MS. Arundel, 347. It does not, however, appear in other copies (Add.; 15,209, and Arundel, 207). Nicholaus de Lynn lived and died at Norwich, Chaucer mentions him in the *Astrolabe*, Prologue III.

must have been written about 1387. It is there called *Commemoratio solemnis S. Mariae.* After that date it appears in all liturgical books of the Order with the exception of a book of Hours (Lyons, 1516).

It is not difficult to discover the occasion which led to the introduction of this feast.

A violent discussion having arisen at Cambridge between Friar John Stokes, Dominican, and Friar John Horneby, Carmelite, the former contending that the Carmelites had been instituted in honour of that great penitent, St. Mary of Egypt, and the latter maintaining that they owed their title and glory to the Blessed Virgin, a public disputation was held in the presence of the heads of the University in a chapel of the Carmelite church, behind the northern gate of the church. We doubt whether a body of learned men at the present time would have had the patience to listen to the long speech delivered on this occasion by Horneby, for it occupied no less than thirty-five pages in double columns,[34] and Stokes' response cannot have been much shorter. The arguments, too, would scarcely be deemed satisfactory nowadays for they are chiefly derived from Canon law and hardly touch upon the historical problem; but the University must have been fully convinced, for it issued two decrees whereby the victory is attributed to Horneby without the slightest qualification and all members are strictly prohibited ever to call these matters into question. The decrees bear the date of the disputation, 23rd February, 1374.

But the matter did not stop here, for the strife allayed at Cambridge broke out with renewed force at Chester.

Some invidious persons boldly declared that the Carmelites had as much right as, but not more than, other religious to consider themselves the chosen servants of Our Lady. Strange to say, most of those who thus spoke died a sudden death, for which

[34] John Horneby was admitted for preaching and confessions in the Diocese of Ely in 1337. The date of his death, which took place at St. Botolph's, is not on record. His disputation is preserved in MS. Bodley, 86, fol. 176-211. The two decrees are printed in Daniel, *Speculum Carmel.* i. 120. On John Stokes see Quétif and Echard, i. 674. His *Determinationum volumen* containing his side of the dispute, seems to be lost.

reason the Lord Abbot, Thomas (de Newport), caused public processions to be held at St. Werburgh's, and when the Carmelites passed in front of the shrine of the holy hermit, Goddesstald, in the eastern part of the choir, lo! a miraculous image of the Blessed Virgin, which was placed there and greatly venerated by the faithful, was seen to point at them with the finger, saying in an audible voice, as if addressing each one of the brethren in particular: 'Behold my brethren, behold my brethren, behold my beloved brethren, the chosen ones!'[35]

Lest such attacks should be renewed to the detriment of religion in general and the Carmelites in particular, John of Gaunt addressed a letter to the Pope in which he rendered an account of what had happened and requested His Holiness to graciously declare the alleged articles to be utterly untrue and forbid them to be held and propounded under severe penalties; and in order the more to increase the devotion of the people towards the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, to grant indulgences to those who would address the members of the said Order under the title of the Mother of God and oppose themselves to all who dared to contravene any of His Holiness' injunctions on this matter. This letter, John of Gaunt says, had been occasioned by the singular affection he had always felt and still feels towards the said Order, of which he is *filius confessionis*.[36] Accordingly, Urban VI. granted an indulgence of three years and as many quarantines to those who should call the Carmelites the brethren (or friars) of the most Glorious Mother of God (26th April, 1379).

A short time before the Duke of Lancaster wrote to the Pope, the General of the Order, Bernard Olerius, came to England for the purpose of a visitation of the province. At a chapter held at Doncaster on the feast of the Assumption, 1376, he prescribed that in future this feast should be styled throughout the Order *Festum confratrum Ordinis beatae Mariae genitricis Dei de Monte Carmelo*.[37] For some

[35] Thomas Scrope (Bradley), Carmelite recluse of Norwich, afterwards titular Bishop of Dromore, *Chronicon. apud* Daniel, *loc. cit.* i., 179. The gesta of Chester he refers to are probably the *Annales Cestrenses* (Cotton, Otho, B. 3), which perished in the fire at the Cottonian Library.

[36] Bodley, 73, fol. 185a; *Bullarium Carm.*, i. 141.

[37] Bodley, 73, fol. 138, from a note by Friar Robert Ormeskirk, who was Procurator of the Order at Windsor, *i.e.*, agent at court, residing at Oxford.

reason or other this injunction was not complied with, but instead of it the feast of the 16th of July was introduced.

As has already been stated, it appears for the first time in a calendar of *circa* 1387. For a long time it had no special liturgy, both the office and the Mass being taken from the common with the exception of the prayer, which began *Deus qui excellentissimae Virginis et Matris tuae Mariae titulo humilem ordinem et electum singulariter decorasti et pro defensione ejusdem multa miracula suscitasti, concede*, etc., (the allusion to the Chester miracle is obvious). Thus the Oxford Breviary of 1399, the Kilcormic Missal of 1458,[39] the first printed Breviary (Brussels, 1480) where the prayer is accidentally omitted,[40] the Breviaries of 1490, 1495, 1504, etc., the Missals of 1551 and 1574, etc. In England, however, we find also some special offices. A fragment of 'proper' offices written in 1478 prescribes for Vespers the antiphons *Haec est regina*, etc., from the feast of the Annunciation with the ordinary psalms of Our Lady, *Laudate pueri* and four other psalms beginning with *Lauda* or *Laudate*, chapter *Beata es Maria*, great response *Sicut cedrus*, hymn *Ave Maris stella*, verse *Diffusa est*, antiphon for Magnificat *Ave regina coelorum*. Eight lessons for Matins contain, besides the story about the confirmation of the Rule under Honorius already alluded to, an eloquent encomium of the Blessed Virgin, the homily is on the Gospel *Loquente Jesu*, the Mass is *Salve sancta parens*, with special prayers.

This office gave rise to another which, according to the taste of the times, was entirely in verse. We owe its preservation to the indefatigable pen of Bale,[42] who, in one of his note-books,[43] attributes it, as well as some other Carmelite offices, to himself; but this can only refer to the particular

[38] MS. University Coll., Oxford, 9.

[39] MS. Trinity Coll., Dublin, B. 3 i. It has been (most unsatisfactorily) edited by Rev. Hugh Jackson Lawlor, D.D., in *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. xxxi., Part X. Dublin, 1900.

[40] The feast is marked in the calendar, but passed over in the body of the Breviary.

[41] MS. Add., 12,195.

[42] MS. Cambridge, Ff. vi. 28

[43] Selden, 41, *supra*.

copy, for several of the pieces there contained are certainly not his work. In fact there is every reason to think that the entire collection is due to George Riplay, [4] and Friar Robert Bale. Strange to say, neither in the lessons, which are a poetical paraphrase of those in Add. 12,195, nor in the remaining portion of this office, is there a direct allusion to the scapular and the promises attached thereto. There are, however, several passages which seem to refer to it in more or less veiled language. Thus in the response after the third lesson :—

R. Tu amoenus paradisus soli deo cognitus
Nitens, candens et invisus castitate praeditus,
Nobis confer pietatem per immensam caritatem.
V. Deo tu propinquior sanctisque celerior
Mater ad dandum munera vitae prece largissima. Nobis.

Again, at the end of the ninth lesson :—

Sic ergo per te sanctarum sanctissima succidantur demerita damnationis aeternae, et in profectum perducantur opera salutis aeternae. Ad honorem Filii tui, etc.

Likewise in an alternative antiphon for *Benedictus* :—

Regina gloriae Maria diceris,
dulcis memoriae primis et posteris,
nam legis veteris praedita litteris
es nostri generis decus historiae
sis nobis miseris in lacu funeris
et tuis famulis scutum victoriae.

This office can only have been in use in the English province, for the printed liturgical books, until 1579 inclusive, content themselves with the common office and Mass of Our Lady with the exception of the prayers. But after the Carmelite liturgy had been brought into closer harmony

[4] Originally a canon of Bridlington, afterwards Carmelite recluse at St. Botolph's. He died about 1480. His rhymed office on Our Lady of Dolours was introduced in the Order in 1489. Robert Bale, Prior of Burnham, ✠ 11th November, 1503. He wrote, among other works, the office of the Raptus St. Eliae (17th June), contained in the Cambridge MS. In it he has drawn largely on two offices of St. Eliseus, contained respectively in the MS. Add., 12,195, and the Brussels Breviary. He also wrote an office for the feast of St. Simon Stock, beginning *Ave Simon pater inclite*, which we have not been fortunate enough to secure.

with the new Roman books (1584), it was deemed advisable to obtain a new set of lessons setting forth the whole of the Carmelite tradition. They were approved by the Sacred Congregation of Rites in 1609 on the recommendation of Cardinal Bellarmine, and again under Urban VIII., and have been extended to the whole Church. It is too well known to need mention here what a prominent part they played in the interminable disputes between the Carmelites and Father Papebroch.

BENEDICT ZIMMERMAN, O.C.D.

To be continued.]

THE FRANCISCAN FAMILIES

ON St. Matthias' day,[1] 1208, Francis of Assisi was present at Mass in the little church of the Porziuncola, and being struck for the first time with the full sublimity of the Gospel of poverty,[2] which happened to be the Gospel of the Feast, he took the shoes from off his feet, and discarding the conventional hermit's dress which he had worn since his first conversion, he put on a rough tunic, girded himself with a rope, and thus stood clad for the first time in the habit of a Friar Minor. In a sense his Order may be said to date from that day. His first two disciples, Bernard of Quintavalle and Peter Catani, joined him on the 16th April of the same year; that is another date which may be taken as the date of the foundation, for an Order can scarcely be said to exist, except potentially, in its founder only. But the real date of the foundation is rather a year later (conventionally the 16th April, 1209) when St. Francis and his first eleven disciples presented their Rule for approval to Innocent III., and made their profession as Friars Minor into the hands of the Supreme Pontiff.

The religious professing the Rule of St. Francis remained undivided for some three hundred years. Not that there were not varieties of Franciscans during this period, but a variety does not constitute a species, and where there is one head there is but one body. It was not until 1517 that the modern Conventual Friars obtained a separate head, called in the Bull of Pope Leo X. a *Master*-General, and were recognised by the Pope as a separate Franciscan family. At the same time that body of Friars known as 'Observantins' was recognised as constituting the legitimate descendants of St. Francis, and their head was styled 'the Minister-General of the whole Order of Friars Minor.' In 1619 the Capuchins, a variety of Franciscan founded

[1] 24th February.

[2] Matth. x. 9 *et seqq.*

in 1525, obtained a separate head of their own. So that the great society founded by St. Francis became divided into three branches, each having its own chief, and each distinct from the other, the Friars Minor Observantin, the Friars Minor Conventual, and the Friars Minor Capuchin.

Franciscan is a generic term : but it is a most important matter to understand quite clearly to what species or variety a particular Friar Minor belongs. If we read that Leonard of Port Maurice was a Franciscan that is something ; but not until we know that he belonged to the ' Riformati,' or rather ' Riformelli,' do we know his real Minoritic status. The subject is vast and not without complications, and calls for the majesty of in-folio, but in this article we will, at least, try to arrive at names, a rough classification, and the true nature of such differentiations or structural changes as have taken place. Roughly speaking, there have been three kinds of division in the Franciscan Order : (1) Friars who separated themselves at periods of relaxation from the community of the Order or common life the better to observe the Rule of the Founder, but who remained subject to the hierarchical superiors of the Order, and never sought a separate head of their own, *i.e.*, the so-called ' Caesareni ' in the early days of the Order, the family of the Blessed Paoluccio Trinci in 1368, the Amadeites in 1464, etc. ; (2) Friars who separated themselves that they might live under duly authorised dispensations from the substance of the Rule, *i.e.*, the Conventuals ; (3) Friars, who, while observing the strict Rule separated themselves to become an independent congregation under an independent head, *i.e.*, the Capuchins, since 1619. From this it will be seen that a section of the Order may be separated from the parent stock *numerice* only as in the case of the Capuchins, *specifice* only as in the case of the Conventuals immediately after 1517,[3] *numerice* and *specifice* as in the case of the modern Conventuals. The Capuchins being separated *numerice* only

[3] Pope Leo required that the election of the Conventual Master-General should be confirmed by the Observantin Minister-General, thus theoretically, at least, preserving the unity of the Order by placing the legitimate source of authority in one head.

remain Friars Minor *specifice* and *generice ;* the Conventuals now being separated *numerice* and *specifice* remain Friars Minor *generice* only. There have also been many Franciscan groups in the past who only differed *accidentaliter* from the parent stock : they were under the obedience of the Minister-General and therefore were not separated *numerice*, they observed the Rule *ad litteram* and therefore did not differ *specifice*.[4] Such were the 'Riformati' of Italy, the Discalced Friars of Spain, the Recollects of France, Belgium and Germany. All these had their own particular 'Constitutions,' but these Constitutions did not in any way detract from the substance of the Rule ; indeed, they did but rather add to its severity.

The Franciscan ideal was the loftiest ever set in express terms before the world. Hundreds of thousands of men before the day of St. Francis, had left all to follow the Lord, but in leaving all that was their own, it was only to become, even though they may have often been unconscious of the fact, part owner in the property of large bodies corporate. The individual in a religious Order owned nothing ; the Order itself, or its individual houses, may have enjoyed large revenues. St. Francis was to found an Order in which neither the body corporate nor the individual owned anything. It was in this that he differed from all other founders ; his Order owned nothing, and to this day owns nothing. The churches in which his brethren praise God and administer the Sacraments ; the houses in which they live and work ; the grounds or yards attaching to such houses—all are the property of someone else, but never of the Order. The Holy See itself is usually the owner ; but in some cases the property may be private property, as in the well-known case of the famous convent of St. Damian's at Assisi of which the Friars enjoy the use, but which is the property of the Marquis of Ripon.[5] Let nobody say that it came

[4] See that masterly work, *Brevis Historia Ordinis Minorum*, by Peter Van den Haute, a Belgian Recollect (Rome, 1777, fol.), Tract. II. ; *De Essentia et Divisione Ord. Min., passim*, and especially cap. xv. *De Divisione Primaria* and cap. xvi. *De Divisione Specifica.*

[5] Over the entrance of the Church of St. Damian's is a picture of a golden buck at gaze, the crest of the Robinson family, encircled by the Garter

to the same thing in the end; that the Franciscan friar practically owned property because he had the use of it. When the despoiler came along at the Protestant Reformation or the French Revolution, the individul Benedictine could allege his corporate interest in the property from which he was forcibly ejected; the Franciscan could only say, it is not *ours* certainly, but neither is it yours who seize upon it.

This is the main thing to bear in mind about the Friars Minor: they owned no property, not even corporately. Whenever in history we come across Friars Minor owning property, there we have Friars Minor breaking their Rule. Always excepting the Conventuals who, since the Council of Trent, have been allowed to own property corporately. The greatest enemy to the Franciscan ideal has been the world itself. Although the world knew that this particular body of men wished to possess nothing, although it admired them chiefly for that reason, yet the world did its best to make them accept priceless possessions. The world ought to admire the Conventuals who took its gifts; religion ought to be grateful to them; they were always something of a safety-valve which helped to preserve the more rarefied aspects of the Franciscan ideal to the rest of the Order. But the subject of the use of property by Franciscans, of the alms and revenues administered and held for them by gentlemen extraneous to the Order and known as 'Syndici Apostolici,' likewise merits the majesty of in-folio and cannot possibly be treated here.[6]

An ideal as high as that contemplated by the Rule of St. Francis is almost certain, in human hands, to lead first to disputations, then to disintegrations. But for the strong hand of the Popes the great work of St. Francis would not have survived him half a century. Yet in spite of brutal

---

and its motto, *Honi soi qui mal y pense*. No one certainly will think evil of the Most Honourable Marquis for having saved this historical monument, perhaps for ever, from the outrages of modern vandalism.

[6] The austere and reforming Minister-General, the Blessed John of Parma, obtained the institution of 'Syndici Apostolici' (the 'Amici spirituales' of cap. iv. of St. Francis' Rule) by Pope Innocent IV.'s Bull, *Quanto Studiosus*, 1247.

onslaughts upon the ideal from without, and insidious onslaughts from within, it confronts us to this day, not always in its first freshness, but having within it, potentially, the whole spirit of St. Francis which at any unlooked-for moment might lead his latter-day brethren into the Enochian walk of the first disciples. No religious Order has been such a source of constant preoccupation to the Popes ; threatened with total extinction from without, threatened from partial extinction from within, the Popes have known in these times of stress how to preserve the whole ideal *in petto* as a spiritual treasury upon which they afterwards draw, while for the time being they had to be content with giving to this section or that of the Order that half ideal which is better than none.

It was by an instinct which we can understand his modern followers calling divine, that St. Francis, above all founders of Orders, placed his family under Papal protection and instituted the system of Cardinal Protectors which has since been adopted by all religious Orders. The curious tendency to disintegration in the Order consequent upon the great variety of life possible under its ideal, is best manifested by the great number of names which, in history, all mean Franciscan Friar. The real name of the Order was that of the Friars Minor, but Caesareno, Narbonese, Coelestino, Clareno, Coletano, Amadeito, Caperolano, Friar of the Holy Gospel or Capuce, Neutral, Friar of the Community, Conventual, Reformed Conventual, Friar of the 'Family,' of the Cismontane Family, of the Ultramontane Family, Grey Friar, Observantin, Zoccolante, Bernardino, Riformato, Nottolino, Riformello, Cordelier, Recollect, Alcantarino, Descalzo, Capuchin—all these terms (and there are some others) signify a member of that great Order, so rich in the spiritual life, founded by the poor man of Assisi as a single association with one chief only. Nearly all these branches or families came into being as a reassertion of that contemplative or eremitical life which was as the groundwork of St. Francis' scheme, but which being coupled with the active life, was the side most exposed to relaxation. The times of greatest crisis in the

Order have occurred when it failed to provide proper nurseries of the eremitical life for the development of its holiest souls.

The disciples of St. Francis were, as I have said, called Friars Minor by their holy founder. It is a name which has found but little favour. Thousands of people are familiar with the term Franciscan who do not know that it is synonymous with Friar Minor. So early as 1236, only ten years after the death of St. Francis, we came across Friars Minor with another designation, the Caesareni. These were the friars, zealous for the literal observance of the Rule, who joined themselves to the holy Caesareus of Spires in his protest against the relaxations introduced by the famous Minister-General, Elias. They were never in any sense a separate body though to be found chiefly in the remote hermitages of the Order. With the advent of the zealous Minister-General, Giovanni da Parma, in 1247, the Caesareni may be said to have ceased to exist. All they had desired was to observe the austerity and simplicity of the earliest Franciscan life, and that had now become possible outside the hermitages. But in returning freely to the convents they may be said to have leavened the whole Order in Italy with the true Franciscan spirit which they had preserved in retirement. Frate Elia has been handled very severely by some chroniclers and historians, and he merits some of their severity. But his great defect, as a ruler, was that while fostering, often with splendid results, the active side of the Order, he neglected, undervalued, and finally almost despised its eremitical life.

The Order of Friars Minor, as I have said, remained united under one head for over three hundred years, with the exception of two relatively small branches which had a separate existence *numerice*. But during this time many branches, differing from the parent stock *accidentaliter*, grew apace and flourished. And the first of these was the Coelestini, started in 1294 by Fra Liberato de Macerata. They were the only Franciscans who ever formally renounced the name of Friars Minor, for while the rationale of their existence was the literal observance of the Rule

of St. Francis, they gladly took upon themselves the name of Poor Hermits of Pope Coelestin, and separated altogether from the Order. The hermit Pope, St. Coelestin V., who had sanctioned their existence and given them their name, kept the Chair of Peter for five months only, and his principal work was to protect and establish these zealous friars. The Coelestini did not live long: 'de se quasi evanuit Coelestinorum Congregatio,' says Perer Van den Haute. But the seed they had sowed sprung up in the *Narbonesi* and *Clareni*, two Congregations which I can but mention here.

The Narbonesi faded away like the Coelestini, but the Clareni, founded by Fra Angelo Clareno, survived to the days of Leo X. and even Pius V. Until 1472 they existed entirely separate from the Order under the obedience of the diocesan ordinary. In that year the greater part of them returned to the obedience of the Minister-General, retaining their peculiar habit (the *becha*) and their own constitutions. The *Coletani*, sprung from the reform of St. Colette among Minorite nuns in the fifteenth century, form yet another Congregation of Minorite Friars. A more important Congregation were the *Amadeiti*, founded in Italy by the Blessed Amadeus, a noble Portuguese. From a Jeronymite hermit he became a Franciscan lay-brother in 1451, and was ordained priest in 1459. None of the Franciscan families of the fifteenth century, except the Clareni, had ever been separated from the community of the Order, but lived under the obedience of the Ministers-Provincial and the Minister-General. Their separation was confined to living in their own houses under their own constitutions, and sprang from the desire of a more perfect observance of the Rule.

It was one of these small families, originated by a lay-brother in a retired hermitage, which was eventually to fill the world with its name and save the Order. Paoluccio Trinci, of the noble house of Trinci—his cousin, Ugolino, was Lord of Foligno—obtained in 1368 the leave of his superiors to retire to the little convent of Brogliano in Umbria, with a few frairs like-minded with himself, and

there live the poor and abject lives of the first Franciscans. By 1374 this little reform possessed six convents. Fra Paoluccio aimed at no novelties: his reform was strictly under the obedience of the Ministers-Provincial, that is to say his convents never formed separate provinces in themselves, but continued to form part of the regular Minorite provinces. It is true that in 1388 Fra Paoluccio was appointed by the Minister-General Commissary in the government of the reform, but this in no way separated it in substance from the Order. The followers of Fra Paoluccio came to be called 'Friars of the Family' in contradistinction to the bulk of the Order, the 'Friars of the Community.' They were popularly known, too, as *Zoccolanti* (Latin, *calopedes*) from wearing sandals with *wooden* soles. But the name by which they live in history is Observantin or Friars of the Observance, for Fra Paoluccio's tiny reform was to grow into the great Observantin family with its numerous offshoots. He died at Foligno, on the 17th September, 1391, aged 81, having spent sixty-seven years of his holy life in the Order of St. Francis.

In 1402 one of the great lights of Christendom joined the Friars of the 'Family' as a novice—Bernardine of Siena. So greatly did his influence contribute to the spread of the 'Family'—it had about 300 convents and 5,000 subjects in Italy alone when the saint died in 1444—that he has often been erroneously spoken of as its founder. But the humble and holy aristocrat lay-brother, Paoluccio Trinci, has a clear title to that honour. In 1414 another saint joined the 'Family'—St. John of Capistran—and yet another in 1416, San Giacomo della Marca. About this time too, flourished Pedro of Villacreces who established his 'houses of Recollection' in Spain, and can reckon S. Pedro Regelado (ob. 1456) among his disciples. So great had the influence of the 'Family' become that in 1415 the care of the Porziuncola, the holiest spot in the *Orbis Seraphicus*, was taken from the 'Friars of the Community' and given to the 'Friars of the Family.' Other famous Franciscan houses were already in their possession, as for

instance, the Carceri above Assisi, St. Damian's, and Greccio. Aracoeli in Rome they obtained in 1445.

Anno Domini, 1415, is an important year in many ways in the history of the Franciscan Order. The Council of Constance met in that year, and it was at the Council of Constance that the terms 'Observantin' and 'Observance' first came into being, as opposed to 'Vita Communis' or 'Vita Communitatis.' At the Council of Constance eleven French Franciscan convents belonging to the Provinces of Burgundy, Touraine, and France properly so-called, obtained a separate existence in the sense that they were allowed to have Vicars-Provincial. That is to say, that within the regular Province of the 'Community' certain convents were allowed existance as a Provincial unit under a *Vicar*-Provincial nominated by the Minister-Provincial.

The unity of the Province thus remained unaffected; only certain convents within it were accorded a semi-independent existence by sanction of authority. This has ever been the marvel of the Catholic Church and the chief admiration of those who study her ways with sympathy and intelligence, that she has known how to contain a kaleidoscopic variety of system and sentiment within the sharp bounds of a clearly defined unity. It was to these eleven French convents that the term 'Observantin' was first applied, but it must not be forgotten that all the other convents of the 'Family' were strenuously observing the Rule, though as yet having only separate houses and in no sense a separate Provincial existence. The *imperium in imperio* is a constant feature in Franciscan life, and the principle of it must be constantly borne in mind in studying the intricate developments of Franciscan history. In 1438 St. Bernardine of Siena was Commissary or Vicar-General of the 'Family.' Pope Eugenius IV. was in the Chair of Peter, and he was extraordinarily zealous in his endeavours to bring about a strict observance of the Rule in the Minorite Order. In 1443, by the Bull *Fratrum Ordinis Minorum*, he divided the Observantins into two families, the Cismontane and the Ultramontane family, giving to each its own Vicar-General under obedience of the Minister-General. In 1445 he went

a step further and by the Bull *Ut Sacra Ordinis Minorum* granted to the whole body of Observantins the privilege accorded at the Council of Constance to eleven convents of three French Provinces, namely, existence as Provinical units under Vicars-Provincial, subject to the Ministers-Provincial, which of course brought with it the right to hold separate Provincial Chapters.

By the same Bull he effectively divided the Observantins into two distinct families under Vicars-General, each with the right to hold its General Chapter separate from the other. The Cismontane Family consisted of the Provinces in the following countries: Italy, Dalmatia, Crete, Bosnia, Austria, Bohemia, Poland, Corsica, Ragusa, Hungary, Tyrol, Albania, and the Holy Land. And the Ultramontane Family was located in the following countries: France, Spain, Germany, Portugal, Ireland, Scotland, England, the Low Countries, Sardinia, to which were afterwards added America and India. The Cismontane Vicar-General resided at Rome, the Ultramontane Vicar-General at Madrid. Thus was the Observantin branch of the Order, 'the Friars of the Family' originated by Fra Paoluccio Trinci, divided administratively into two very distinct families. But in all this the unity of the Order remained intact, for all were subject to the authority of the Minister-General. The two Observantin Vicars-General may be looked upon as powerful vassals, ruling their large fiefs in practical independence of the overlord, but they did homage to the overlord and recognised his suzeranity.

The Friars of the 'Community' now began very generally to be called Conventuals. The learned author of the *Secoli Serafici* states that the first official document which contains the expression 'Conventual' is Eugenius IV.'s Bull *Super Gregem* (1431). Innocent IV. (*Cum tanquam*, 1250) decreed that Franciscan churches, where convents existed, might be called Conventual churches and practically take rank as Collegiate churches. But the Friars did not then come to be called Conventuals as signifying any distinct section of the Order, but merely to indicate the inmate of a convent, as for instance, *cum essem Conventualis ibi*:[7] 'When I was

a member of that convent.' In 1413 a determined effort was made to unite the 'Community' and the 'Family' in a strict observance of the Rule. At the General Chapter held at Assisi in that year, Constitutions framed by St. John of Capistran, known as the *Constitutiones Martinianae* from being embodied in the Bull *Cum Generale Capitulum* of Martin V. (21st June, 1430), were adopted by all present.

There was only one point on which the Rule was gravely departed from. A number of houses of the 'Community' either held real property, or enjoyed, through the administration of their 'Syndici Apostolici,' regular incomes from real property for which they had contracted some obligation. This, though perfectly compatible with a holy life and a poor life, was unquestionably contrary to the spirit of Franciscan poverty, and a clear derogation from the Rule. The efforts of the Minister-General, Fra Guglielmo da Casale, who had been elected at the General Chapter for the purpose of putting down this abuse, proved unavailing. He became discouraged almost at once, and prevailed upon Pope Martin V. in the same year to allow such houses, as chose, to enjoy incomes from real property, but not to own such property. This dispensation was granted by the Bull *Ad Statum Ordinis* (August 23rd), and we now for the first time have Friars Minor lawfully dispensed from the observance of an article of their Rule. Note that by no means all the convents of the 'Community' availed themselves of this dispensation, and such as did not may fairly be described as houses where the Rule was observed, though they did not formally pass over to the Friars of the 'Family.'[8]

I must not dwell upon, and yet cannot altogether omit, the reform of Juan de la Pueblo, a holy Spaniard, who after seven years of austere life in the hermitage of Carceri above Assisi, founded a few convents in Spain on a similar model

[7] Alvarus Pelagius, *De Planctu Ecclesiae*, quoted by Padre Palomes in his *Dei Fratri Minori*. Palermo, 1897, p. 27.

[8] It is important to distinguish between the mere relaxation of the severity of the religious life and the formal abandonment of any article of the Rule. When religious houses are spoken of as being 'relaxed,' it does not necessarily follow that they are formally breaking their Rule.

which came to be known as convents of the Strict Observance. These convents were not under the jurisdiction of the Vicars-Provincial of the Ultramontane family (Observantins), but under the obedience of the Ministers-Provincial of the Community (Conventuals). Fra Juan died in 1495, and in 1496 one of his most fervent disciples, Fra Juan de Guadelupe, obtained leave from Alexander VI. (an indifferent Pope who yet had the good of the Church much at heart[9]) to yet further reform his master's 'reform.' He founded a 'Custodia'—a division of a Minorite province corresponding something to the hundred of a county—called of the Holy Gospel whence his 'Frailes' came to be called the 'Fratres de Sancto Evangelico;' also 'de Caputio,' from a pointed hood introduced into the habit by Fra Juan. They were also known as the 'Discalced Friars,' from the fact that they went completely barefoot without sandals or 'zoccoli,' but they must not be confounded with the famous barefoot Franciscans of Spain that came into being in the following century. The Friars 'de Sancto Evangelico' played a noble part in the evangelisation of the New World, but popular historians fail to distinguish them, as they should, from other Franciscans. The first question, I repeat, to ask about a Franciscan when one comes across him in history is: To what section of the Order did he belong? Otherwise the term Franciscan has but a vague signification.

The year 1517 is a most important year in the history of the Friars Minor. In that year Leo X. resolved to unite in one body all the various sections of the Order that observed the Rule, and give them a chief of their own who was to be *the* Minister-General of the Order and consequently the real successor of St. Francis ruling over *the* Friars Minor. By the Bull of Union *Ita et vos* (29th May, 1517), he united in one body the Observantins, the Amadeiti, the Clareni, the Coletani, the Spanish Barefoot Friars, 'de Sancto Evangelico,' the reformed friars under the jurisdiction of the 'Community,' all Franciscans in fact who were observing the Rule and not availing themselves of

[9] 'Sa bullaire était irréproachable,' says De Maistre.

any dispensations however lawful. This great body is described in the Bull (§ 13) as the 'Friars Minor of St. Francis of the Regular Observance,' and also (§ 14) simply as 'Friars Minor.' They became in fact the Community, the Order. Those friars who continued to live under dispensations (the Conventuals) were formed by the Pope into a separate religious body (see the Bull *Omnipotens Deus*, 12th June, 1517). Their chief, whose election had to be confirmed by the Minister-General, was called a *Master*-General; the heads of their Provinces *Masters*-Provincials. The Conventuals were thus divided *specifice* only from the Observantins, *not numerice*, for in theory at least the whole Order depended from one head. By the Bull the Observantins were to take precedence of the Conventuals upon all occasions.

About seventy years later the Conventual Master-General began to call himself Minister-General, and the title has very generally been accorded him ever since, even in Apostolic letters, though the ordinance of Leo X. was never formally revoked. The Minister-General never availed himself of his right to confirm the election of the Master-General, therefore it is best to regard the Conventuals as a separate body, even *numerice*, from the year 1517. In 1565 they accepted the indult of the Council of Trent allowing Mendicant Orders to own property, and thus became even more effectually differentiated *specifice*. As regards the Observantins the distinction of Cismontane and Ultramontane remained; so vast a spiritual empire was too cumbrous for government by one head; therefore the Minister-General was chosen alternately from the two families, and the remaining family was governed by a Commissary-General, confirmed by the Minister-General, but ruling in practical independence of him. The Vicars-Provincial had, of course, now become Ministers-Provincial, and each of the two families held its own Chapters General. As before the headquarters of the Cismontanes were at Aracoeli at Rome, of the Ultramontanes at Madrid.

It might be thought that this union would have effectually put an end to the possibility or necessity of all further

'reforms' or divisions in the Order. But the spirit of St. Francis is the very spirit of fecundity, and within a few years of the publication of the *Ita et vos* four new, important, vigorous, deeply spiritual, and very austere Franciscan families sprang into existence, the *Riformati* or *Fratres Strictioris Observantiae* of Italy, the *Alcantarini* or Barefoot Friars of Spain, the Recollects of France, Germany, and the Low Countries, and the Capuchins of all the world. The four families are striking evidence of the vigour and intensity of the great Catholic revival which followed hard upon the Reformation.

The Capuchins were started under extraordinary circumstances in 1525 by Fra Matteo da Basci, a friar of the Cismontane Observantins. Having seen in a dream or vision St. Francis wearing a habit with a long pointed hood *sewn* on to the tunic, in contradistinction to the rounded hood and capuce of the Observantins which is detachable from the tunic, Fra Matteo obtained leave from his superiors to make himself a similar habit and live by himself as a hermit. He had not at first any idea of forming another Franciscan congregation: the movement was entirely personal to himself. But other Franciscans attracted by his habit—has it not its fascinations to this day?—attracted still more by his fervour and sanctity, obtained leave to join him in his austere life and adopt his habit. It was under these singular circumstances and only eight years after the *Bulla Unionis* that the world-famed Capuchins took their rise. In 1528 their existence as a separate congregation was approved by Clement VII. They obtained their own Vicars-Provincial and Vicar-General, and were placed under the obedience of the Conventual Masters-Provincial and Master-General. Fra Matteo was elected the first Vicar-General, but after holding the office for two months only he resigned and rejoined the Observantins. The family grew and spread and flourished exceedingly, so that in 1619, Pope Paul V. made them entirely independent of the Conventuals, and their twenty-third Vicar-General, Fra Clemente da Noto, became the first Minister-General of the Friars Minor Capuchin.

The success with which the first Capuchins revived the primitive Franciscan simplicity caused several hundreds of Observantins to go over to them. The Order was, therefore, obliged to seek some remedy for such a state of things, and in 1532 obtained leave from Clement VII. to open in every Province some four or five houses of a stricter observance to which the more fervent spirits could retire without seeking to join the Capuchin hermitages. This may be taken as the real beginning of these *Frati*, popularly known in Italy as Riformati and familiarly as 'Nottolini,' from the *nottola* or clasp of wood and leather with which they fastened their cloaks. Their convents remained under the Ministers-Provincial of the Observance, but were divided into 'Custodie,' with a Custode of the Reform at the head of each. In 1639 there were twenty-five of these Custodie, and Pope Urban VIII. erected them into Provinces independent of the Observantin Ministers-Provincial, but still dependent, of course, upon the Minister-General or Commissary-General, whichever happened to be ruling in Rome. In 1642, the Riformati framed Constitutions of their own which are famous in the history of the Order, and changed the form of the habit in some respects. But notwithstanding all this they differed from the parent stock *accidentaliter* only, remaining true and effective Friars Minor, *generice*, *specifice*, and *numerice*.[10]

One of the brightest ornaments in the *Orbis Seraphicus* is the family known as the Alcantarini or Spanish Barefoot Franciscans. Never since the foundation of the Order, perhaps, was the poor and mortified spirit of St. Francis so thoroughly revived as in these friars. I have briefly referred to the Discalced Friars instituted by Fra Juan de Puebla in 1487, and Fra Juan de Guadelupe in 1496, and who were known as the 'Fratres de Sancto Evangelico seu

[10] I dare not here pause to speak of the 'Friars of the Retreat' (*Frati del Santo Ritiro*, popularly and lovingly called *Riformelli*), an offshoot of the Riformati, approved by authority in 1662, and founded by a Spanish lay-brother, Fra Bonaventura de Barcelona, now the Venerable, some day assuredly to be called Blessed and Saint. Their fascinating story, still to be told in English, would assuredly tempt me too far outside the narrow bounds of this brief study of a great subject.

de Caputio.' These friars were joined to the great Observantin body by the *Bulla Unionis* of 1517, but they never seem quite to have lost the peculiar practices of poverty and meanness which made them a distinct family. The more fervent spirits among them considered that the 'union' caused a relaxation of the discipline in the Spanish Friars Minor. The Spaniard more than any other countryman, perhaps, needs the incitement of a high ideal, and, be it said in justice to him, he more than any other Christian has been able to realize ideals of the interior life, the dizzy heights of which the commoner nations of Christendom dare scarcely contemplate. St. Peter of Alcantara, the real founder of the Spanish Barefoot Friars Minor as they came down to us in the nineteenth century, lived perhaps the hardest, the most austerely supersensual life ever attained by any saint in the great inner history of the Catholic Church.

St. Peter was born in 1499 and died in 1562. His reform was first placed under the Conventuals but in the year of his death passed to the obedience of the Observantins. And note, so as to avoid a common pitfall, that there were Spanish Discalced Friars (two provinces of them) in the Neapolitan territories which then formed an appanage of the Spanish crown. These friars were of course Italian in nationality, but Spanish as regards the Franciscan Congregation to which they belonged. They continued to exist after Naples became a kingdom under the Spanish Bourbons. Not every Italian Franciscan, therefore, of whom you read in the seventeenth, eighteenth, or nineteenth century, was an Observantin, a Conventual, Capuchin, or a Riformato: he may have been a member of the Spanish Barefoot family.

And now *de Recollectis*, and as briefly as possible. The Recollects are the French Reformed Friars. They correspond to the Riformati in Italy, and the Descalzos in Spain, but were a congregation entirely separate from both having their own Ministers-Provincial, but owning allegiance to the Minister- General of the Observantins. The word 'Reform,' or 'Reformed' has led to much equivocation in Franciscan

history. When we speak of 'Frati Riformati' we may mean friars who belonged to any one of the numerous 'Reforms' in the Order, or we may mean friars who belonged to the Italian family called the 'Riformati.' The Recollects and the Descalzos were both Reformed Friars, but they were not *Riformati*.[11] And note, by the way, that Barefoot and Recollect alike may lead to similar equivocation. Most Franciscans are barefoot, but not all are Descalzos. So, too, friars living in the old *Domus Recollectionis* of the Regular Observance were Recollects for this reason, but must never be confounded with the regular Recollects of the French Reform. The Ultramontane Observantins never flourished in France, and were joined to the Conventuals by Clement XIV. The popular Franciscans of France since the sixteenth century were the Recollects, and though he does not tell us so, 'Father Lorenzo,' the Franciscan whom Yorick met at Calais and immortalized, was, without doubt, a Recollect. The French Reform extended to the Spanish Netherlands and Lower Germany, so that in these countries, too, we find Recollects. They formed an integral part of the French family. The origin of the French Recollects is difficult to disentangle, but the moving spirit, if not the actual founder of the Reform, was François de Simon, a French Observantin who had lived among the Italian Riformati and the Spanish Descalzos, and on his return to France took a leading part in the institution of the Reform (*circa* 1579).

The year 1897 is another *annus mirabilis* in Franciscan history. In that year Pope Leo XIII. by his Apostolic Constitution *Felicitate Quadam* (another *Bulla Unionis*) joined into one great body the parent stock, that is to say, the Observantins and the three branches that were separated from it *accidentaliter*, namely, the Riformati, the Alcantarini or Discalced Friars of Spain, and the Recollects. The distinction between Cismontane and Ultramontane was

[11] See this point luminously proved by Fra Casimoro di S. M. Maddalena, an eighteenth century Scalzo of Naples, in *La Palestina e le su Missioni* of PP. Marcellino da Civezza and Teofilo Domenichelli (Florence, 1892, pp. 66-79).

abolished, and with it the Commissary-General who ruled in that family from which the Minister-General for the time being had not been elected. To this great united body the Pope has given the primitive style and title of the Friars Minor, and their head he calls, like Leo X. before him, the Minister-General of the Order of Friars Minor. They have but one body of Constitutions ;[12] they wear the same habit each having sacrificed some peculiarity of that hitherto worn by them ; their Provinces have been fused, so that where before two Provinces, say Observantin and Riformato, existed side by side in the same territory, there is now only one Province ; nay, in Italy at least, there has been a fusion in the very houses, so that one now finds a convent composed half of ex-Observantins and half of ex-Riformati. Speaking generally, the Observantins have been slightly levelled up; the Riformati, Alcantarini, and Recollects slightly levelled down. Though uniformity is now restored to normal Franciscan life, yet Leo XIII. insists strongly in the *Bulla Unionis* upon the necessity of also having convents of a stricter observance for those ' altioris perfectionis vitaeque contemplativae cupidioribus,' and the new Constitutions (art. 8) provide for one or two Retreats (*Conventus sacri Recessus*) in every Province. The union presented such thorny impossibilities, such seemingly insurmountable difficulties, that its accomplishment must be regarded as one of the triumphs of the pontificate of Leo XIII.

There are now, therefore, only three Franciscan families in existence : the Friars Minor Conventuals, the Friars Minor Capuchin, and the Friars Minor. All three are lawfully sons of St. Francis. The Conventuals observe the Rule with various dispensations, lawfully accorded ; the Minors and Capuchins observe the Rule pure and simple, differing only *accidentaliter* in their particular Constitutions. Each of the three families has its own Minister-General, and is totally separate and distinct the one from the other. The Minister-General of the Minors must be

[12] *Regula et Constitutiones Generales Fratrum Minorum*, Quaracchi, 1899.

regarded as *primus*, not *inter pares* I think, for Apostolic authority has recognised in his family alone the name which was given to it by its founder ; to the Capuchin Minister-General must be accorded the second place because his family observes the whole of the founder's Rule ; and to the Conventual Minister-General the third place because his family has accepted of dispensations from the substance of the Rule. But there is a sense in which the three families may be considered as but one. St. Francis, by Chapter VIII. of the Rule, gives to his fraternity a General Minister and servant whom his friars are to obey, but in Chapter I. of the Rule he choses as the controlling force or real head of his Order the Pope and his successors.[13] The Minister-General is, therefore, but the Vicar-General of the real head of the Order, the Pope, and if it please the head of the Order to have three Vicars-General instead of one, who can say him nay. Thus, the division *numerice* disappears, and the whole of the Franciscan families become one in the spirit of St. Francis. It is not, perhaps, to consider it too curiously to consider it in this way : the Conventuals represent the religious life of St. Francis after his first conversion before he had conceived of a religious state above the monastic or eremitical life of his own day ; the Minors represent his own Minoritic life on earth ; and the Capuchins represent his risen life. For Francis of Assisi is not dead but liveth, and in his risen life not content with the strict observance of his Rule, but desiring a yet stricter (*strictioris observantiae*), he has at times so reformed and revivified portions of his Order, that they have even surpassed the first friars in all the glories and virtues of the Apostolic life, and may fairly claim to rank as new foundations of their ever-living founder. But whether one or three, whether united *substantialiter* or separated in them-

[13] 'Frater Franciscus promittit obedientiam et reverentiam domino papae Honorio, ac successoribus ejus canonice intrantibus, et Ecclesiae Romanae.' And see Chapter XII. of the Rule, where the Cardinal Protector is even styled the 'Governor' of the Order : 'Ad haec per obedientiam injungo Ministris, ut petant a Domino Papa unam de sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalibus, qui sit *gubernator*, protector et *corrector* istius Fraternitatis.'

selves *numerice*, concerns us but little : the matter of real moment is that there are still sons of St. Francis dwelling upon this dull earth, and that they excel most mortal things in the quality of mere human interest. They are a living *Legenda Antiqua* in which you may read voluminously of the past at leisure and in good company, and I would say : try this reading of history backwards from them to their wonderful first origin, and see if that first origin do not suddenly become illumined with new and altogether unexpected lustre and significance. This is at least the lesson that I seem to have learned by consorting with the living sons of Francis, and not merely poring over the records of Minoritic generations that are dead and gone.[14]

MONTGOMERY CARMICHAEL.

[14] To verify the facts of this article see, amongst other authorities, the *Bullarium Romanum ;* Wadding, *Annales Minorum ;* De Gubernatis, *Orbis Seraphicus ; Chronologia Historico-Legalis Seraphici Ordinis ;* Van den Haute, *Brevis Historia Ord. Minorum ; Secoli Serafici ;* Palomes, *Dei Fratri Minori ; Novissima pro Cismontana Minorum Familia Generalium Constitutionum Collectio* (Rome, 1827) ; *Regula et Constitutiones Generales Fratrum Minorum* (Quaracchi, 1899).

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

A MATRIMONIAL CASE: WHEN IS A DOMICILE GAINED AND LOST?

REV. DEAR SIR,—A solution of the following case in the next number of the I. E. RECORD would much oblige :—

A domestic servant was employed in this parish, and had been residing here for about four years. A marriage was arranged between her and a man who had a fixed residence in this parish. About a fortnight previous to her marriage, and in view of marriage, she left her service and went to live with her married sister, who resided in a neighbouring parish. The latter's residence had been formerly the parental domicile, but both parents are long since dead. After the marriage she returned to live with her husband in this parish.

Quaeritur :—

1°. Who had the right to assist at the marriage ?

2°. Could she be said to have still retained her parental domicile in the neighbouring parish ?

3°. Did she forfeit her quasi-domicile by leaving this parish before marriage ?

VICARIUS.

We will reply to these questions in a different order from that of our correspondent.

(1.) Did the girl forfeit her quasi-domicile by leaving the parish of her master before marriage ? (*a*) It seems that this girl had a domicile rather than a quasi-domicile in the parish of her master. She had at the same time the two conditions required for a domicile, viz., actual habitation and the intention of living permanently in the parish. She had actual habitation in her master's home. She had also the intention of remaining permanently in the parish from the moment, before her departure, when she made up her mind to marry into the parish. The fact that the actual

habitation had been begun as a quasi-domicile does not militate aganist this view, because even though the habitation had been begun as a temporary home, still the subsequent change of intention was quite valid. This is the opinion of Feije :—

> Cessat haec praesumptio (domicilium adfuisse), quando constat aliquem coepisse commorari in loco ob causam accidentalem temporaneam, qua cessante discessurus videbatur . . . Verumtamen ut is qui habet domicilium in loco, illud non omittit si superveniat officium ejusmodi seu conditio (temporanea), ita etiam, non obstante commorationis propter accidentalem hanc circumstantiam initio, verum domicilium contractum censebitur, si, cessante praefata conditione seu officio, eo modo quis pergat in loco habitare, qui ex circumstantiis prudenter dici debeat probare animum manendi perpetuo ; *immo jam ante, si verbis vel factis certus fiat animus perpetuo manendi.*[1]

Hence, we consider it certain that this girl had a domicile in the parish of her master.

(*b*) She did not lose this domicile when she left her master's house. A domicile, like a quasi-domicile, is not attached to a particular house in a parish. Hence her departure from her master's home did not deprive her of her domicile. Neither did her temporary departure from the parish deprive her of her already acquired domicile. As long as she retained the intention of returning to live in the parish as an inhabitant so long did her domicile remain. Feije says :—' Porro ad amittendum domicilium non sufficit actualis discessus, nec diuturna absentia ; sed sive verbis sive factis debet constare de animo valedicendi domicilio, et quamdiu de eo non constat, illud conservatur.'[2]

(2.) Did the girl retain her parental domicile ? Our correspondent does not supply sufficient data to give a definite reply to this question. This will be clear, we think, from the following considerations. A parental domicile is lost only by formal or virtual renunciation. On the one hand, the death of parents, long absence, or the marriage of the sister who lived in the old home, did not necessarily

[1] Feije, *De Imp. et Disp. Matr.*, p. 129. The italics are ours.
[2] Feije, *loc. cit.*, p. 130.

imply such renunciation. Notwithstanding all these, the girl could have retained an intention of returning, after years of service or during intervals of service, to live in the parental home as a member of the family. Such intention would suffice to retain the parental domicile. The acquisition of a domicile elsewhere did not imply such renunciation, because that acquisition did not remove at least a conditional intention of returning to the parental domicile if, perchance, the marriage were postponed or altogether abandoned. Such conditional intention suffices for the retention of a domicile. Hence on the one hand there is no sufficient proof supplied that the girl lost her parental domicile. On the other hand, the fact that the girl returned to her sister's home before her marriage does not clearly prove that she returned there as to a parental domicile. She could have returned as a guest, if she had lost her parental domicile. We think, then, that sufficient data have not been given for a definite reply. At most, we can say that there is a presumption in favour of the retention of the parental domicile, because it is presumed to remain till it be proved to be lost. Presumption, however, must yield to fact. Hence, we would advise our correspondent to find out from an investigation of the circumstances of the particular family whether the girl came as a guest, or as a member of the family. If the latter, she had her parental domicile. If the former, the parental domicile did not remain.

(3.) Who had a right to assist at the marriage? (*a*) The parish priest of the sponsus could certainly validly assist at the marriage. He had also a right to assist, because the sponsa had a domicile in his parish. (*b*) If, from investigation, it be found that the girl retained her parental domicile the parish priest of the parental parish had also a right to assist at the marriage.

VALIDITY OF PIOUS BEQUESTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—A large sum of money is left by a parishioner of mine for religious and charitable purposes. There is, however, an informality in the will which makes the whole

instrument invalid in the eyes of the civil law. Does the bequest hold good in conscience ? What are the obligations of the next-of-kin ? What are the obligations of a confessor who is informed of the circumstances, but finds the penitent unwilling to part with the legacy ? I am, Rev. and dear Sir,

Your faithful servant,

RECTOR.

In the case mentioned by our correspondent there can, we presume, be no doubt about the deliberate wish of the testator. The question for discussion, then, refers to the validity in conscience of such last will if it be invalid in the eyes of the civil law merely because of the absence of a legal formality. This question has been discussed by theologians and canonists at great length. All theologians and canonists agree that if there be question of a legacy left for pious objects *ad sedandam conscientiam*, *v.g.*, as restitution, the will is valid in conscience. This has been decided by a decree of the S. Penitentiary, dated 23rd June, 1844. All theologians and canonists agree also that other pious legacies in the Papal States are valid in conscience, because the valid law of these States is the law of the Church. That law has expressly declared the validity of such legacies in the Papal States.

There has been some difference of opinion as to the validity in conscience of such bequests outside the Papal States. Nearly all theologians and canonists held that these legacies are certainly valid. They held this view because the State has no jurisdiction in religious affairs, and consequently cannot invalidate a pious bequest which is certainly a religious matter. Hence, *per se*, such a bequest is valid in conscience. Moreover, the next-of-kin cannot presume on the consent of the Church, because mere silence on the part of the Church cannot be taken as signifying the permission to devote to other objects the goods left by will for pious purposes. Such silence, if it did exist, can be explained on the supposition that the Church was practically powerless to interfere with the usurpation of the State. Hence, it has been generally held by

theologians and canonists that such bequests are valid not only speculatively, but also in practice.[1]

There were a few theologians, such as Carriere,[2] who, on Gallican principles, claimed for the State the power of interfering in such spiritual matters. D'Annibale[3] lends, at least negatively, the assistance of his great authority to this opinion. He says :—' Quamdiu igitur S. Sedes loquuta non fuerit, existimo, non oportere inquietari eos qui, extra Ditionem Pontificiam, non praestant relicta ad causas pias in testamento irrito ex jure civili.'

We believe that speculatively and practically the common opinion of canonists and theologians is now certain. (*a*) The intrinsic reasons mentioned above in favour of the common view seem to us to be convincing. (*b*) The extrinsic authority of theologians and canonists is so strongly in favour of this opinion that we hesitate to allow any solid probability to the view of Carriere or D'Annibale. (*c*) Whatever be said about former times, at present the opinion of Carriere, or even of D'Annibale, cannot be sustained in face of the decision of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, dated 30th April, 1895, in reply to a question of His Eminence Cardinal Logue.[4] His Eminence asked about the validity in conscience of a will leaving an annual sum of money *in perpetuum*, for Masses to be said in a church which was named. This will was invalid according to English law which recognises only a temporary foundation. The S. Congregation replied that the will was valid in conscience, and, moreover, laid down the principle of its decision : ' Jam vero *certum est* . . . legatum perdurare, *quum lex civilis non possit ea quae sunt ad causas pias sua auctoritate statuere* ; *ac proinde legatum haeredes obligat juxta tenorem et modum ipsius legati*.' Although this decision was given in a particular case the general principle, which it lays down, applies to all cases of pious bequests. Hence we think it practically certain that such

[1] See S. Alp., *Theologia Moralis*, lib. iii., n. 923 ; Lehmkuhl, *Theologia Moralis*, ii., n. 522 ; Ballerini, *Opus Theologicum*, t. iii., p. 839.

[2] *De Contractibus*, n. 219.

[3] *Summula*, ii., n. 340.

[4] I. E. Record, Nov., 1895, p. 1048. The italics are ours.

bequests are valid in conscience, notwithstanding the absence of a formality required by civil law.

To the questions asked by our correspondent we are now able to give a reply. (1) The will is valid in conscience. (2) The next-of-kin are bound in conscience to give the property to the pious objects for which they were destined by the testator. (3) Confessors are not free to absolve *mala fide* retainers of such property. If the heirs-at-law be *bona fide* a confessor must judge from the particular case whether it be best for him to make known the obligation, to merely counsel a renunciation of the goods, or to remain silent. As Lehmkuhl says[5]: 'Nihilominus confessarii est videre utrum haec monitio in singulari casu jussione an suasione urgeri debeat, imo an silentio premi; scilic. sine spe fructus non debet et poenitentem in malam fidem conjicere et causis piis nihil prodesse.'

J. M. HARTY.

LITURGY

RITE OF INTERMENT IN PARTICULAR CASES

REV. DEAR SIR,—The Ritual *De Exequiis* makes provision for the case in which the funeral comes to the chruch and thence proceeds to the cemetery. Now, in very many cases this would be altogether impracticable, and in such cases it is not at all so clear in what the funeral service should consist; nor is there anything even approaching uniformity in practice. Your opinion, therefore, regarding the subjoined cases would be highly valued.

1. When the priest attends the funeral at the house of deceased; custom and other reasons being against his going to the cemetery.

2. When the priest meets the funeral at a cemetery distant from a church.

3. In cemeteries in which stand some remains of an old church the coffin is brought inside the latter, and the service begins with *Non urbis in pedicuum*, as in an ordinary church.

4. Though there seems to be no authority for it in any Ritual

[5] *Theologia Moralis*, i., n. 1148, nota 1.

I have seen, there exists the custom in this and neighbouring dioceses (and, perhaps, it is general in Ireland); the custom, viz., of the priest, at the end of the Exequial service of the Ritual. taking a shovel and putting a little mould three times on the coffin in the grave, saying each time, *Memento homo*, etc.

SOGGARTH.

This query raises points of importance as well as of interest. Every detail prescribed by the Liturgy in connection with the burial service deserves closest attention, and should be fulfilled with all the completeness that is possible. Nothing can better convince us of the tender solicitude of the Church for the exact performance of our duties towards her dying and deceased members than a thoughtful perusal of that portion of her Liturgy in which she lays down, with much detail, how we are to succour the departing, what reverence we are to bestow on the dead body, and what prayers and suffrages we are to speedily offer up for the welfare of the soul. It would, then, be a cruel frustration of these loving designs of our kind Mother, if we did not try, as well as we can, and as far as circumstances reasonably permit, to discharge these very important obligations.

In the case of a death we think the practice of having the remains transferred to the church for Mass next morning is much to be desired. Of course we know it is not always feasible. But, where at all possible, it ought to be done, and it will be the means of putting a stop to ever so many abuses, especially in the case of the poor. Then the people should be induced to have the interment take place early in the morning. This would mean the saving of much time to those attending the funeral. They would thus be able to return home seasonably and to do a substantial day's work, instead of diverting, after a late interment, to places of questionable advantage.

As to our correspondent's questions :—

1. Mass is said at the house of the deceased, and the priest cannot escort the funeral procession to the graveside. Here the Ritual[1] clearly insinuates that the

[1] *Ordo Exequiorum*, cap. iii. n. 14.

entire ' officium ' should be performed where Mass has been celebrated. That is, after Mass the Absolution should immediately follow, and all the other prayers in the Ritual should be said to the end. The *Deus cujus miseratione* may be omitted if the sepulchre is situated in consecrated ground, unless unblessed material is introduced, or the grave be in a Church.

2. We are not told if there has been Mass, and if the Absolution consequently has been given. In case Mass and the Absolution have not taken place then the priest on entering the cemetery intones the *In paradisum*, recites the *Miserere*, *De profundis*, etc., during the progress to the graveside ; then on the remains being deposited near the grave he should begin the *Non intres*, and recite everything in the Ritual with the exception of the *In paradisum*, and the prayer for the blessing of the grave, if this is already blessed. If there has been Mass, and if the Absolution has been already given, then the priest should act as already described in escorting the remains to the graveside. Here the Absolution is not given, but all the rest will be the same. The portion of the service from the Ant. of the *Benedictus* to the end may be repeated even if already said.[2]

3. Where there is a church in connection with a burial-ground the remains may be taken there for the Absolution, which begins with the *Non intres*, and concludes with the *Deus cui proprium*. Afterwards they are transferred to the prepared grave, the Ant. *In paradisum* being recited, and the rest of the service will be performed in the way already mentioned. The same applies to an old ruin, as to an ordinary church. A priest assisting at the burial service should, if possible, wear some sacred vestment. It would, indeed, be desirable if he were vested in soutane and surplice on entering the cemetery, but he ought always wear the stole at the very least. Of course incense cannot always be had conveniently on these occasions, but Holy Water can, and should never be absent. There is nothing in the Rubrics about the custom of asking the prayers of those

[2] De Herdt, *Praxis Lit. Brit. Rom.*, p. 153.

present for the repose of the soul of the deceased. But the practice is quite lawful if it be done at the end of the service.

4. As to the custom of the priest throwing some shovelfuls of clay on the coffin, saying meantime *Memento homo*, etc., it is not mentioned in the Ritual, but it may be held to be one of those reasonable practices that are *juxta* rather than *contra Rubricas*. Baruffaldus[3] mentions this custom apparently with approval among some others which are found in the *Sacerdotale Brisciense*, and Wapelhorst,[4] quoting Falise, says that it may be followed since 'iste enim ritus teste Catalano, antiquissimus est.'

This would be the time to ask those present to offer some prayers for the deceased.

There are a great many curious customs in connection with funerals. For instance, in some places it is usual to make a complete circuit of the cemetery before taking the coffin to the grave. This is not in accordance with the Ritual which prescribes the *Via brevior*. Again, the remains in some graveyards are brought to a certain spot and rested there for an appreciable time. This spot probably marks the site of an old church, or, possibly, the resting-place of some priest, or person of reputed sanctity. With regard to all these customs which are not clearly opposed to the Ritual, Baruffaldus has a very wise observation: 'Ritus a rituali pro exequiis prescripti servandi sunt salva semper aliquorum locorum consuetudine quae in materia funerum multum operatur.'[5]

P. MORRISROE.

[3] *Rit. Rom. Com.*, Tit. 36, n. 172.
[4] *Compendium Sac. Lit.*, p. 472, note 6.
[5] Tit. 36, n. 1.

CORRESPONDENCE

'ALTAR-STONES WITHOUT RELICS'

REV. DEAR SIR,—I read your remarks relative to the use of altar-stones without relics, in the last issue of the I. E. RECORD, with much interest. I trust they will serve to direct and fix the attention of the clergy on the necessity of procuring altar-stones WITH relics, and awaken them to the serious responsibility they incur if they are any longer oblivious of this obvious duty.

In one observation, however, I fear you are too sanguine and confident, namely, when you take for granted the *facility* there is nowadays of procuring altar-stones WITH RELICS. My experience of thirty years speaks the contrary. In the many missions I have been in, as curate, I found the altar-stones generally without relics; and when permitted to rectify the error I had great trouble is discovering and considerable expense in negotiating for ones with relics instead. This occurred in instances after the Bishop of the diocese *warned* his priests at Conference to procure them, adding plainly that no parish should be without them, as he was about to consecrate a large number, each of which would cost but the hire of the mason who chiselled them, *i.e.*, some 4*s.* or 5*s.*

Notwithstanding all, the same difficulty presented itself to me on subsequent missions as curate. And as my plan in that capacity always was, *quieta non morere*, except where I saw the feasibility, I made no effective move further.

Even at present, as pastor, I am sadly in need of altar-stones with relics, and I have applied to convents and monasteries and other places where I thought they were obtainable, but all to no effect, though I offered to give 10*s.* or £1 for each. I am in the same wistful state of mind still, and I think I can say the same for many pastors of my acquaintance.

If you would be so good as to have this letter inserted in the I. E. RECORD, it may catch the eye of some one in a position to supply the want, or at least to give some information on the matter, and thus meet a rubrical requirement long neglected, and the cause of much annoyance to many priests.

A SUBSCRIBER.

[We hope to give our correspondent the information he requires in our next issue.—ED. I. E. RECORD.]

DOCUMENTS

THE JUBILEE OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

CONCEDUNTUR INDUL. OCCASIONE SOLLEMNIUM QUINQUAGENARIORUM A DOGM. DEFINIT. B. M. V. IMM. CONC.

PIUS PP. X.

Universis Christifidelibus praesentes litteras inspecturis salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Quae Catholico nomini aeternaeque fidelium saluti bene, prospere, feliciterque eveniant ea ex supremi Apostolatus officio quo fungimur divinitus, quacumque ope possumus, procuramus et spiritualium munerum largitione favemus. Iam vero cum, proximo anno, quinquagesimus recurrat anniversarius dies ex quo toto Catholico orbe plaudente fel. rec. Pius PP. IX. Praedecessor Noster, solemni decreto Virginem Deiparam sine labe originali Conceptam declaravit, atque ad auspicatissimi eventus memoriam recolendam plurimis in templis ac sacellis die octava cuiusque mensis per solidum annum, a die octava vertentis Decembris ad octavam pariter diem Decembris mensis proximi anni MDCCCCIV vel Dominica immediate respective sequenti, peculiares habendae sint supplicationes ; Nos, quibus nihil antiquius quam ut fidelium pietas erga immunem ab omni macula Virginem magis magisque in dies excitetur, coelestes idcirco Ecclesiae thesauros, quorum Nobis dispensationem Altissimus commisit, benigne in Domino reserare censuimus. Quae cum ita sint, de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia at BB. Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius auctoritate confisi, omnibus ac singulis fidelibus ex utroque sexu, qui in qualibet ex Ecclesiis sive sacellis ubique terrarum existentibus, in quibus de respectivi Ordinarii licentia menstrua in honorem Immaculatae Virginis supplicatio rite fiat, eidem, contrito saltem corde, adsint, in forma Ecclesiae solita de poenalium numero septem annos totidemque quadragenas ; quoties vero diebus quibus mensilis haec pia exercitatio locum habet Ecclesias seu oratoria supramemorata contrito similiter corde visitent, toties iis in forma pariter Ecclesiae consueta trecentos dies de numero poenalium expungimus. Insuper eisdem ex utroque sexu fidelibus, qui saltem ter intra anni curriculum dictis suppli-

cationibus aderunt, atque admissorum confessione expiati et coelestibus epulis refecti pro Christianorum Principum concordia haeresum extirpatione, peccatorum conversione, ac S. Matris Ecclesiae exaltatione pias ad Deum preces effundant, semel tantum per unumquemque eorum lucrandam, plenariam : tantum iis qui intra futuri anni MDCCCCIV spatium vel turmatim vel singillatim peregre ad hanc Almam Urbem Nostram accedant, dummodo vere quoque poenitentes et confessi ac S. Communione refecti Vaticanam et Liberianam Basilicas devote visitent ibique, ut supra, pias ad Deum preces effundant, etiam Plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentiam et remissionem misericorditer in Domino concedimus. Denique largimur fidelibus iisdem, si malint, liceat plenariis hisce ac partialibus indulgentiis vita functorum labes poenasque expiare. Non obstantibus contrariis quibuscumque. Praesentibus unice tantum. Volumus autem ut praesentium litterarum transumptis seu exemplis, etiam impressis, manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae praemunitis, eadem prorsus adhibeatur fides quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub anulo Piscatoris die VII Decembris MCMIII, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Primo.
L. ✠ S.

ALOIS. Card. MACCHI.

DECREE ON THE RESTORATION OF SACRED MUSIC

URBIS ET ORBIS

CIRCA APPLICATIONEM 'INSTRUCTIONIS' PII PP. X QUOAD RESTAURATIONEM MUSICAE SACRAE

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Pius Papa X *Motu proprio*, die 22 Novembris 1903 sub forma *Instructionis de musica sacra* venerabilem Cantum Gregorianum iuxta codicum fidem ad pristinum Ecclesiarum usum feliciter restituit, simulque praecipuas praescriptiones, ad sacrorum concentuum sanctitatem et dignitatem in templis vel promovendam vel restituendam, in unum corpus collegit, cui tamquam *Codici iuridico musicae sacrae* ex plenitudine Apostolicae Suae Potestatis vim legis pro universa Ecclesia habere voluit. Quare idem Sanctissimus Dominus Noster per hanc Sacrorum Rituum Congregationem mandat et praecipit, ut *Instructio* praedicta ab omnibus acci-

piatur Ecclesiis sanctissimeque servetur, non obstantibus privilegiis atque exemptionibus quibuscunque, etiam speciali nomine dignis, ut sunt privilegia et exemptiones ab Apostolica Sede maioribus Urbis Basilicis, praesertim vero Sacrosanctae Ecclesiae Lateranensi concessa. Revocatis pariter sive privilegiis sive commendationibus, quibus aliae quaecumque cantus liturgici recentiores formae pro rerum ac temporum circumstantiis ab Apostolica Sede et ab hac Sacra Congregatione inducebantur, eadem Sanctitas Sua benigne concedere dignata est, ut praedictae cantus liturgici recentiores formae, in iis Ecclesiis ubi iam invectae sunt, licite retineri et cantari queant, donec quamprimum fieri poterit venerabilis Cantus Gregorianus iuxta codicum fidem in eorum locum sufficiatur. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque.

De hisce omnibus Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Pius Papa X huic Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi praesens Decretum expediri iussit. Die 8 Ianuarii 1904.

SERAPHINUS Card. CRETONI, *S.R.C. Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ DIOMEDES PANICI, Arch. Laodicen., *S.R.C. Secret.*

[From this Decree it will be seen that the instructions of the 'Motu Proprio,' published in our last issue, must be obeyed and carried out as soon as possible (*quamprimum fieri poterit*). The Graduals and Missals containing the new authorised chant can be had from Descleè, Lefebvre et Cie, of Tournai, Belgium.]

OFFICE AND MASS FOR THE FEAST OF ALL THE SAINTS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

SOCIETATIS IESU

APPROBATUR OFFICIUM CUM MISSA PROPRIA, DE FESTO OMNIUM SANCTORUM S. J. SUB RITU DUPLICI 2ae CLASSIS

Impensa totius Societatis Iesu vota depromens, Rmus. Pater Ludovicus Martin, eidem Societati Praepositus Generalis, Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum Leonem Papam XIII, humillimis precibus rogavit, ut Festum Omnium Sanctorum sub ritu duplici secundae classis, prouti compluribus Religiosis Ordinibus concessum fuit, amodo a Patribus Alumnisque ipsius Societatis in posterum recoli valeat: atque schema respectivi Officii cum

Missa proprii diligenter exaratum, supremae Apostolicae Sedis sanctioni demississime subiecit.

Exhibitum vero huiusmodi Officium et Missam quum, ad iuris tramitem, Emus. et Rmus. Dnus. Cardinalis Andreas Steinhuber, Relator, in ordinariis Sacrorum Rituum comitiis, subsignata die ad Vaticanum habitis, proposuerit ; Emi et Rmi. Patres sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, re mature perpensa, auditoque R. P. D. Alexandro Verde, S. Fidei Promotore, rescribendum censuerunt : *' Pro gratia et ad Emum. Ponentem cum Promotore Fidei.'* Die 21 Aprilis 1903.

Quare, propositi Officii et Missae ab ipso Emo. Ponente cum Promotore Fidei revisione accuratissime peracta, hisque omnibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII, per infrascriptum Cardinalem Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi Praefectum relatis ; Sanctitas Sua sententiam Sacri ipsius Consilii ratam habens, suprascriptum Officium cum Missa proprium de Festo Omnium Sanctorum Societatis Iesu, enuntiata Dominica Novembris ritu duplici secundae classis ab universa eadem Societate in posterum quotannis recolendo, benigne approbare dignata est : servatis Rubricis. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Die 22, iisdem mense et anno.

S. Card. CRETONI, *S.R.C. Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secrius.*

Officium in Festo Omnium Sanctorum Societatis Jesu

AD VESPERAS

Ant. 1. Omnis, qui invocaverit Nomen Domini, salvus erit

Psalmi ut in I. Vesp. de com. Apost.

2. Beati qui lavant stolas suas in sanguine Agni, ut sit potestas eorum in ligno vitae.

3. Qui ad iustitiam erudiunt multos, fulgebunt quasi stellae in perpetuas aeternitates.

4. Quam speciosi pedes evangelizantium pacem, evangelizantium bona.

5. Beati pauperes spiritu ; quoniam ipsorum est regnum coelorum.

Capitulum. *I. Thess. IV.*

Fratres, rogamus vos et obsecramus in Domino Jesu, ut quemadmodum accepistis a nobis, quomodo oporteat vos ambulare et placere Deo, sic et ambuletis, ut abundetis magis.

HYMNUS

Jesu dicata Nomini,
Cohors beata militum
Victrix, subactis hostibus,
Agit triumphi gloriam.

Ignatius cui legifer
Sanctique ductor agminis
Praeest, ovatque in omnibus
Gessisse bella filiis.

Hinc purpurati sanguine,
Adstant recincti laureis :
Divina quique cordibus
Christi intu erunt munera.

Sunt quos coronat liliis
Intacta morum castitas :
Evexit et quos sanctitas.
Domesticis virtutibus.

Jesu beantur lumine,
Jesum salutant canticis,
Jesuque grati deferunt
Palmas, coronas, lilia.

Patri perennis gloria,
Natoque Patris unico,
Sanctoque sit Paraclito
Saeculum per omne gloria.
Amen.

V. Sit Nomen Domini benedictum. Alleluia.

R. Ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum. Alleluia.

Ad Magnif. Ant. Hi sunt fratrum amatores, et populi Israël : hi sunt, qui multum orant pro populo, et universa sancta civitate.

ORATIO

Da nobis quaesumus Domine, per intercessionem beati Patris Ignatii sanctorumque omnium qui sub sanctissimo Nominis Jesu vexillo ipso duce militarunt : ita tibi perfecto corde servire ; ut post huius vitae cursum gloriosi exitus illorum consortes esse mereamur. Per Dominum.

AD MATUTINUM

Invitat. Regem regum Dominum venite adoremus : Quia ipse est corona Sanctorum omnium.

HYMNUS

Sol noctis umbras discutit,
Terrasque complet lumine:
Tu, Christe, nostris mentibus,
Aeterna lux illabere.

Fratrum triumpho plaudimus,
Qui te secuti principem,
Tuo perennem Nomini
Laudem beati concinunt.

O Nomen admirabile,
Omnique maius nomine!
Invicta semper militum
Tutela, terror hostium.

Nostrum decus, spes unica,
Jesu, fidelis agminis,
Quod sub tuis insignibus
Caeli meret stipendia.

Fac nos benigno numine
Exempla patrum persequi:
Te corda nostra diligant;
In corde regnes omnium.

Patri perennis gloria,
Natoque Patris unico,
Sanctoque sit Paraclito
Saeculum per omne gloria.
Amen.

IN I. NOCTURNO

Ant. 1. Turris fortissima Nomen Domini: ad ipsum currit iustus, et exaltabitur.

Psalmi in tribus Nocturnis ut in Festo Omnium Sanctorum.

2. In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum.

3. Quis ascendet in montem Domini? aut quis stabit in loco sancto eius? Innocens manibus et mundo corde.

V. Laetamini in Domino, et exultate iusti.

R. Et gloriamini omnes recti corde.

De Epistola beati Pauli Apostoli ad Ephesios.

Lectio I. *Cap. I.*

Gratia vobis et pax a Deo Patre nostro, et Domino Jesu Christo. Benedictus Deus et Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi

qui benedixit nos in omni benedictione spirituali in caelestibus in Christo. Sicut elegit nos in ipso ante mundi constitutionem, ut essemus sancti et immaculati in conspectu eius in charitate. Qui praedestinavit nos in adoptionem filiorum per Jesum Christum in ipsum : secundum propositum voluntatis suae, in laudem gloriae gratiae suae, in qua gratificavit nos in dilecto Filio suo. In quo habemus redemptionem per sanguinem eius, remissionem peccatorum secundum divitias gratiae eius, quae superabundavit in nobis in omni sapientia, et prudentia : ut notum faceret nobis sacramentum voluntatis suae, secundum beneplacitum eius, quod proposuit in eo, in dispensatione plenitudinis temporum, instaurare omnia in Christo, quae in caelis, et quae in terra sunt, in ipso : in quo etiam et nos sorte vocati sumus praedestinati secundum propositum eius, qui operatur omnia secundum consilium voluntatis suae ; ut simus in laudem gloriae eius.

R. Adorabant viventem in saecula saeculorum, et mittebant coronas suas ante thronum dicentes : * Dignus es, Domine Deus noster, accipere gloriam, et honorem, et virtutem.

V. Fecisti nos Deo nostro regnum, et sacerdotes. Dignus es.

Lectio II. *Cap. IV.*

Obsecro itaque vos, ut digne ambuletis vocatione, qua vocati estis, cum omni humilitate, et mansuetudine, cum patientia supportantes invicem in charitate, solliciti servare unitatem, spiritus in vinculo pacis. Unum corpus, et unus spiritus sicut vocati estis in una spe vocationis vestrae. Unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptisma. Unus Deus et pater omnium, qui est super omnes, et per omnia, et in omnibus nobis. Unicuique autem nostrum data est gratia secundum mensuram donationis Christi. Et ipse dedit quosdam quidem Apostolos, quosdam autem Prophetas, alios vero Evangelistas, alios autem pastores et doctores ad consummationem sanctorem in opus ministerii, in aedificationem corporis Christi ; donec occurramus omnes in unitatem fidei, et agnitionis Filii Dei, in virum perfectum, in mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Christi ; veritatem autem facientes in charitate, crescamus in illo per omnia, qui est caput Christus.

R. Vidi subtus altare animas interfectorum propter verbum Dei ; et clamabant voce magna : * Usquequo Domine, non vindicas sanguinem nostrum ?

V. Et dictum est illis ut requiescerent adhuc tempus modicum, donec compleantur conservi eorum, et fratres eorum. Usquequo.

DE EPISTOLA AD ROMANOS

Lectio III. *Cap. XII.*

Obsecro itaque vos, fratres, per misericordiam Dei, ut exhibeatis corpora vestra hostiam viventem, sanctam, Deo placentem, rationabile obsequium vestrum. Habentes autem donationes secundum gratiam, quae data est nobis, differentes: sive prophetiam secundum rationem fidei, sive ministerium in ministrando, sive qui docet in doctrina, qui exhortatur in exhortando, qui tribuit in simplicitate, qui praeest in sollicitudine, qui miseretur in hilaritate. Dilectio sine simulatione. Odientes malum, adhaerentes bono: charitate fraternitatis invicem diligentes: honore invicem praevenientes: sollicitudine non pigri: spiritu ferventes: Domino servientes: spe gaudentes: in tribulatione patientes: orationi instantes. Benedicite persequentibus vos: benedicite et nolite maledicere. Nulli malum pro malo reddentes providentes bona non tantum coram Deo, sed etiam coram omnibus hominibus.

R. Sedes Dei et Agni in illa erunt, et servi eius servient illi; et videbunt faciem eius; * Et Nomen eius in frontibus eorum.

V. Dominus Deus illuminabit illos, et regnabunt in saecula saeculorum. Et Nomen. Gloria Patri. Et Nomen.

IN II. NOCTURNO

Ant. 1. Dominus pars hereditatis meae, et calicis mei: tu es qui restitues hereditatem meam mihi.

2. Impinguasti in oleo caput meum: et calix meus inebrians quam praeclarus est.

3. Magnificavit Dominus facere nobiscum: facti sumus laetantes.

V. Exultent iusti in conspectu Dei.

R. Et delectentur in laetitia.

DE SERMONE S. BERNARDI ABBATIS

In trans. S. Malach. Ep. serm. II. circ. med.

LECTIO IV.

Congratulemur, fratres, congratulemur, ut dignum est, parentibus nostris; quia et pium est defunctos plangere, et pium magis congaudere viventibus. Numquid non vivunt? Et beate. Nimirum visi sunt oculis insipientium mori, illi autem sunt in pace. Denique iam concives sanctorum et domestici Dei, psallunt pariter et agunt gratias dicentes: Transivimus per ignem

et aquam, et eduxisti nos in refrigerium. Transierunt plane viriliter, et feliciter pertransierunt. Transierunt plane per ignem et aquam, quos nec tristia frangere, nec detinere mollia potuerunt. Laetemur, quod angeli nostri ascenderunt ad cives suos, pro filiis captivitatis legatione fungentes, corda nobis conciliantes beatorum, vota illis intimantes miserorum. Laetemur, inquam, et exsultemus, quia caelestis illa curia ex nobis habet, quibus sit cura nostri, qui suis nos protegant meritis, quos informarunt exemplis, miraculis confirmarunt.

R. Beati pauperes spiritu : * Quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum.

V. Hi sunt, qui cum mulieribus non sunt coinquinati ; virgines enim sunt. Quoniam.

LECTIO V.

Benedictus Dominus Deus, qui tantorum Sanctorum ministerio visitavit plebem suam, et nunc assumptis iis in sanctam civitatem, tantae recordatione suavitatis nostram non desinit consolari captivitatem. Exultent in Domino spiritus eorum, quod levati pondere corporeae molis, nulla iam terrena materia praegravantur, quominus tota alacritate ac vivacitate corpoream omnem et incorpoream transeuntes creaturam, pergant toti in Deum, et adhaerentes illi, unus sint cum eo spiritus in aeternum.

R. Qui ad iustitiam erudiunt multos : * Quasi stellae in perpetuas aeternitates.

V. Quam speciosi pedes evangelizantium pacem, evangelizantium bona. Quasi stellae, etc.

LECTIO VI.

Domum istam decet sanctitudo, in qua tantae frequentatur memoria sanctitatis. Sancti nostri, servate eam in sanctitate et iustitia, miserti nostri, qui inter tot et tantas miserias memoriam abundantiae suavitatis vestrae eructamus. Magna est super vos divinae dispensatio pietatis ; qui vos parvos fecit in oculis vestris, magnos in suis ; qui magna fecit per vos, salvans tot gentes, magna fecit vobis, introducens vos in gloriam suam. Festivitas vestra, quae merito vestris virtutibus votiva impenditur, vestris nobis efficiatur meritis et precibus salutaris. Liceat nobis aliquas, vobis migrantibus, retinere reliquias de fructibus spiritus, quibus onusti ascenditis, qui in vestro hodie tam delicioso convivio congregamur. Vita vestra, lex vitae et disciplinae ; memoria vestra, dulcedo suavitatis et gratiae.

R. Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam : * Quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum.

V. Nolite mirari, si odit vos mundus ; quia me priorem vobis odio habuit. Ipsorum. Gloria Patri. Quoniam.

IN III. NOCTURNO

Ant. 1. Fundatur exultatione universae terrae mons Sion : Deus fundavit eum in aeternum.

2. Cor meum et caro mea exultaverunt in Deum vivum.

3. Beati qui habitant in domo tua, Domine : in saecula saeculorum laudabunt te.

V. Justi autem in perpetuum vivent.

R. Et apud Dominum est merces eorum.

Lectio sancti Evangelii secundum Matthaeum.

Lectio VII. *Cap. V.*

In illo tempore : Videns Jesus turbas, ascendit in montem et cum sedisset, accesserunt ad eum discipuli eius. Et reliqua.

HOMILIA S. BERNARDI ABBATIS

In festo Omn. Sanct. Serm. 3 in Matth. V.

Advertistis, nisi fallor, tres esse sanctarum status animarum : primum videlicet in corpore corruptibili, secundum sine corpore, tertium in corpore iam glorificato. Primum in militia, secundum in requie, tertium in beatitudine consummata ; primum denique in tabernaculis, secundum in atriis, tertium in domo Dei. Quam dilecta tabernacula tua, Domine virtutum ! Multo magis tamen atria concupiscibilia. Sed beati omnino qui habitant in domo tua, Domine. Laetatus plane sum in his, quae dicta sunt mihi, fratres, quoniam in domum Domini ibimus. Guod si quaeritis, unde id tam fiducialiter praesumam ; inde sine dubio, quod iam multi ex nobis in atriis stent, exspectantes donec recipiant corpora sua, donec impleatur numerus fratrum. In illam enim beatissimam domum nec sine nobis intrabunt, nec sine corporibus suis, idest nec sancti sine plebe, nec spiritus sine carne.

R. Beata gens, cuius Dominus Deus eius : * Populus, quem elegit in haereditatem sibi.

V. Ecce tabernaculum Dei cum hominibus, et habitabit cum eis. Populus.

LECTIO VIII.

Propterea cum resurrectionem expeterent corporum, acce-

perunt divinum responsum, dicens : Sustinete modicum tempus, donec compleatur numerus fratrum vestrorum. Acceperunt tamen iam singulas stolas ; sed non vestientur duplicibus, donec vestiamur et nos. Stola enim prima ipsa est felicitas et requies animarum : secunda vero immortalitas et gloria corporum. Sed una hoc tibi, o misera caro, unde tibi hoc ? Animae sanctae, quas propria Deus insignivit imagine, te desiderant ; quas remedit proprio sanguine, te expectant ; et ipsarum sine te compleri laetitia, perfici gloria, consummari beatitudo non potest.

R. Defecit caro mea, et cor meum : * Deus cordis mei, et pars mea Deus in aeternum.

V. Quid mihi est in caelo ? et a te quid volui super terram ? Deus cordis mei. Gloria Patri. Deus cordis mei.

LECTIO IX.

Quid ergo ? putasne, poterit humana anima in hoc gaudium Domini sui et in hanc eius requiem intrare ? Poterit sine dubio si fidelis inveniatur super pauca, quae accepit militiae suae tempore. Sciat ergo servus Christi vas suum possidere sanctificatione ; glorificet et portet Deum in corpore suo : nec dubium quin fidelem in modico servum supra multa constituat Dominus liberalis et dives. Supra multa plane, quoniam constituet eum dominum domus suae, et principem omnis possessionis suae. Haec est ergo beata spes quam expectant animae sanctae et : licet in gratiarum actione versentur pro ea felicitate, in qua iam requiescunt ; adhuc tamen orant et clamant ad Deum pro ea consummatione, suam praestolantur.

AD LAUDES
et per Horas

Ant. 1. Notas mihi fecisti vias vitae : adimplebis me laetitia cum vultu tuo.

2. Ego autem in iustitia apparebo conspectui tuo : satiabor cum apparuerit gloria tua.

3. Sanctorum velut aquilae iuventus renovabitur : florebunt sicut lilium in civitate Domini.

4. Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus tuae : et torrente voluptatis tuae potabis eos.

5. Haec requies mea in saeculum saeculi : hic habitabo, quoniam elegi eam.

Capitulum. *I. Thess. IV.*

Fratres, rogamus vos et obsecramus in Domino Jesu, ut

quemadmodum accepistis a nobis, quomodo oporteat vos ambulare et placere Deo, sic et ambuletis, ut abundetis magis.

HYMNUS

O virgo Mater, virginum
Flos, nostra quam sodalitas
Vitae vel ipso a limine
Dulcem parentem nominat.

Sancta auspicato vulnere
Vocas ad arma Ignatium :
Materna parvo coetui
Arridet orto charitas.

Ades sereno lumine,
Motosque sedas aequoris
Fluctus, procellas disiicis,
Pacisque reddis munera.

Te afflante, virtus enitet,
Rubet rosarum purpura,
Intacta florent lilia,
Palmae virescunt martyrum.

Rex Jesus et dux agminis ;
Tu, Mater alma Numinis,
Regina : utrique subdimur,
Jesu tuique milites.

Patris perennis gloria,
Natoque Patris unico,
Sanctoque sit Paraclito
Saeculum per omne gloria,
Amen.

V. Adiutorium nostrum in Nomine Domini :

R. Qui fecit caelum et terram.

Ad Bened. Ant. Ecce Dominus veniet, et omnes Sancti eius cum eo ; et erit in die illa lux magna. Alleluia.

ORATIO

Da nobis, quaesumus Domine, per intercessionem beati Patris Ignatii sanctorumque omnium qui sub sanctissimo Nominis Jesu vexillo ipso duce militarunt : ita tibi perfecto corde servire ; ut post huius vitae cursum gloriosi exitus illorum consortes esse mereamur. Per Dominum.

AD TERTIAM

Capit. I. *Thess. IV.*

Fratres, rogamus vos et obsecramus in Domino Jesu, ut quemadmodum accepistis a nobis, quomodo oporteat vos ambulare et placere Deo, sic et ambuletis, ut abundetis magis.

R. br. Laetamini in Domino : * Et exultate iusti. Laetamini.

V. Et gloriamini omnes recti corde. Et exultate. Gloria Patri. Laetamini.

V. Exultent iusti in conspectu Dei.

R. Et delectentur in laetitia.

AD SEXTAM

Capit. *Tob.* II. 18.

Filii Sanctorum sumus, et vitam illam expectamus, quam Deus daturus est his, qui fidem suam nunquam mutant ab eo.

R. br. Exultent iusti * In conspectu Dei. Exultent. *V.* Et delectentur in laetitia. In conspectu. Gloria Patri. Exultent.

V. Justii autem in perpetuum vivent.

R. Et apud Dominum est merces eorum.

AD NONAM

Capit. 2. *Cor. II.* 14.

Deo autem gratias, qui semper triumphat nos in Christo Iesu, et odorem notitiae suae manifestat per nos in omni loco ; quia Christi bonus odor sumus Deo.

R. br. Iusti autem : * In perpetuum vivent. Iusti. *V.* Et apud Dominum est merces eorum : In perpet. Gloria Patri. Iusti.

V. Adiutorium nostrum in Nomine Domini :

R. Qui fecit caelum et terram.

IN II. VESPERIS

Ant. 1. Quam dilecta tabernacula tua, Domine virtutum ! concupiscit et deficit anima mea in atria Domini.

Psalmi ut in I. Vesp., et loco ultim., Ps. 115 *Credidi.*

2. Elegi abiectus esse in domo Dei mei, magis quam habitare in tabernaculis peccatorum.

3. Mihi autem adhaerere Deo bonum est : ponere in Domino Deo spem meam.

4. Fortitudo mea, et laus mea Dominus : vox exultationis et salutis in tabernaculis iustorum.

5. Unam peti a Domino, hanc requiram : ut inhabitem in domo Domini omnibus diebus vitae meae.

Capitulum. *I. Thess. IV.*

Fratres, rogamus vos et obsecramus in Domino Iesu, ut quemadmodum accepistis a nobis quomodo oporteat vos ambulare et placere Deo, sic et ambuletis, ut abundetis magis.

Hymnus, ut in I. Vesperis.

V. Sit nomen Domini benedictum, Alleluia.

R. Ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum, Alleluia.

Ad Magnif. Ant. Vos qui reliquistis omnia, et secuti estis me, centuplum accipietis, et vitam aeternam possidebitis.

ORATIO

Da nobis, quaesumus Domine, per intercessionem beati Patris Ignatii sanctorumque omnium qui sub sanctissimo Nominis Jesu vexillo ipso duce militarunt : ita tibi perfecto corde servire ; ut post huius vitae cursum gloriosi exitus illorum consortes esse mereamur. Per Dominum.

Missa in Festo Omnium Sanctorum Societatis Jesu

Introitus. *Philip. II.*

In nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur, caelestium, terrestrium, et infernorum : et omnis lingua confiteatur, quia Dominus Iesus Christus in gloria est Dei Patris.

Ps. 8. Domine, Dominus noster, quam admirabile est Nomen tuum in universa terra ! *V.* Gloria Patri.

ORATIO

Deus, qui nos, sub sanctissimo Nominis tui vexillo militantes, beati Patris Ignatii et Sanctorum nostrorum praesidio confirmasti ; concede, ut, quorum celebramus gloriam, virtutum quoque imitemur exempla. Qui vivis.

Lectio Epistolae Beati Pauli Apostoli ad Corinthios.
Ep. II. cap. VI.

Fratres : Adiuvantes autem exhortamur, ne in vacuum gratiam Dei recipiatis. Nemini dantes ullam offensionem, ut non vituperetur ministerium nostrum ; sed in omnibus exhibeamus nosmetipsos sicut Dei ministros in multa patientia, in tribulationibus, in necessitatibus, in angustiis, in plagis, in carceribus, in seditionibus, in laboribus, in vigiliis, in ieiuniis, in castitate, in scientia, in longanimitate, in suavitate, in Spiritu Sancto, in charitate non ficta, in verbo veritatis, in virtute Dei,

per arma iustitiae a dextris et a sinistris, per gloriam et ignobilitatem, per infamiam et bonam famam : ut seductores, et veraces, sicut qui ignoti et cogniti : quasi morientes, et ecce vivimus : ut castigati, et non mortificati : quasi tristes, semper autem gaudentes : sicut egentes, multos autem locupletantes : tanquam nihil habentes, et omnia possidentes. Vos enim estis templum Dei vivi sicut dicit Deus : Quoniam inhabitabo in illis et inambulabo inter eos : et ero illorum Deus, et ipsi erunt mihi populus.

Graduale.—Hebr. XIII. Mementote praepositorumvestrorum, qui vobis locuti sunt verbum Dei : quorum intuentes exitum conversationis, imitamini fidem.

V. Ps. 132. Ecce quam bonum, et quam iucundum habitare fratres in unum. Alleluia, Alleluia.

V. Luc. XXII. Vos estis, qui permansistis mecum in tentationibus meis : et ego dispono vobis regnum ut sedeatis super thronos iudicantes duodecim tribus Israel. Alleluia.

℣ *Sequentia sancti Evangelii secundum Matthaeum.*

In illo tempore : Videns Iesus turbas, ascendit in montem et cum sedisset, accesserunt ad eum discipuli eius, et aperiens, os suum, docebat eos dicens : Beati pauperes spiritu ; quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum. Beati mites ; quoniam ipsi possidebunt terram. Beati qui lugent ; quoniam ipsi consolabuntur. Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam ; quoniam ipsi saturabuntur. Beati misericordes ; quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur. Beati mundo corde ; quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt. Beati pacifici ; quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur. Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam ; quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum. Beati estis cum maledixeriut vobis, et persecuti vos fuerint, et dixerint omne malum adversum vos mentientes propter me : gaudete et exsultate, quoniam merces vestra copiosa est in caelis.

CREDO

Offertorium. Ecc. XLIV. Filii eorum propter illos usque in aeternum manent : semen eorum et gloria eorum non derelinquetur. Nomen eorum vivit in generationem et generationem.

SECRETA

Militibus tuis, Domine, adesto propitius, Sanctorum nostrorum interveniente suffragio ; et quos caelestibus mysteriis alis ad victoriam, tui Nominis virtute confirma. Qui vivis.

Communio. 1. Cor. I. 9. Fidelis Deus, per quem vocati estis in societatem filii eius Iesu Christi Domini nostri.

POSTCOMMUNIO

Fac nos, Domine Iesu, immortalitatis alimonia refectos, in Corde tuo iugiter vivere ; ut te in omnibus et super omnia diligentes, perpetua vita cum Sanctis tuis fruamur in caelis. Qui vivis.

THE APPOINTMENT OF ITALIAN BISHOPS

MOTU-PROPRIO

DE ELECTIONE EPISCOPORUM AD SUPREMAM S. CONGREGATIONEM S. OFFICII AVOCANDA

PIVS PP. X.

Romanis Pontificibus maximae semper curae fuit, ut singulis in orbe terrarum Ecclesiis tales praeficerentur Pastores qui probe scirent strenueque valerent tantum sustinere *onus* vel ipsis *angelicis humeris formidandum.* Ex quo factum est ut ab antiquis temporibus plura iidem ediderint, quibus vel novae pro Episcoporum felici delectu traderentur normae, vel iam traditarum observantia urgeretur.

Haec inter speciali quidem recordatione digna censemus quae, ante Sacrosanctum Tridentinum Concilium, Supremus Pontifex Leo X,[1] post illud vero, Xistus V,[2] Gregorius XIV[3] atque Urbanus VIII[4] de qualitatibus promovendorum deque forma in eorum promotione servanda sapientissime constituerunt ; Nobis tamen in primis memorare libet quae a piae memoriae Decessoribus Nostris Benedicto XIV[5] et Leone XIII[6] decreta sunt. Quorum alter methodum hac in re gravissima a priore invectam ab usu paulatim recessisse dolens, eam instaurare cogitans, inde a primo sui Pontificatus anno, Constitutione *Immortalis memoriae* peculiarem S.R.E. Cardinalium Congregationem instituit, cuius esset,

[1] Bulla *Supernae dispositionis* edita 3 Nonas Maii 1514.
[2] Bulla *Immensa* edita 11 Kal. Febr. 1587.
[3] Bulla *Onus* edita Idibus Maii 1591.
[4] Instructio circa modum servandi praescriptiones Conc. Trid. et Const. *Onus* Greg. XIV in processibus de eligendis Episcopis, edita an. 1627. In Conc. Trid. hac de re agitur sess. VII, cap. 1 ; sess. XXIV, cap. 2 ; sess. XXV, cap. 1.
[5] Bulla *Ad Apostolicae* edita 16 Kal. Nov. 1740, et *Gravissimum* edita die 18 Ian. 1757.
[6] Bulla *Immortalis memoriae* edita 11 Kal. Oct. 1878.

salva manente in omnibus forma et ratione in electione et confirmatione Episcoporum exterarum regionum eousque a Sancta hac Sede servata, operam suam ad promotionem praeficiendorum Italiae dioecesibus sedulo praestare.

Providentissimi huius instituti salutaribus effectibus experientia comprobatis, vix dum, licet inviti, universalis Ecclesiae gubernacula, Deo disponente, tractanda suscepimus, ad illud perficiendum provehendumque animum intendimus. Quem in finem praefatam de eligendis Italiae Episcopis a Leone XIII fundatam Congregationem, Supremae Sacrae Congregationi S. Officii, cui Ipsimet immediate praesidemus, coagmentantes, decernimus at statimus ut, servatis ex integro rationibus et formis quae in electione Episcoporum pro locis Sacris Congregationibus de Propaganda Fide et Negotiorum Ecclesiasticorum Extraordinariorum subiectis vel ubi peculiaribus Constitutionibus aut Concordatus res moderatur, in praesens adhibentur, caeterorum omnium Episcoporum delectus ac promotio eidem Supremae S. Officii Congregationi, veluti materia ipsius propria, deferatur.

Et quoniam huius Congregationis id proprium est, quod eius membra et officiales ad suum munus fideliter obeundum inviolatumque in omnibus et cum omnibus secretum servandum sub poena teneantur excommunicationis maioris latae sententiae, ipso facto et absque alia declaratione incurrendae, a qua nonnisi a Nobis atque a Nostris pro tempore Successoribus Romanis Pontificibus, privative etiam quoad S. Poenitentiaram ipsumque D. Cardinalem Poenitentiarium, praeterquam in articulo mortis, absolvi queant ; eadem prorsus obligatione sub iisdem omnino poenis et sanctionibus teneri in posterum volumus atque expresse declaramus omnes et singulos, cuiuscumque dignitatis ac praeeminentiae sint, quos in negocio de eligendis per supradictam Supremam S. Officii Congregationem Episcopis, quovis modo, ratione vel titulo partem habere contingat.

Ut autem eidem Supremae Congregationi in gravissimo hoc expediendo negocio, certa et constans norma praesto foret ; methodum ea in re sequendam, opportuna Instructione, singillatim describi curavimus ; qua, praeter ea quae de accuratissima circa promovendorum fidem, vitam, mores prudentiamque inquisitione peragenda statuimus, in plenum vigorem revocavimus *periculum de doctrina* quod ab ipsis promovendis, habita ratione praescriptionum S. Caroli Borromaei in Conc. Prov. Mediolan. I. p. 2, omnino faciendum praecipimus.

Quae quidem omnia ut per ipsammet Supremam Congregationem S. Officii plane adimpleri valeant, mandamus denique, ad quos spectat, ut Sedium Episcopalium, ut supra non exceptarum, vacatio eidem in posterum, litteris ad ipsius Cardinalem Secretarium datis, quamprimum ac recto tramite notificetur.

Haec edicimus, declaramus, sancimus, contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum die XVII Decembris MCMIII, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

PIVS PP. X.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

A History of Modern England. By Herbert Paul. In Five Vols. Vols. I., II. London: Macmillan & Co., 1904.

Mr. Herbert Paul's *History of Modern England* will be complete in five volumes. So far only two have appeared; and we have just made our way through them. The history begins with the downfall of Sir Robert Peel's government in 1846, and the two first volumes bring us to the death of Lord Palmerston in 1865. The period is full of interest. The Prime Ministers during the time were Lord John Russell, Lord Derby, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Palmerston, Lord Derby again, and Lord Palmerston again. The 'Ecclesiastical Titles Bill,' the 'Irish Famine,' the 'Italian Revolution,' the 'Crimean War,' the 'Indian Mutiny,' the American 'Civil War,' are the chief events that come under review.

Mr. Herbert Paul's historical style is that of an expert journalist rather than of a great historian. The book is full of clever things, of epigrammatic summaries, of keen invective, of brilliant description. It is magnificent; but it is not history. When Mr. Herbert Paul has finished his five volumes he will have produced a most interesting and attractive work; but the 'History of Modern England' will still remain to be written.

In matters Irish which have nothing to do with the Church Mr. Paul is usually sympathetic, although his sympathy stops short as a rule when it comes to a matter of finance. His treatment of ecclesiastical subjects that refer in any way to the Catholic Church is often flippant and not rarely offensive. Louis Napoleon excites his anger at every turn. He is a 'perjurer,' 'a robber,' and 'a thief.' There is no end to his villainy. Really anyone who writes of Napoleon III. as Mr. Paul does is no historian. He is a furious political partisan. He cannot suppress his rage; he cannot even keep it under decent restraint.

Another victim of Mr. Paul's animosity is King Ferdinand of Naples—'a cruel and superstitious bigot,' whom Gladstone denounced so fiercely in his famous letter to Lord Aberdeen. But what Mr. Paul fails to note is the fact that Lord Palmerston,

who was such a fiery partisan of liberty at Naples was an equally strenuous defender of slavery in America, and that the man who helped so powerfully to dethrone King Ferdinand became one of the props of the Turkish Empire and of the abominable tyrant who ruled it. It is really laughable to read all this humbug about Naples coming from men who supported Sir Robert Peel's Coercion Bill, making it a crime to appear out of doors after nightfall. Talk of unfair trials! Why, these very men, having carried through Parliament a Coercion Bill of their own, took hold of their political opponents without any trial of any kind, threw them into their dungeons wholesale, made them herd with criminals of the deepest dye, made them sleep on the plank-bed, degraded, reviled, and defamed them; and then they want us to take them seriously when they talk of tyranny at Naples and tell us that it was the pure fire of liberty burning within their bosoms that made them attack King 'Bomba.' King Ferdinand certainly did many things that were severe and that will not stand the test of humanity; but at least he did not make merry over the sufferings of his victims. He did not jeer at Poerio's 'breeches.' He did not publicly declare that his policy was to exterminate a million of his subjects and give the remainder twenty years of 'resolute government.' He did not grind his people with taxation for the benefit of foreigners, nor starve their intellects unless they proved traitors to their faith.

A fine specimen of British grandeur is noted in the case of Lord Clarendon who was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1850. 'He had no sympathy with Irishmen, or with Catholics; but he was inflexibly just, and his conduct in removing Lord Roden, the leader of the Orange party in the North, from the Commission of the Peace for encouraging the turbulent procession at Dolly's Brae met with almost universal approval.' What a magnanimous statesman! And what wonderful impartiality that the hero of Dolly's Brae was not allowed to administer justice to the Catholics of Ulster! For similar conduct a Catholic magistrate would have been transported to Botany Bay. Lord Roden was deprived of the Commission of the Peace; and the statesman who had the courage to take such vigorous action is commended by a British Radical historian of the twentieth century!

Accounting for the sympathies of Englishmen in the struggle between Russia and Turkey which eventuated in the Crimean War, Mr. Paul says:—'They saw a great power bullying a

small one; and their sympathies went where the natural sympathies of Englishmen always go.' After all there is nothing like impartiality, even when you are compelled to do justice to yourself. If you do not blow your own horn, who will blow it for you?

The spirit of chivalry may have departed from other lands; but it is at least a consolation to know that it still hovers over Britain. Other countries may indulge their Chauvinism and Fatherlandism; we, like Anacharsis Clootz, stand up for mankind.

With all his Jingoism, however, Mr. Paul is a very attractive writer and his two volumes are well worth reading. He may not be able to extricate himself from inherited prejudice and the influence of environment and tradition: but his greatest faults are redeemed by a sprightly wit, an ardour that is refreshing, a sincerity that leaves no room for doubt, a go and earnestness that are communicative, and a style that for not being classic is none the less captivating. There is not a dull page in the two volumes. Catholics will find much in them that must be discounted. Irishmen will find a great deal that will provoke a not unfriendly smile. We cannot recommend them to the general reader; but educated Catholics may read them with pleasure and with profit.

J. F. H.

GOSPELS OF THE SUNDAYS AND FESTIVALS. By Rev. C. Ryan. Two Vols. Dublin: Browne & Nolan, Ltd. 1904.

EVERY priest entrusted with the care of souls knows the value of a good commentary on those portions of Holy Writ which most frequently form the subject of his sermons. Year after year it is his duty and privilege to explain the words of his Divine Master, to put before the faithful the great truths of salvation: the obvious reason for the Church's law being, that in the Gospels these truths are inculcated as nowhere else in Scripture. Hence the prominent place assigned them in the mental and moral training of the young ecclesiastic.

But though in his college course he studied the Gospels with all due attention, it may easily happen that before beginning to prepare his Sunday discourse the priest feels a desire to refresh his knowledge respecting some word or phrase or locality or event. In the midst of missionary work he may, however, be

unable to secure time for prolonged study, or on the other hand he may find that the familiar class-book, though admirably adapted to its own end, or rather because so admirably suited, is not exactly what he wants at present. Hence the need of what may be called a preacher's commentary, designed and executed for the special work in hand. A great authority has said that definiteness is the preacher's virtue, and the remark applies to every work written for the preacher's use.

The author of the present commentary, Father Ryan, who was for many years Professor of Scripture in Clonliffe College, Dublin, has had ample opportunity of knowing the wishes and the needs of ecclesiastical students. Added to this, his parochial experience has enabled him to give to his work a practical character that is rarely to be met with. It would be difficult to find an equally good book on the subject; indeed, so far as we know, there is none to be found in English. Its plan may be briefly described here. First, the Greek text and the Vulgate version are placed in parallel columns. Then comes the Douay or an English translation. In case the Sunday Gospel has elsewhere a passage or passages parallel to it Father Ryan gives them, and adds what he calls a 'Combined Narrative.' This is, we venture to think, one of the most useful and original parts of the entire work. As regards both the learned Introduction and the Notes, suffice it to say that they are copious and clear. If we may select a few specimens and direct our readers' attention to them, the explanation of the dogmatic bearing of the Gospel of the third Mass on Christmas Day (vol. i., p. 75, ff.), and of the difficult text (St. John xiv. 28) in the Gospel for Whit-Sunday, seem worthy of special notice. This remark applies also to the harmonizing of statements apparently contradictory, an all-important matter to which minute and unremitting attention has evidently been devoted. Instances of it may be found in vol. i., pp. 233, 334, and Gospel for Easter, p. 327, ff. Father Ryan has neglected nothing that could enhance the value of his work, every available source of information has been consulted, and the results of his wide reading are given so concisely that it is a pleasure to read his book.

We heartily recommend it, and we trust that its circulation may correspond to its merit.

R. W.

IN PATHS OF PEACE. By Lily E. F. Barry. With Illustrations by A. G. Racey. London: Burns & Oates. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

THIS volume consists of a series of short essays, or monographs, on various subjects of a literary, moral, social, and domestic character. They were originally published in an American magazine, and now appear in book form for the first time. The authoress is possessed of a keen philosophic way of looking at things, so that each little sketch is the outcome of deep and studied thought, and, consequently, affords very wholesome reading of a practical kind. She discusses such topics as 'Self-Restraint,' 'The Power of Kind Words,' 'Hospitality,' 'Heroism in Small Things,' etc., and what she has to say on these and kindred matters is well worth reading.

The writing is vigorous, and the style is both graceful and attractive. The book might be used with advantage by those who have to do with the formation and training of youthful minds. In fact, all who are desirous to know the true dignity and value of life, and to live up to their knowledge, will profit by its advice in many things.

APHORISMI EUCHARISTICI. Opera Jacobi Merlo-Horstii, denuo edidit, Jos. Aloysius Kerbs, C.SS.R. Ratisbon, Rome, New York: Pustet. 1902.

WE have much pleasure in bringing under the notice of the clergy this beautiful little book of devotion for priests, by the famous author of the *Paradisus Animae*. It is a collection of the choicest utterances of the Fathers and approved ascetical writers on the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, intended to inflame the piety and increase the reverence of those who are privileged to ascend the altar. The late Cardinal Manning often said that 'the *Paradisus Animae*' of Horstius, was, with the *Imitation of Christ*, amongst the greatest books of devotion ever written.

Other works of the same author, such as the *Viaticum Quotidianum Hominis Christianae*, and the *Monita Sapientiae Christianae*, have served as guides to some of the holiest and best men that ever lived. In this little volume we have the *pia monita* of the celebrant. The chapters are headed, 'Dignitas Sacerdotii et Sacrificii,' 'Praeparatio Missae Praemittenda,' 'Puritas et Sanctitas Requisita,' 'Probatio Sui Ipsius ante

Missam,' 'Excitanda Fides et Devotio,' 'Pura et Sancta Intentio Celebrantis,' 'Compositio Corporis et Animae,' 'Gratiarum Actio,' 'Frequens Celebratio Missae,' 'Effectus Sacrificii,' 'Praxis Pie Celebrandi.' At the end the official and indulgenced prayers before and after Mass are given together with the Litanies.

There are, of course, many books of devotion of this kind in use at the present day. Of this one we will only say that it is admirably suited for its purpose, not too long or too diffuse, convenient in size and well printed. Fortunate are the priests who will read a chapter of it before and after Mass.

J. F. H.

MONASTERIES AND RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. By F. M. Steele. Washbourne. 1903.

THIS work is a popular account of the religious congregations and communities in Great Britain and Ireland, and despite the interesting explanation to which we are treated in the Introduction, we should have preferred that the title of the book had been a little more exact. For those who wish to learn something about the religious communities in these countries, and who have no opportunity of consulting the more exhaustive accounts, this work will prove exceedingly useful. The sketches of the different bodies, though necessarily brief, are accurate, and, as far as possible, complete. The publishers are to be congratulated, especially on the 'Illustrations' of the habits of the different communities.

J. MACC.

[A New York correspondent informs us that the Dr. Mooney referred to in a recent number of our periodical in connection with altar wine is *not* Mgr. Mooney, Vicar-General of New York, but a distinguished Catholic layman now no more. We gladly make the correction.—ED. I. E. RECORD.]



SIR HORACE PLUNKETT'S LECTURE

THE Irish Catholic clergy have had many opportunities during the past hundred years of seeing themselves as others see them. Their critics have been as busily engaged, as inquisitorial, as confidential with the public, as they have been numerous and varied. If there remains a microscopic defect in our character that has not been thrown upon the screen and specially magnified for the edification of the world and for our own reproof and correction we may rest assured that it will not long lie hidden, seeing the number and the eagerness of the explorers who are in search of it. The activity of these investigators during the past few years has been truly prodigious; and if we have hitherto taken but little notice of their exertions it is because we were of opinion, with Dean Swift, that—

> The most effectual way to baulk
> Their malice is to let them talk.

Frank Hugh O'Donnell,[1] Filson Young,[2] George Moore,[3] W. J. M. Starkie,[4] M. J. F. M'Carthy,[5] Professor Tyrrell,[6] R. J. Smith,[7] have in turn given us the benefit of their

---

[1] *The Ruin of Education in Ireland.*
[2] *Ireland at the Cross Roads.*
[3] *The Untilled Field*
[4] Paper read before the British Association in Belfast.
[5] *Five Years in Ireland. Priests and People.*
[6] The famous Sonnet.
[7] *Ireland's Renaissance.*

vast experience and of their unrivalled stores of knowledge and virtue. Their wisdom has been acquired in regions of philosophic calm to which the clergy, of course, have no access. The restricted horizon that limits our outlook and the clouded atmosphere through which we move are, of themselves, sufficient to keep us out of court. The short-comings of Christianity escape our narrow vision, and the hopeless dishonesty and selfishness of its expounders are brought home so clearly to our doors that we need not even try to divest ourselves of the responsibility they entail. And so without any earthly motive except that of doing a public service and setting the country right, these comrades so strangely allied and so curiously assorted have taken the field against us, and have concentrated upon us the deadly fire of their batteries.

Of Mr. Frank Hugh O'Donnell we do not wish to write an unkindly word. We can make many allowances for the aberrations and eccentricities of genius. We do not quite forget the eloquence of other days. We have still some recollection of the embassy of Challemel Lacour and of the fourth centenary of Martin Luther. We can forgive him a good deal for the grandeur of his conceptions and the Olympian range of his imagination. What could be finer, for instance, than his comparison of Maynooth College to the great Phanar of Constantinople—the great light-house in which, under the shadow of the Crescent, the Greeks were educated—those Phanariots who became the virtual rulers of an empire, the merchant princes of European cities from Odessa to Marseilles, the agents and ultimately the founders of Grecian liberty? Above all, we cannot forget that Mr. O'Donnell was at one time a very orthodox and edifying contributor to our own pages, in which he stigmatised with proper epithets the opponents of clerical and monastic life on the continent of Europe.

As Mr. Filson Young looks upon all religions from the standpoint of an impartial outsider, and as he is graciously pleased to consent that we should be tolerated, what can we do but make our humble acknowledgments and thank our stars that after having survived the Penal Laws we

are not to be extinguished by a correspondent of the *Daily Mail* ?

To have been tried and found wanting both in faith and morals by Mr. George Moore is, indeed, a sad reproach, coming from such a high authority ; but tried by so severe a test how could we expect any other result ?

Of Dr. Starkie we have already said our say ; and we may safely leave him to carry out the *organisation* of the National Board.

Nobody, we fancy, will expect us to waste words or space on Mr. M'Carthy, whose works are pretty sure to recoil on their author, if they have not done so already, without any help from us. But is not Mr. M'Carthy a 'Catholic' product of Trinity College ? And what more striking justification than his performance could be offered of the attitude of the Catholic body generally towards the establishment that has given him to the world ? With four or five hundred M'Carthys scattered up and down through the country what a pleasant island this would be for Catholics to live in ! And how nice and considerate of the Trinity College authorities to invite, through His Eminence Cardinal Logue, the Catholic youth of Ireland within the portals where so sweet and amiable a character has been formed. Here is truly one of the advantages of Catholics and Protestants resorting to the same mart of learning and drinking at the same pure fountain of knowledge. The most phenomenal thing about Mr. M'Carthy and his campaign, however, is the eagerness with which his effusions were taken up and disseminated by a section of our Protestant fellow-countrymen. We had no conception until then of how strong a place the old Adam held amongst them still.

We had thought, nevertheless, that the campaign was dying its natural death when out came Professor Tyrrell with his sonnet, like Dame Partington with her broom, to sweep back the tide of Catholic revival. We had been contending that it was within the historic precincts of the institution Professor Tyrrell so worthily represents that the degradation of our Church and faith was callously planned

and fiercely instigated in former days, and that, although it has lost a good deal of its power in recent times, its spirit is but little changed. Professor Tyrrell has come forward of his own accord to confirm this view. He has rendered us a service and we tender him our thanks.

It would not, perhaps, be courteous to pass over, even in such a brief review as this, Mr. R. J. Smith on *Ireland's Renaissance*. Mr. Smith has also weighed us in very delicate scales specially invented by himself, and in many respects has found the balance against us. It is pleasant, however, to be assured that we are not quite hopeless and that if we only follow the canons of conduct he lays down for us we may yet redeem some at least of our deficiencies.[8]

It is, on the whole, a considerable relief to turn from the class of literature we have thus briefly indicated to the work of Sir Horace Plunkett,[9] which is now before us. Here, at least, we have a man whose practical services to the country entitle him to a hearing, and whose views are communicated in a style so clear and in language so moderate and dispassionate, that whether we agree with him or not we can always listen to him with interest and differ from him with candour and good feeling equal to his own. He is in every respect far abler, deeper, more refined, and more judicial than the reformers mentioned above. The earnestness with which he has addressed himself to the problems discussed in his book commands our admiration, and his evident desire to be courteous and impersonal even when most critical and aggressive give him no small claim to reciprocity. Praise and blame, it must also be acknowledged, are not confined to one side or the other. We should be, indeed, by no means unwilling to take in good part his criticism of ecclesiastical policy and conduct were we satisfied that his elaborate programme was not conceived—honestly and pleasantly conceived—outlined and planned with a far seeing eye to an achievement which does not quite commend itself to our acceptance. Not

[8] We hope to get some of Mr. Smith's peculiar theories dealt with in the near future.

[9] *Ireland in the New Century*.

being so satisfied we can scarcely be expected to offer him much sympathy in his distress. No one will have any difficulty in recognising the individual the author has in his mind when, speaking of the apathy and indifference of Irish Unionists to the welfare of their country, he says :—

> Now and again an individual tries to broaden the basis of his Unionism, and to bring himself into touch with the life of the people. But, the nearer he gets to the people the farther he gets from the Irish Unionist leaders. The lot of such an individual is not a happy one ; he is regarded as a mere intruder, who does not know the rules of the game, and he is treated by the leading players on both sides like a dog in a tennis court. —(Page 64.)

Finally, we recognise with pleasure that there is not in Sir Horace Plunkett's volume much trace of the arrogant and domineering tone which less competent and less experienced authorities think themselves so freely at liberty to adopt in their disquisitions on the problems of Irish life, and particularly in their lectures to the Catholic clergy.

Having said so much we must candidly confess that, with the best will in the world, our stock of praise, apart from some details in the last two chapters, will not carry us much farther. For if anyone imagines that he is going to find in this volume evidence of any transcendental impartiality or of any profound political or economic wisdom he will not need much reflection to convince him that he has been grievously mistaken. We feel, indeed, quite justified in going a step further, and saying that this volume involves its author in such hopeless contradictions and reveals so curious an attitude of mind towards church and country that confidence in him, and co-operation with the Department over which he presides, will not, to say the least of it, be improved by its publication.

In the first three chapters we recognise a good deal that is true and a good deal that is half true mingled with things that are on the face of them childish and absurd. It is rather late in the day to be talking to us now of the tribal system and the clan, as if, whilst Englishmen had outgrown the heptarchy, the democratic Irish were still hankering after tanistry and gavel-kind.

Then we are told that five or six millions a year in agricultural rent would not be missed out of the pockets of Irish farmers if only they had the moral fibre and the civic virtue of Scotchmen and Englishmen to build up a fortune for themselves. Sir Horace Plunkett knows perfectly well that before Gladstone lifted the giant load off the shoulders of the Irish farmer industry and thrift, far from enabling him to build up a fortune, too often only added to his misery when he saw the fruits of both one and the other wrested from his hands. What industry could flourish, what thrift could bear fruit in such conditions? For it is no exaggeration to say, that taking things all in all, and making due allowance for temporary and isolated exceptions, the system of government and of land administration that prevailed since the Irish Protestant gentry sold the national birthright and abandoned their country in 1800 became a huge impediment to every effort, individual and national, that made for material progress. Truly has it been compared to the serpents in Laocoon, winding themselves around the sinews and paralysing the limbs of father and children alike, till the vital energy of both was well-nigh exhausted. What is the use of telling us that five or six millions a year of agricultural rent made no difference to a people so demoralised and impoverished? It may, indeed, be freely admitted that the amount extracted was not in itself so disastrous as the principle on which it was levied. But surely the extraction of six millions a year, to put it only at Sir Horace Plunkett's estimate, from a people whose life-blood had been drained away through so many other channels, was enough to leave the country in a state of hopeless inanition, particularly when so large a share of the amount was entirely unproductive and for the most part spent in foreign lands. Even when the first relief came Irish farmers had no guarantee that the fruits of their energy would be made secure beyond the term of fifteen years.

Now, however, that the 'blessed deliverance' is at hand—we know at what a cost—the Irish people may for the first time take heart and face the future with something

of the self-reliant spirit that has been so freely preached to them in the past. Let Sir Horace Plunkett talk of their moral fibre and civic virtue in twenty or thirty years, if he is still alive, which we sincerely hope he may be. Already he bears testimony to their progressive energy in one part of his contradictory book, whilst in another he dilates on their apathy and lack of enterprise. If they have made such strides since he has taken them in hands under a system of partial redemption what may we not expect when the redemption is complete ?

With the purely political questions discussed by Sir Horace Plunkett we cannot concern ourselves here. It is difficult, at the same time, to deal with his book without making a few observations on the academic side of the issues he has raised.

All through the book, and in one chapter devoted entirely to the subject, the author contends that the support given to the Irish representatives in Parliament, and the reliance placed on their efforts to promote the national welfare, have drawn away the strength and resources of the people from a far more profitable investment of their energy and wealth. He contrasts the success of the Protestants of the North who in industry and business rely on their own efforts, with the backwardness of the South where Catholics have devoted themselves so closely to politics ; and he considers it essential for the future progress of the country that politics and politicians should henceforth be measured at their real value, which is not very much, and that the chief efforts of the people should be directed to the promotion of agriculture and industry and the development of a sound and practical national life. We must leave to others to say whether or not they regard this programme as vitiated in the intention ; and how far, amongst similar things, the Protestants of this country, whether North or South, have been left to their unaided exertions. For our own part we hold that the political efforts of our representatives have secured for us blessings which no gold could purchase, and which are not to be measured by any standard that Sir Horace Plunkett seems to value. They

have, moreover, laid the foundation of whatever happiness or prosperity we may hope for in the future. They have done this, too, not only for us but for a large section of those Protestants in the North who, with all their moral courage and in spite of the premium placed on their Protestantism and the bounty on their opposition to the majority of their countrymen, have not, with a few exceptions, so very much to boast of in the way of temporal prosperity. Nor do we see any reason why antagonism should be fomented between the Gaelic League, the County Councils, or any other representative bodies and the men whom the people have chosen to represent them in a different capacity and in a different field. If they are wrong in their estimate of the political strength they have acquired it is strange how many there are who are willing to relieve them of it.

If, in the universal experience of the world, the ordinary affairs of a nation's life are managed more satisfactorily by its own people than by outsiders, and if, as in the case of the land, the fruits of national economy are to be the reward of the efforts of those who produced them, who can blame the Irish people if they think their harvest will be more secure in their own possession than in the guardianship of the great absentee? And as long as they are convinced that they have not yet secured the corner stone of the edifice that is to give them shelter and comfort, why should they not make a strenuous effort to acquire it? If, moreover, they think there is a much better chance of reconciliation with the minority of their countrymen and of a friendly and permanent understanding with their powerful neighbours by following the course they have adopted rather than any other, why should they not make that settlement, which they regard as the remedy for great evils as well as for little ones, the object of their most ardent pursuit and set their faces with determination against a system which no Englishman advocates for any civilised country but Ireland, and no Irishman for any country but his own. Sir Horace Plunkett is of opinion that the achievement of this purpose is impossible and useless. His countrymen, we have no doubt, will

give due consideration to his words and judge for themselves whether he speaks as a wise man and a prophet or rather as the representative of the very spirit he condemns. Very few of them, we think, will be converted from the error of their ways by Sir Horace Plunkett's reasoning. In the meantime there is assuredly nothing to prevent him and all other men of good-will from helping the Gaelic League and pushing forward the work of his Department without seeking to turn either one or the other into machines for the subversion of a policy on which his advice is not very eagerly sought.

The County Councils, and other popular bodies whom he lectures on their meddling in politics, may well retort: *Medice, cura teipsum.* Nobody is so foolish as to think that the opportunities of advancement that exist should not be availed of to the full, or that any of the other elements of a healthy and progressive national existence should be neglected or made to suffer. But as long as it takes fifty years of harassing agitation to remedy the most patent defects in the machinery of progress, and as long as you cannot get a policeman who makes himself a nuisance in an Irish village removed from the scene of his mischief unless you cross the stormy sea and find some means of setting the great imperial engine in motion, so long will Irishmen endeavour at whatsoever cost to secure an engine of their own, and provide for themselves those instruments of progress that prove so serviceable in other lands. Sir Horace Plunkett thinks that even if this were desirable our countrymen are going the wrong way about it, and should approach the English people in a very different spirit from that which they have manifested in recent years. But when the English people were approached in a friendly spirit, and a great English statesman whispered something about a 'union of hearts,' we wonder who it was that stirred up the passions of centuries and laughed to scorn the 'great reconciliation' which all Christian men should welcome?

Mr. Bryce, in his *History of the American Commonwealth,* tells us with what jealousy the States of the Union

bargained for their local autonomy at the Convention of Philadelphia in 1775, and everyone knows with what care the petty states of the German Empire safeguarded their local rights when they definitely entered the great Confederation in 1871. It is not alone Bavaria, Wurtemburg, Saxony that retain their local administration, but Baden, Hesse, Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, and little places like Anhalt, Oldenburg, Saxe-Weimar, have their parliaments and their practical independence. Even in Alsace-Lorraine the wishes of the people are consulted through the 'Landes-Ausschuss.'[10]

We are not politicians and, perhaps, do not understand these things; but we confess it does look strange to us that what is regarded as the palladium of right and liberty everywhere else should be looked upon in Ireland merely as an object of aversion which once bartered away is not worth recovering. It is necessary, perhaps, to have one's political centre of gravity, not indeed in the other world, still less in one's own unfortunate country, but on the other side of the channel, in order to see these things in their proper light.

But it is in the chapter on 'The Influence of Religion on Secular Life in Ireland' that Sir Horace Plunkett comes most directly into collision with the Catholic clergy.

Apart from questions of fundamental principle, which are serious enough, as we shall see later on, it would not be fair to say that the writer of this chapter makes any *unqualified* attack on the Catholic religion or the Catholic priesthood. Faults he has to find enough and to spare; but there is scarcely any fault for which he does not find some excusing cause or some qualifying explanation. Passages taken out of their context and carried away from the neighbourhood of other passages in conjunction with which they were intended to be read, are

[10] The 'Landes-Ausschuss,' or local representative Chamber of Alsace-Lorraine, consists of 58 elected members, 13 from Lower Alsace, 10 from Upper Alsace, and 11 from Lorraine; and 24 members from the four towns of Strasburg, Mülhausen, Metz, and Colmar. See Kursehner's *Staatshandbuch*, p. 483.

liable to convey a false impression and in this case would, perhaps, be calculated to do some injustice to one who, on his side, has evidently made an effort to be just. His balancing may, indeed, leave upon you the impression of one who is—

> Alike reserved to blame or to commend,
> A timorous foe and a suspicious friend ;

but an open and unqualified attitude of hostility is the last thing it indicates. It may be, indeed, that beneath its mild and cautious language you discover something you did not quite expect ; but in these days even mild language is something for which we may be thankful.

Whilst, therefore, we do not wish to class Sir Horace Plunkett with the rabid bigots of the Orange party, or their Catholic allies from Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges, it is nevertheless true that with many excuses, qualifications, and apologies, he finds himself obliged to admit nearly all the charges made against us by these sympathetic critics. We must refer our readers to the book itself for a full appreciation of this chapter ; but we do not think it can be regarded as unfair if we take up here only one side of the picture and deal with the principal charges he makes against our religion and ourselves.

First of all it strikes him as an outsider that our religion is 'in some of its tendencies non-economic if not anti-economic.'

> The reliance of that religion on authority, its repression of individualism, its complete shifting of what I may call the human centre of gravity to a future existence, to mention no other characteristics—appear to me calculated, unless supplemented by other influences, to check the growth of the qualities of initiative and self-reliance, especially amongst a people whose lack of education unfits them for resisting the influence of what may present itself to such minds as a kind of fatalism with resignation as its paramount virtue. (Page 102.)

If Sir Horace Plunkett has a taste for that sort of controversy he might have condescended to look into the works of Balmès[11] or Father Young,[12] and tell us what answer

[11] *European Civilization.* [12] *Protestant and Catholic Countries Compared.*

he has to make to these writers on the subject of celibacy and Catholicism and their influence on civilization and prosperity. If he was not prepared to do that it can scarcely be considered fair that he should utilize the position which he has hitherto held with the good will of Irish Catholics, to discredit their religion and themselves in the eyes of the world. That, of course, may not have been his intention. He speaks, indeed, with diffidence, and, as usual. qualifies and almost withdraws his words in the following passage ; but his words are on record, and the qualification does not blot them out.

It is true, of course, that Catholics do not look on wealth as the highest good either of individuals or of nations. It is true that they make the value of this life to depend chiefly on its relation to the life to come. Protestantism is, on the other hand, utilitarian and worldly. It goes on the principle that as this world is the best we have any experience of we should make the most of it. Catholics even go so far as to think that the highest and most perfect form of life is to leave all this world can offer and take up the cross and follow the footsteps of their Master in detachment and poverty. To Protestants all this is extravagance and folly. But whilst Catholics maintain that their conception of life is founded clearly on the Gospel, and that the Gospel is neither 'uneconomic or anti-economic,' they also believe that it is better suited than any other to raise up and to maintain a strong, pure, and energetic race. They believe, moreover, that their view of things is justified by history and by the actual condition of the world. 'One ounce of fact is worth a ton of theory,' says Russell Lowell ; and when we find such countries as Belgium, Westphalia, and Lombardy putting British manufactures out of their own market, we are not particularly alarmed as to how our religion looks from the economic point of view to an outsider like Sir Horace Plunkett.

To attribute the apathy of the Irish peasant not to its natural and patent cause, but to a resignation which is in reality a kind of fatalism, is another illustration of the author's inability or unwillingness to face realities. To

deprive a man persistently of the reward of his labour and then to ascribe to fatalism the fact that he takes the world easy is rather too transparent. No matter how you may wish to ignore the past and turn your face to the future, habits begotten of three centuries of demoralisation and oppression cannot be got rid of all in a day.

We are sorry that Sir Horace Plunkett should have thought it worthy of him to join in the cry that has been raised against the building of churches and ecclesiastical dwelling-houses by people from whom nothing better could be expected. We should have thought that the reply of the Bishop of Limerick to Professor Tyrrell and his sonnet, which represented the general opinion of Catholics on this subject, would have been enough for a moderate man like the author of *Ireland in the New Century*. Everybody knows that there are in each province in Ireland hundreds of churches built under the shadow of the Penal Laws which are now crumbling to decay ; and yet the bishops and clergy will not undertake to replace them until the advent of better times. Out of consideration for the poor they think it better that the 'Old chapels' should stand for generations yet to come ; and that only in an extreme case, when, owing to the ravages of time, the threatening ruin of an old building leaves them no choice, they should decide to build again. This decision once come to they do not admit that they are violating any economic principle in erecting, once and for all, a solid and suitable structure. In some few cases, indeed, the sense of proportion in these matters may not have been observed ; but the excess can scarcely be said to constitute any serious economic crime.

With almost all that Sir Horace Plunkett says about the furniture of existing churches and the importation from abroad of statues, wood-carvings, stained glass, and textile ornaments, we are in entire agreement. We cannot help thinking that, speaking generally, what the country produces is more acceptable to Almighty God in His temples, than ornaments imported from other lands. And we sincerely hope that with improved methods in technical and artistic education it may soon be possible to get in this

country everything that could fairly be required for the ornamentation of our churches.

Sir Horace Plunkett is shocked at the number of costly and elaborate monastic and conventual buildings which have recently been set up on all sides, and looks upon their inmates as belonging to the 'unproductive classes.' We could readily agree that some proportion should be observed between the population and resources of any country and the number of monastic and conventual establishments that would be a benefit to it and not a burden; but as things stand the last country in the world in which the conventual establishments could be said to be a burden is Ireland, where they admittedly give the best education and perform works of charity and mercy which may seem 'unproductive' to those who dislike them, but to unprejudiced witnesses are not so. The same may be said of the Christian Brothers, and we know of no other Order that is on the increase or setting up any buildings worth mentioning. On the other hand we know that whilst the Protestant Episcopalian clergy are well housed and lodged, mostly at the public expense, by the arrangement made at the time of Disestablishment, many poor Catholic priests have to live in miserable houses or in wretched lodgings where they can barely procure the necessaries of life. And whilst all this noise is made about Catholic church-building and religious houses the fact is lost sight of that a large section of the Protestant community is wasting its energy in a fashion that must strike anyone who has eyes to see. We all know that there are numerous towns in every province where there are four or five thousand inhabitants. In such towns you find, as a rule, one Catholic church for three or four thousand people; whilst for one thousand Protestants, and sometimes less, you have not only a Protestant Episcopalian church, but half-a-dozen conventicles representing various sects and communities of Protestants. These little buildings are, in the great majority of cases, the reverse of artistic. There is nothing in the least educational or inspiring about them. They are certainly not anything from which we could learn

a lesson in any respect. But they have to be maintained with their caretakers, and to pay rent and taxes, and support a clergyman and his family. This is all very hard on the poorer class of Protestants who frequent these places, and it does not strike an outsider as being based on any very sound principle of economy, or as representing a particularly economic religion ; but after all that is their own affair. If they want such luxuries, let them have them. Who desires to interfere with them ? But if we Catholics wish to spend a few pounds on our own places of worship why will Protestants not show us a little toleration and shout so loudly that this money would be much better spent on a bacon-factory or a poultry-yard ? And if Sir Horace Plunkett thinks that secular, municipal, and industrial buildings are neglected, why does he not get his friends to spend on them some proportionate share of the £112,000,000 for the production of which the *moral fibre*, the *energy*, and the *self-reliance* of the Irish people are to be mortgaged for the next sixty-eight and a half years ? He may rely upon it that the clergy would be only too glad to co-operate in any such project with the ' natural leaders ' of the people, if these leaders would only give the lead in their own walk of life, and do something, besides talking and preaching to others, for the good of their country.

But whatever hesitation Sir Horace Plunkett may have about condemning the conventual and monastic system he has none whatever in assuring us that ' the competition of celibates, living in community, is excessive and educationally injurious.' During a good part of last century there were many places in Ireland where there were no classical or secondary schools except those conducted by laymen. Elderly people will tell you that in their time there were no other in whole counties. Do you think these poor laymen, who struggled so bravely in those dark days to keep alive the torch of learning amongst the people, got any assistance or any countenance whatever from the people who are now so much concerned about lay teachers ? Did they get any support from a paternal and enlightened Government ? Did the great territorial landlords, with

thirty and forty thousand acres in the neighbourhood, give a penny to maintain the men who tried so hard to bring the blessings of education to the doors of the poor delvers on their properties? No. They were allowed to starve and die out, and the people would have been left in hopeless ignorance if the clergy had not stepped into the breach, and helped them to rise above the condition of slaves, and opened up to them the way to professional and mercantile life. These men, 'who have money for everything except education,' have covered the country with secondary schools which they have provided by imposing on themselves hardships and privations that were severe almost beyond endurance, but which they have never grudged in such a cause. There is, perhaps, nothing more glorious in the history of the Church during the nineteenth century than this spectacle of old men, grown venerable in the service of faith and fatherland, handing over for the education and advancement of their people, the savings of a life-time, and of young men throbbing with life and energy, depriving themselves of the most primitive comforts and putting aside all notion of those pleasant surroundings to which, within modest limits, they might lawfully aspire, in order to be able to contribute to the same noble purpose.

Now that the schools erected through such sacrifices are successful and flourishing and have put the Protestant schools out of court in public competition, with all their advantages of lay teaching and enlightened management, we find this effort made to cause friction between the clergy and the laity of our Church by people who occupy public positions of responsibility and trust. We are convinced that when the time comes to settle this matter definitely and permanently there will be no quarrel between the clergy and laity of Ireland. The more lay teachers, the better qualified and the better paid, that become available for these establishments the better we shall be pleased. But in the meantime Sir Horace Plunkett and all others may make up their minds that these teachers will not be trained in nationless or godless colleges, but in a university where they will be made sensible of their duties both to faith and country.

Such a university Sir Horace Plunkett is prepared to give us, not as a right but as a privilege, and he would not regards as 'bigots' those who would refuse it. Well, we are much obliged; but we do not want any privilege from him or anyone. We want our right and nothing more, and we shall be satisfied with nothing less. To tell the great majority of the Irish people that they have no right in their own country to a system of higher education, to which they could reconcile their consciences, seems to us a very strange message from a man who evidently wants to be regarded as moderate and liberal. And to refuse to acknowledge as bigots those who deny the right seems equally strange. If the conditions were reversed for a moment we wonder whether the bigotry would become apparent. If even a majority of Catholics in Belgium or Canada were to act on this principle, would they be bigoted? If an Irish County Council got control of funds for secondary education and refused to allocate any share of them to the Protestant minority, would that be bigotry? We know pretty well what answer Sir Horace Plunkett would give to the question: but what right have Catholics to draw logical conclusions? Bigotry is what Protestant economists make it, and not what the whole world thinks it is and should be.

As Sir Horace Plunkett and his friends have not been able to grapple in any effective way with the problem of emigration evidently they think it may save them from the result of their incompetence and inefficiency to throw the responsibility on the Catholic clergy, and to attribute the whole exodus to the building, and the educational and social influence of the Catholic Church. We think, on our part, that if there were other handsome buildings erected as well as handsome churches that the people would be more contented at home and more fascinated by their country. But can the clergy be expected to build opera-houses and theatres, and open up fine streets, and squares, and gardens? Can they be seriously expected to build restaurants and coffee-houses and arcaded pavilions, and

the hundred and one resorts of a refined and pleasant life which bring people together on an equal footing and make them feel they are citizens of a common fatherland, and enjoy some little share at least of the elegance to which a civilized people may aspire? Is it their specific business to construct piers and quays, and provide the people with fishing boats and the latest and most improved quality of nets and gear?

The clergy are quite willing to co-operate in all these things as far as their means and time and professional propriety will allow, as they co-operate heartily in the work of the Agricultural Department for which they have got such superior patronage and such scanty recognition from Sir Horace Plunkett. But we should have thought that the lead in all these things should be given by the 'natural leaders,' who, according to themselves, have a monopoly of the wealth and intelligence of the country. They say, no doubt, that we alone have the confidence of the people. But we welcome competition. Why will they not honestly compete with us for the love and devotion of the people by loving them and serving them as we do? And if they try for once, why should they begin by a system of office-preaching against the religion of the people which, next to 'street preaching,' is to them the most objectionable sort of zeal?

The question of emigration, however, is one about which we do not care to indulge in recrimination or retort. Idle controversy will not help to cure it. If you want to find a remedy you must look to the seat and the cause and the circumstances of the disease. Here, then, is how the problem looks to us.

In addition to certain tendencies and impulses of nature, which are an undoubted inheritance of the Celtic race, particularly of the Irish and the Scotch, impelling them to seek adventure and change, numberless circumstances in the condition of Ireland urge people to yield to this propensity rather than overcome it. Foremost amongst them is the perpetual appeal coming from the men and women who left Ireland in the days of the crow-bar, and who think

no temporal good can be hoped for in the land of misery they knew in their infancy and youth. No matter how many emigrants may have succumbed in the struggle for existence, great numbers have survived and have succeeded in one way or another in making a competence for themselves. Mindful now of the claims of love and kinship they call to their side the sons and daughters of those who were nearest and dearest to them, often providing situations for them beforehand, and helping them in many ways to start on the journey of life in a strenuous but free country. In the course of a few years one of those young men returns on a visit to his native spot, dressed in broadcloth and tweed, and has pleasant tales to tell of American cities, where work is hard, no doubt, but where the pay is good, and the resorts of entertainment and recreation numerous and cheap. The unsatisfied arrears of capacity for enjoyment are thus stirred to their depths in a countryside. The long suppressed instinct of nature begins to bud forth again. A fever of hope and unrest is communicated on all sides, and hundreds of boys and girls, bred in poverty, who have no such stay or support in America as their more fortunate acquaintances, are tempted to try their fortune in a field where they expect to come all of a sudden into prosperity, without anything of the gradual, patient, life-long effort which people in their circumstances have to face and do face in other lands. Heaven knows what disappointments and sufferings await them when they come face to face with the realities of their lot, and how many of them fall victims to the blind and inexcusable folly that tempted them away from their home and country.

We will not stop to dispute here with Sir Horace Plunkett the causes of this miscalculation and weakness. If it were anything in the system of national education over which the clergy had control we have no doubt they would give it their best attention. But of this we are convinced that it is not the girls of our convent schools or the pupils of our Christian Brothers who go away in this helpless fashion; and Sir Horace Plunkett will admit that the education of the so-called 'National Board' is very far, indeed, from being our ideal. Nor is there anything to be gained by

reverting once more to the historic causes that tended so powerfully to aggravate and intensify every primitive fault of the race that care and kind treatment and education, continued through centuries, would have done so much to counteract if not entirely to eradicate. We have now to begin with this legacy of brutality and shame, and every influence that we can bring to bear upon it, in the home, in the school, in the church, in the private and public life of the people, will be applied with intelligence and sympathy. We cannot hope for success all at once ; of ultimate success we have no doubt.

This, however, is only one part of the remedy, and some questions very naturally suggest themselves in regard to the others.

Whilst the clergy and the people are doing so much to provide attractions, to foster the national language, games, sports, customs and music, to build halls of amusement, reading rooms, clubs and concert halls, hospitals and churches, to say nothing of their efforts to promote native industries and manufactures, what is being done by the people who are sweeping away the £112,000,000 out of the country ? And what is being done by the power that extracts £3,000,000 annually in excessive taxation from the poor people of Ireland ? Sir Horace Plunkett has endeavoured to do something no doubt, and the country was prepared to give him credit for it, had he not set himself to gossip and boast, and to patronize and censure those whom he was supposed to enlighten and to benefit. Some noble exceptions there are also elsewhere, who realise that the chief wealth of a nation ought to be reproductive and to become the fruitful granary of industry, art, and science, making an ever increasing return to the efforts of those who produced it. Apart from these the chief land-marks left us by the two classes we have mentioned are the *workhouse* and the *public-house*, fit monuments of the civilization they had conceived as the

hesitation, that of all the social evils imported from England for the ruin of this country, perhaps the greatest was the public-house. In other countries, at all events, there are redeeming circumstances in connection with the liquor-traffic that prevent it from becoming the source of absolute degradation and corruption. In Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, you see it carried on in large halls, well ventilated, well lighted, where the customers, at their small tables, sit and smoke and chat, and read their newspapers, and regale themselves decently and quietly with their beer, and then go about their business in sobriety and good humour. The attractions of music are often added, and the common artisan can recognise by ear the pieces of Dvoràk, Berlioz, Lizst, or Sullivan, that are performed in his presence, and converse with intelligence about the latest political debate or the latest picture. Lectures on industrial and social questions sometimes vary the monotony. Gentle and simple mix there together. Food is served as well as drink. Indeed food is often the chief thing, and not the bogus make-believe, whilst drink is merely an accessory. The wife and children may come safely there without witnessing any departure from good manners or good conduct. Think of that picture for a moment and then think of the *public-house*.

Total abstinence is, of course, the salt of the earth in this country, when observed for the example of others and one's own security and sanctification, and it is also the only remedy for those who have become wrecks from frequent indulgence ; but when all is done that should be done for the promotion of total abstinence, is there nothing to be done for those who will always be the great majority of the people ? The clergy do what they can through the ' Anti-Treating League ' and other organisations ; but what voice have the clergy in the control of the liquor traffic ? Can they close the dens which pass as ' public-houses ' and spread ruin and misery on all sides, weakening the ' moral fibre ' and breaking down the character of men and women whom they drive to sin and crime ? What steady

expected from people soaked in whiskey any more than from people drugged with opium? And if the opium traffic is recognised as a curse, why should the liquor traffic be fostered here, and so organised and carried on as to enervate and stupefy the greatest possible number? Characteristics of race, climate, custom, locality, disposition make its ravages none the more difficult. What education can cope with a system that looks as if it were thus specially devised to demoralize and corrupt? And are the clergy to blame if, whilst all these traps are open on Sundays in all our large cities and, to a great extent, through the country too, the restaurants are all shut? Why is it that on the Sunday of the O'Growney funeral last year the people could get drink without limit, whilst a mouthful of food was nowhere to be obtained? We do not think that Ireland should follow slavishly the system of any country in the world in matters of this kind; but we can easily conceive such an organisation of the liquor traffic here as would rob it of half its debasing power, and so restrict and remodel it that the country would become as attractive to foreigners as it would be creditable to its own inhabitants. As matters stand, however, Irishmen can only conceive such things; the power to do more is not in their hands.

Sir Horace Plunkett blames the clergy for the strictness of their discipline, particularly on Sundays, and thinks it is calculated to drive the people off. The clergy must at all risks set their face against sin and evil whether on Sunday or Monday, and not even to justify Sir Horace Plunkett's co-religionists can they do evil or connive at evil that good may come of it. Amongst Catholics the end does not justify the means, however it may be with Protestants. But who ever heard that the Irish clergy set their faces against innocent mirth, or against lawful enjoyment on Sunday or any other day? The observance of the Sabbath is a grave and serious matter, and any suggestion made in connection with it requires to be done with the utmost delicacy and reserve; but surely it is not

games and sports on Sunday. It is certainly not the spirit of the Catholic Church to make people gloomy or morose, or to crush out amongst them all social joys. If Sir Horace Plunkett wished to find out the home of that spirit and the quarter from which it came, he might have consulted the pages of Buckle, a writer for whom he expresses such admiration in the early part of his book. He would very soon have come on a passage such as this :—

To be poor [says Buckle,[13] describing the doctrines of the Scotch divines of the seventeenth century], to be poor, dirty, and hungry ; to pass through life in misery and to leave it with fear ; to be plagued with boils and sores and diseases of every kind ; to be always sighing and groaning ; to have the face streaming with tears and the chest heaving with sobs ; in a word, to suffer constant affliction and to be tormented in all possible ways—to undergo these things was a proof of goodness just as the contrary was a proof of evil. It mattered not what a man liked, the mere fact of his liking it made it sinful. Whatever was natural was wrong. The clergy deprived the people of their holidays, their amusements, their shows, their games, and their sports ; they repressed every appearance of joy, they forbade all merriment, they stopped all festivities, they choked up every avenue by which pleasure could enter, and they spread over the country an universal gloom. Then truly did darkness sit on the land. Men in their daily actions and in their very looks became troubled, melancholy, and ascetic. Their countenance soured and was downcast. Not only their opinions, but their gait, their demeanour, their voice, their general aspect, were influenced by that deadly blight which nipped all that was genial and warm. The way of life fell into the sere and yellow leaf ; its tints gradually deepened ; its bloom faded and passed off ; its spring, its freshness and its beauty were gone ; joy and love either disappeared or were forced to hide themselves in obscure corners, until at length the fairest and most endearing parts of our nature, being constantly repressed, ceased to bear fruit and seemed to be withered into perpetual sterility. Thus it was that the national character of the Scotch was in the seventeenth century dwarfed and mutilated . . . They [the Scotch divines] sought to destroy not only human pleasures, but human affections. They held that our affections are necessarily connected with our lusts, and that we must therefore wean ourselves from them as earthly vanities. A Christian had no business with love or sympathy. He had his own soul to attend to, and that

was enough for him. Let him look to himself. On Sunday, in particular, he must never think of benefitting others ; and the Scotch clergy did not hesitate to teach the people that on that day it was sinful to save a vessel in distress, and that it was a proof of religion to leave ship and crew to perish. They might go : none but their wives and children would suffer, and that was nothing in comparison with breaking the Sabbath. So, too, did the clergy teach that on no occasion must food or shelter be given to a starving man, unless his opinions were orthodox. What need for him to live ? Indeed, they taught that it was a sin to tolerate his notions at all, and that the proper course was to visit him with sharp and immediate punishment. Going yet farther, they broke the domestic ties and set parents against their offspring. They taught the father to smite the unbelieving child, and to slay his own boy sooner than allow him to propagate error. As if this were not enough, they tried to extirpate another affection, even more sacred and more devoted still. They laid their rude and merciless hands on the holiest passion of which our nature is capable—the love of a mother for her son. . . . To hear of such things is enough to make one's blood surge again, and raise a tempest in our inmost nature. But to have seen them, to have lived in the midst of them, and yet not to have rebelled against them, is to us utterly inconceivable, and proves in how complete a thraldom the Scotch were held, and how thoroughly their minds as well as their bodies were enslaved.

Whatever there is of this spirit in Ireland was introduced by the Scotchmen, Muggletonians, and Anabaptists who came over here in the eighteenth century to track out the priests, and to act as spies and informers on Catholics who had any landed property or a horse above the value of five pounds.

Sir Horace Plunkett complains of the relics of superstition that still linger in certain parts of the country. What these remnants are he does not specify. We wonder whether he refers to the superstition of ' thirteen at a table,' or ' three lights in a room,' or ' walking under a ladder,' that prevail so largely in the circles to which he belongs. Or is it, perhaps, the obscurantist superstition of the Christian Scientists that left his friend Harold Frederic to die without a doctor, and that is said not to be unknown in

Pope as Anti-Christ, and that made four 'strong farmers' jump off their car as they returned from a fair, to attack an inoffensive priest, and beat him with their sticks about the head and face as he lay unconscious on the ground? No. It is more probably the 'worm's knot,' or the 'hare's foot,' or the 'cure for 'sciatic in the legs' of the 'wise woman' of Lisclogher, so beautifully and so wittily described by the Hon. Mrs. Greville Nugent in a recent number of the *Nineteenth Century*.

In his Lenten Pastoral His Eminence Cardinal Logue calls attention to the fact that twenty or thirty years ago all the ills of Ireland used to be ascribed by economists of the Horace Plunkett school to early and improvident marriages, to the over-population of the country, to the number of saints' days that Catholics observed as holidays, to the demoralizing practice of almsgiving, and a whole litany of Catholic observances that violated the economic code of which they were the expounders. The cry is changed now, and when these old theories are exploded a new one has to be found. St. Lubbock has since come upon the scene. Lord Salisbury's plan of getting rid of a million of the population has been practically carried out. Marriages, early or late, have greatly declined, and almsgiving no longer excites the jealousy of former days. The economist, therefore, turns to church building, and education, and the social influence of the clergy, and proclaims to all England and Scotland that he has discovered the cause of all the mischief. He goes even deeper still, and professes to have observed some root-antagonism between Catholicism and economics. Now, when no such antagonism has been discovered by such enlightened authorities as Professor Périn, of Louvain, or Mr. Devas of London, nor by such liberal writers and thinkers as Le Play,[14] or Bastiat,[15] or Leroy Beaulieu,[16] or de Tocqueville,[17] you must naturally conclude that something besides economics has been troubling

[14] See *La Réforme Sociale en France*, chapter on 'Religion.'

Sir Horace Plunkett, and you feel very strongly that you would have much preferred to get the few shreds of secular knowledge you desired from this Protestant gentleman, without any nods or hints about the true religion.

What Sir Horace Plunkett, in his private capacity, thinks about us or our religion is not a matter of much concern to us ; but it must be a subject of the deepest concern and uneasiness to all Irish Catholics to see at the head of a great public department, with extensive patronage in his hands, a man who openly professes his belief that the conception of economics based upon their religion is, in several of its most important aspects, fundamentally wrong and bad, and that the system of education based on that religion is calculated to weaken, and does weaken as a matter of fact, the ' moral fibre ' of the whole nation, sapping the energy, and undermining the moral strength and courage of the majority of its people. That, we say, is a serious declaration coming from an official who is paid by the people to attend to a very different sort of business. What wonder that we should find this notion prevalent in so many quarters when we thus see it openly proclaimed by a man who, on the whole, had got so large a share of the confidence of Irish Catholics. For our part we very much mistake the character of the Irish people if they have not intelligence enough to see through all this mechanism of statecraft, and ' moral fibre ' enough to show what they think of it.

J. F. Hogan, D.D.

THE CENTENARY OF BOSSUET

BOSSUET'S SERMONS

THE world honours the memory of its heroes, and the Church celebrates the centenaries of her saints. The example of the great men of the past serves as a light and an encouragement to men earnest in the struggles of the present. And not only those who were great in action deserve to be remembered. Those also are worthy of honour, 'who were endued with wisdom, showing forth in the prophets the dignity of prophets, and by the strength of wisdom instructing the people in most holy words.'[1] Such a one was James Benignus Bossuet, the second centenary of whose death France celebrates on 12th April, 1904. Bossuet is one of those men who belong not to their own country alone, but to the whole Church; and therefore the lessons to be learned from his centenary are not limited to France. There are many points of view from which that great man may be considered. As a scholar his fame was European, as a controversialist he was unrivalled, as a historian he was eminent, as a bishop he was a model of zeal. Defects may, indeed, be found in him. In his controversy with Fénelon his zeal for sound doctrine was more remarkable for strength than for suavity. In his defence of the Declaration of the Liberties of the Gallican Church, he laid down principles which even before the Council of the Vatican French theologians had abandoned. But in one respect, that is in eloquence, Bossuet ranks second to none. The eloquence of Bossuet in his funeral orations has never been surpassed. In them he has reached a height to which Demosthenes and Cicero in their greatest speeches never attained. What Cardinal Bausset[2] says of the funeral oration on the great Condé may be justly said of them all: 'All that is most august and most sacred in religion, all that is most noble and majestic

in eloquence, all that is most affecting in poetry is found combined in that admirable composition.' But it is not our present purpose to examine the career of Bossuet as a scholar, or as a controversialist, or as a historian, or as a bishop, nor even as an orator in the profane sense of the term; our purpose is to consider him as a preacher of the word of God. Leaving therefore out of the question the other aspects of his life and character, we shall, in the first place, sketch the career of Bossuet as a preacher; secondly, we shall examine what is the rank he holds amongst preachers; and, thirdly, we shall inquire what was the method he followed in the preparation of his sermons, and what were the principles he held regarding the office and the scope of preaching.

I

James Benignus Bossuet was born at Dijon in 1627. His elementary studies were made at the Jesuit College in his native town. Thence he passed to Paris, and entered the College of Navarre, at that time the most distinguished in the University. Here he studied with marked success; and in 1652 obtained the degree of doctor of theology. In the same year he was ordained priest. He made the retreat in preparation for his ordination in the monastery of St. Lazarus, under the direction of St. Vincent de Paul. Writing to Pope Clement XI. fifty years later, Bossuet recalls with gratitude the memory of that retreat, and he adds, that he became at the time a member of the celebrated Tuesday conferences which were held every week at Vincent's monastery, and attended by the *élite* of the clergy of Paris.

There were present [he writes] oftentimes bishops of great name, attracted by the reputation and the piety of the man (Vincent), and who were admirably aided in their apostolic cares and labours by that sodality. There were present also workmen that need not be ashamed, who rightly handled the word of God throughout their dioceses and preached the Gospel

speaks, let him speak as the words of God, if any man minister let him do it as of the virtue which God administereth.' (1 Pet. iv. 11.)[3]

Soon after his ordination Bossuet went to reside at Metz, where he had obtained a canonry. In 1657 the Queen Regent, Anne of Austria, visited that city, and on her return to Paris she commanded Vincent de Paul to send a mission to Metz. Vincent, who was accustomed to employ his own congregation in giving missions to the people of the country districts, called to his aid the clergy of the Tuesday conferences. From amongst them he formed a band of missioners to proceed to Metz. At this juncture Vincent wrote to the Abbé Bossuet requesting him, as he was on the spot, to assist in making arrangements for the mission.[4] Bossuet gladly gave his co-operation. He not only made satisfactory arrangements for the missioners, but he joined them in their labours. He preached at the cathedral, and at the parish church of the citadel, and gave instructions in catechism to the soldiers and the working people. His discourses were blessed. When the mission closed, the Abbé Chandenier, who had been director of it, wrote to Vincent to give an account of the good that had been accomplished, and to ask him to write a letter thanking the bishop of the place for his patronage. He added: 'Write also a word of congratulation to M. Bossuet for the assistance he gave us by his sermons and instructions, which were greatly blessed by God.' The mission at Metz took place in 1658. The following year found Bossuet in a wider field of labour. In 1659 he came to Paris as delegate of the chapter of Metz on the business of that body. From that date until his appointment to the see of Condom, and to the office of preceptor of the Dauphin, his labours in the pulpit were unceasing. Each year, for ten years, he preached either the Lenten or the Advent station in one or other of the great churches of Paris, delivering, according to the practice of the time, three sermons each week. He preached the Lent at the Church of the Minims in 1660,

at that of the Carmelites in 1661, at the Louvre before the Court in 1662, at St. Thomas du Louvre in 1665, and at St. Germain's before the Court in 1666. He preached the Advent station at the Louvre in presence of the Court in 1665 ; at St. Thomas du Louvre in 1668 ; and at St. Germain, before the Court, in 1669. The first of his great funeral orations was delivered in 1662, and the second in 1663. Meanwhile he was indefatigable in preaching to less brilliant audiences. From time to time he preached in convent chapels on the occasion of the clothing or the profession of nuns. He gave conferences in the parlours of convents to select audiences of pious persons, explaining to them familiarly the epistle or gospel of the office of the Church. He maintained his early relations with Vincent de Paul, and at his request, and probably in his presence, he preached one of his most beautiful sermons, that on 'The eminent dignity of the Poor in the Church,'[1] in aid of the mother house of the Sisters of Providence, whom Vincent had founded. Nor did he neglect the instruction of ecclesiastics. At the invitation of Vincent de Paul he preached at St. Lazarus the retreat in preparation for the Easter ordinations in 1659, and the retreat for the Pentecost ordination in 1660. When Vincent passed to his reward, at the request of his first successor M. Almeras, Bossuet again preached the ordination retreats in 1663 and 1669. The number of clerics who made those retreats at St. Lazarus usually amounted to three hundred annually. The exercises lasted ten days and the preacher gave two conferences each day. When it was known that M. Bossuet was the person selected to deliver the lectures the attendance was unusually large. In the letter to Clement XI. already mentioned, Bossuet refers to those retreats in the following terms :—

> He [Vincent] zealously instituted pious retreats for clerics about to receive orders ; and we ourselves, at his invitation, and relying on his prayers and advice, gladly undertook on more than one occasion the task of delivering the accustomed conferences on ecclesiastical subjects.

Unfortunately the conferences delivered by Bossuet during those retreats have not been preserved. The year 1670 marks an epoch in the life of Bossuet. In that year he received episcopal consecration as Bishop of Condom, a see which he soon after resigned to undertake the office of preceptor of the Dauphin of France. To that function the next twelve years of his life were devoted. With what sentiments he discharged that office may be inferred from a letter addressed, in 1672, to M. le Marechal de Bellefonds :—

> I must say a word [he writes] about My Lord the Dauphin. I see in him, as it seems to me, the commencement of great graces, etc. . . . You would be delighted if I told you of the questions he puts to me, and the desire he manifests to serve God earnestly. But, the world, the world, the world, pleasure, bad advice, bad example ! Save us, O Lord, save us. Thou didst preserve the children in the furnace, but Thou didst send thy angel, and I, alas ! what am I ?[5]

In the midst of a court Bossuet led a life of retirement and study. From time to time, however, he reappeared in the pulpit ; and to this period belong three of his most splendid discourses, viz., his sermon for the clothing of Madame de la Valliere, and his funeral orations on Henrietta of England, and Henrietta of France.

In 1681 his duties as preceptor of the Dauphin came to an end, and he was promoted to the see of Meaux. Before setting out for his diocese he took a prominent part in the assembly of the clergy of France, and in the drawing up of the famous Declaration of 1682. At the opening of that assembly he delivered an eloquent sermon on the unity of the Church. But much as we admire his learning and his eloquence we cannot but regret that in that assembly he took a leading part in formulating principles derogatory to the rights of the Holy See, principles which no Frenchman, who values his allegiance to the Chair of Peter, could venture, since the Vatican Council, to revive. But Bossuet, Gallican though he was, professed the most profound respect for the primacy and authority of the Holy

See,[6] and a great desire for harmony between the ecclesiastical and civil powers ; and it may be alleged on his behalf that the extent of the Papal authority had not then obtained the solemn recognition which it has since received.

When the assembly came to a close Bossuet set out for his diocese. It was comparatively obscure ; even at the present day the episcopal city of Meaux contains only 12,833 inhabitants. Here Bossuet devoted himself with energy for two-and-twenty years to the duties of the episcopal office, to the visitation of his diocese, and the celebration of synods. In the moments of leisure which he could find amidst his official duties, he applied himself to study and to the composition of learned works, such as his *History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches*. But he did not permit his zeal for learning, or for the re-union of the Churches, to divert him from preaching, which the Council of Trent calls the first duty of bishops. He preached in his cathedral on all great festivals during the whole period of his episcopate from 1682 to 1702, when his last illness compelled him to be silent. He also delivered frequent synodal addresses to his clergy. Though only fragments of those discourses have come down to us, they suffice to show what manner of man he was. He spoke to his clergy at one time on the ' Sanctity of the Priesthood and on Prayer as the mark of it ; ' at other times on ' Preaching ; ' on ' Catechizing ; ' on ' The Mission of the Preacher ; ' on ' The duty of Preaching ; ' on ' Preaching by Example.' The text of his last synodal address was ' Depositum Custodi.' In it he urged his clergy to guard with care the deposit of faith, the deposit of discipline, and the deposit of temporal goods destined for the relief of the poor. Not satisfied with solemn discourses such as those just mentioned, he seized every favourable opportunity to minister the word of exhortation. At the baptism of converts, at confirmations, and at ordinations he was wont to deliver an exhortation appropriate to the occasion. He addressed fervent exhortations from time to time to communities of nuns ; and it

would be difficult to find anything more practical or more beautiful than his sermon to the Ursulines of Meaux on the threefold silence—the silence of rule, the silence of prudence, and the silence of patience. Knowing from his early experience the salutary fruits of missions, he organised missions throughout his diocese, and on one occasion, assisted by Fénelon, the future Archbishop of Cambrai, and by the Abbé Fleury, he himself gave a mission in his cathedral city. From time to time he appeared in the pulpits of the capital. In 1683 he preached the funeral oration of Marie Therese of Austria, wife of Louis XIV., and soon after the funeral orations of the Princess Palatine, and of Letellier. In 1685 he preached on the occasion of the abjuration of the Duke of Portsmouth ; and in 1686 he delivered the greatest of his funeral orations, that on the Prince of Condé. In 1700 he preached at St. Germain's, in presence of the exiled King and Queen of England. His last discourse was delivered in his own cathedral at Easter, 1702. From that time his chief care was to prepare for death. After much patient suffering the end came on 12th April, 1704 ; and after a long and great career Bossuet went to receive the double reward promised to those who rule well, and labour in the word and doctrine.[7] Such is a brief sketch of Bossuet's career as a preacher. Let us go on to examine what is the rank which is due to him in that capacity.

II.

The truest test of the worth of a preacher is his influence on souls. But that test is often invisible to man. Sometimes when there is joy in heaven over the fruits produced by a preacher, the result is unnoticed on earth. The sins of men, as St. Augustine expresses it, are visible, but their penance is unseen. 'In occulto est unde guadeam, in publico est unde torquear.'[8] But apart from this there are three great tests of the rank and influence of a preacher, viz. the testimony of his contemporaries, the judgment

of posterity, and the discourses which have survived him. Let us examine Bossuet's rank as a preacher in the light of these tests.

The great esteem in which Bossuet's eloquence was held by his contemporaries is evident from many sources. The Abbé Chandenier bears witness to the success with which he preached at Metz in the early years of his ministry. During the ten years he spent in Paris, previous to his episcopal consecration, he was invited on the most solemn occasions, to fill the principal pulpits of the capital. His sermon on St. Joseph, preached in presence of Anne of Austria, charmed all who heard it, and was referred to with eulogy in the Press of the day.[9]

The fact that Bossuet was invited to preach so often before the Court, and that he was selected to deliver the funeral orations of the most remarkable persons of the period, proves how highly his eloquence was appreciated. La Bruyère, a contemporary writer, in his character sketches, speaks thus of Bossuet : 'The Bishop of Meaux and Father Bourdaloue remind me of Demosthenes and Cicero. Both, masters of pulpit eloquence, have had the fate of great models ; the former has had bad critics, and the latter bad imitators.'[10] The same writer again refers to Bossuet in a discourse delivered before the Académie Française :—

What shall I say of that great man who has been so long the theme of envious critics, and has reduced them all to silence ; whom in spite of ourselves we admire, who overpowers us by the extent and the eminence of his talents, who is at once an orator, a historian, a theologian, a philosopher, a man of rare erudition ; of still rarer eloquence, in his discourses, in his writings, in the pulpit ; a champion of religion, a light of the Church, let us use betimes the language of posterity, a Father of the

[9] Jean Loret thus refers to this sermon in the *Museè historique*, 22nd March, 1659 :—

'L'abbé Bousset esprit rare
Qu'aux plus eloquents on compare
Mercredi ; jour de Saint Joseph
Aux Carmelites, dans le nef.

Church. What is he not ? Name, gentlemen, a single virtue which he does not possess.[11]

Bourdaloue himself, one of the greatest preachers of the age, spoke of Bossuet as more eloquent than himself.[12] These testimonies abundantly prove how great was the reputation Bossuet possessed as a preacher amongst his contemporaries. It is true in the brilliant letters of Mme. de Sevigné he is less frequently mentioned than Bourdaloue. But at the time Bourdaloue made his appearance in Paris, Bossuet had already gone into comparative retirement as tutor of the Dauphin, and when that duty was discharged he went to reside in his diocese, appearing in the capital only on rare occasions.

Amongst his contemporaries the reputation of Bossuet as a preacher was high, yet it seems certain they did not estimate his eloquence at its true value. What is the estimate in which he has been held by those who came after him. His rank as a preacher of funeral orations has never been disputed. All critics admit that in this respect he never had an equal, much less a superior. But the same unanimity has not always prevailed respecting his rank as a preacher. La Harpe speaks with disparagement of the sermons of Bossuet. 'Bossuet,' he says, 'was mediocre in his sermons, as was Massillon in his funeral orations.'[13] For a long time critics, lay and clerical, handed on this appreciation, without serious examination. But in recent years the sermons of Bossuet have been made the object of careful study ; and modern critics, of the highest eminence, do not hesitate to reverse the verdict of La Harpe. Villemain compares Bossuet to St. John Chrysostom, and pronounces him more eloquent. 'It is,' he writes, 'to Bossuet in his sermons that he (Chrysostom) might be compared if Bossuet could have an equal ; if he had not that sublime gift which Christian eloquence rarely attained before his time.'[14] Again he says : 'The sermons of Bossuet were, if not his greatest

at least his most natural work.[15] According to M. Nisard Bossuet excels in dogmatic exposition, in moral lessons, in enthusiasm, and in logical argument. M. Feugère, in his studies on Bourdaloue, contrasts him with Bossuet, and speaks as follows :—

The distinctive character of Bossuet and his chief excellence is this : he influences by turns all the powers of the soul, he makes all its chords to vibrate ; he reasons, he strikes, he inspires terror, he consoles, he humbles, he raises up, he moves and casts into agitation all the faculties of the soul, he inspires it with many mingled feelings, and with an emotion that cannot be defined, but which will, he hopes, be transformed into a holy fear of the judgments of God, and from which will issue, perhaps, a cry of repentance and remorse. One may resist Bossuet, after deliberation, as one resists oneself ; but while he speaks one is capable of nothing else but mute submission to his powerful eloquence ; he sways, he commands, he carries off ; man overcome is silent, and follows him. When human speech reaches such a degree of power, it is no longer an orator we hear, but eloquence personified . . . Bossuet is an orator in the full force of the term, and in its fullest extent ; and one of the two or three most perfect orators that have ever endeavoured to persuade mankind.[16]

M. Brunetière,[17] of the Académie Française, never tires in his praise of Bossuet's sermons. In them he finds lyric sublimity, suggestiveness, vivacity, and splendid imagery.

In the first place [he writes] no one in his time, nor in our time, has written with more exactness and precision, with more strength and splendour ; and these are but the more apparent and extrinsic qualities of the style of Bossuet. No one has made such use of the French language as he has done, nor drawn from it such admirable effects. In the second place no orator has ever more sincerely despised the artifices of rhetoric, and while not affecting a rudeness and a familiarity which would be, perhaps, only a less frank and more subtle manner of self-seeking, no writer has ever been less the slave of the superstition of form. His eloquence is characterised by poetry of ideas, by suggestiveness, by vivacity, and by the splendour of its imagery. I have drawn your attention to the fact that not even once in half a century did literary vanity put his voice or

pen in motion ; and that in the forty volumes which we possess from him, he never wrote a page inspired by the interest of self-love . . . His sole preoccupation was to convey to the minds of his hearers his own convictions of the divinity of his faith.[18]

In another place he writes : ' I call him the greatest of orators, and such he is as far as the eternal interests he treats of in his sermons are above those which inspired the speeches of a Demosthenes, or a Cicero, or a Mirabeau.'[19]

Père Longhaye, S.J., speaks of Bossuet's sermons as not only very eloquent but also as eminently practical ; and Père Delaporte, in the *Etudes Religieuses* (April, 1889), says that it is more profitable to read twenty pages of Bossuet than one hundred volumes of sermon books.

Such is the verdict of the most competent critics of the present day. It is a verdict based on a careful examination of the sermons of Bossuet. Let us see, then, what account those sermons give of themselves. Only seven sermons of Bossuet, viz., the sermon on the unity of the Church, and six funeral orations, were published in his own lifetime. All his other sermons remained in manuscript until nearly seventy years after his death. From the keeping of his nephew they passed through many hands. The first edition of them were published in 1772 by a Benedictine of St. Maur, Dom Deforis. This edition was never completed, and many faults have been found with the manner in which it was brought out. Liberties were taken with the text, especially where two sermons on the same subject were found among the manuscripts. Let us take a few instances. To the second sermon on the Circumcision we find attached the following note : ' We have suppressed in this sermon several passages taken textually from the previous discourse, and which could be retrenched without injury to the order and connection of the discourse. We shall do the like on all occasions when circumstances permit, in order to avoid too frequent repetitions.' In the third sermon on the same subject the following note occurs : ' Here a leaf of the manu-

[18] Brunetière, 'Sur l'eloquence de Bossuet,' conference delivered at

script is missing. To connect what follows with the foregoing, we have endeavoured to fill up the void by inserting the passage which we have placed in brackets.' In a sermon for the clothing of a nun we find a similar note : —

> This passage in Bossuet's manuscript is not connected with what goes before. But as the sermon is unfinished, to complete it as far as possible, we have thought it right to insert this fragment which falls in with the subject treated in the first point ; and which was probably written for a similar occasion.

These instances show that the dissatisfaction felt with the edition of Deforis was not unreasonable.

A second edition of Bossuet's sermons was published at Versailles (1813-19), by the Abbé Aubrive, who contented himself with pointing out the defects of the edition of Deforis, but did not correct them.

In 1862 Abbé Lachat published, through Vivès, the complete works of Bossuet including the sermons. This edition left several sermons in the same incorrect state in which they had been published by previous editors. In 1866 Abbé Gandar published a critical edition of a selection of Bossuet's sermons, which is highly esteemed. But to the Abbé Lebarq,[20] a priest of the diocese of Rouen, belongs the honour of having produced a truly critical edition of the sermons of Bossuet. He spared no pains in the preparation of that edition. The manuscripts of Bossuet's sermons still exist. The greater part, forming five volumes, are to be seen at the Bibliothèque Nationale;[21] twelve sermons are preserved in the diocesan seminary at Meaux, and a few others in private collections. All these Abbé Lebarq carefully examined and published, arranging them in chronological order ; and prefixing to each a short account of the circumstances in which it was delivered. It was Bossuet's practice to write the exordium of his discourse last of all, and sometimes on a separate sheet. In consequence, the exordium of several sermons had become displaced, and in

[20] *Oeuvres Oratoires de Bossuet*, par l'Abbé Lebarq ; 6 vols. Paris;

some of the earlier editions, sermons are given with exordiums which do not belong to them. Lebarq has succeeded in rectifying this mistake, and has produced an edition, of which Brunetière[22] says that 'it is one of the best, the most complete, and the most definitive which exists of any of our great classic authors;' and a writer in the *Etudes Religieuses* says that 'it is the only edition which a literary man, or a historian, who cares to be exact, can henceforward quote.' But the Abbé Lebarq has done more than produce a critical edition of Bossuet's sermons. He has shown how indefatigable Bossuet was in preaching. His edition contains 235 sermons, viz., 10 funeral orations, 21 panegyrics of saints, and over 200 sermons. He points out that, in historical documents, there is found mention of at least 300 other sermons which have not been preserved. Anyhow, what remains of Bossuet's sermons exceeds what has been preserved of Bourdaloue, or of Massillon. He establishes also the great excellence of Bossuet's sermons. The depreciatory criticism of La Harpe and others was based on ill-arranged and imperfect editions, in which the sermons of his earlier years were placed side by side with those he delivered in maturer life. Even in men of talent there is a period of formation and of growth. As Bossuet expresses it in his first sermon on the Nativity of the B.V. Mary :—

> Neither art, nor nature, nor God Himself produce all at once their greatest works. They advance by degrees. One sketches before one paints; one prepares a plan before building; masterpieces are preceded by trial efforts; nature acts in like manner; and they who study its secrets, know that there are works in which it plays, so to speak, or rather exercises its hand, in order to produce something more finished.[23]

So it was with Bossuet. The first efforts of his eloquence, as, for instance, his sermon on St. Gorgonius, were not perfect. But his genius quickly ripened; and from the time of his appearance in the pulpits of Paris, in 1659, to his last discourse in 1702, his talent knew no waning.

Critics, such as M. Brunetière,[24] distinguish three styles or periods in the preaching of Bossuet. The first is didactic and theological; the second, philosophical and moral; and the third homiletic. The first style characterises the sermons of his earlier years. They are less skilful in construction and are replete with dissertations. The masterpiece of this manner is the panegyric of St. Paul a discourse full of splendid eloquence, preached in Paris for the opening of the Hospital General in 1657. In the second style the plan of the discourse is more original and the language more easy. The preacher was now addressing the cultured audiences of the capital, and he endeavours to make them understand that, apart from the other motives for belief, of all philosophies there is none which so fully explains and satisfies the nature of man as religion. The third style characterises the sermons preached after his promotion to the see of Meaux. It is homiletic and full of the language and spirit of the Gospel.

In the structure of his discourses, Bossuet follows, to a great extent, the custom of the period. It was then the usage to introduce a discourse by two exordiums, one more general, ending at the *Ave Maria*; and the other leading up to the statement of the subject and its divisions. To this usage, inartistic though it was, Bossuet conformed. In the plan of his discourses he does not confine himself to developing three ideas juxtaposed. His divisions, if in appearance less methodical than those of other preachers of the period, were always logical, giving expression to the natural development of the subject in hand. His sermons, if diligently studied, cannot fail to be useful to preachers. He treats of a wide range of subjects, of death and judgment and penance and prayer and almsgiving, and the Passion of Our Lord, of the festivals of the B.V. Mary, St. Joseph, and the saints. Whoever desires to find noble thoughts nobly expressed on charity and almsgiving, on Our Lord and the Blessed Virgin, on the mysteries of religion, will

[24] Brunetière, *Etudes critiques sur l'histoire de la literature Française*

find them in Bossuet. If the subject is great, as the career of St. Paul, he is full of majesty ; if it treats of suffering, as the compassion of Mary, he is full of tenderness and sympathy. One learns from him how to speak to the great of their duty with a firmness which is never wanting in respect. He often preached in the presence of royalty, and in the of kings he held aloft the standard of duty. He prayed to God to assist him in a function so difficult and so delicate :—

> O God [he cried out[25]] give efficacy to my words. Thou seest, O God, the place in which I speak ; Thou knowest what I ought to say ; give me words of wisdom. Give me words of efficacy and power. Give me prudence, give me circumspection, give me simplicity.

In a private letter to Louis XIV., in 1675, he did not shrink from reminding that monarch of a promise he had made to approach the Sacraments at Pentecost. Referring to Mme. de Montespan, he said : ' How difficult it is to withdraw from so unhappy and disastrous an engagement. But, Sire, it is necessary, otherwise there is no hope of salvation.'[26] In public discourses he spoke no less firmly. In a sermon in presence of the King, delivered on Easter day, he concludes as follows :—

> Sire, who knows better than you, how to secure a victory ? . . . In the war which Christians have to wage there is neither peace nor truce. For, if the world sometimes ceases to attack us from without, we ourselves, by our continual combats, never cease to expose our salvation to danger. The enemy is always at the gates, and the least relaxation, the least turning back, the least looking back to the past, may cause all our victories to vanish in a moment, and place us in greater danger than before. After triumph we must arm anew. Put on, Sire, the armour of which St. Paul speaks,[27] faith, prayer, zeal, humility, fervour. It is only thus you can secure victory amid the temptations and infirmities of this life. Arbiter of the world, superior even to fortune if fortune were a reality, here is the only occasion in which you need not be ashamed to fear. For you there is only one enemy to be dreaded, yourself, Sire, yourself; your victories, that unlimited power so necessary for the govern-

[25] ' Sermon sur la predication evangelique.'

ment of the state, so dangerous for the government of yourself. That is the only enemy you have to fear. He who is all powerful is not powerful enough. He who is all powerful ordinarily turns his power against himself. When the world grants us every thing it is only too difficult to refuse oneself anything. But it is a great glory and perfect virtue, to be able, like you, to set limits to oneself, to remain within the limits of law, when the law itself seems to give way. To live within the rule, which subjects every creature to God, it is necessary, Sire, to descend at times from the throne. The example of Jesus Christ shows with sufficient clearness, that he who descends is he who ascends. 'He who descended,' says St. Paul, 'to the depths of the earth is He who ascended to the highest heavens.' However great one is, it is necessary to descend with him; to descend to humble oneself, to descend to obey, to descend to compassionate and to hearken more nearly to the voice of misery and bring it the solace worthy of so great a power. Thus it was that Jesus Christ descended. He who thus descends soon ascends again. Sire, this is the elevation I wish you. Thus your greatness will be eternal, your kingdom will never fail. We shall see you always a King, always crowned, always victorious in this world and in the next, through the grace and blessing of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.[28]

What rank, then, shall we assign to Bossuet? The testimony of contemporaries, the judgment of posterity, and the intrinsic excellence of the sermons themselves, entitle us to regard Bossuet as ranking, with St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine, amongst the greatest preachers the Church has ever seen.

PATRICK BOYLE, C.M.

[*To be continued.*]

THE ORIGIN OF THE SCAPULAR—III

(From Original Sources.)

THE SABBATINE INDULGENCE

THE questions we have submitted to examination in the preceding articles, though not devoid of difficulty and obscurity, were simple and easy compared with the one we are now about to investigate. Although we can by no means assume that *absolute* proof has been given concerning the promise of Our Lady attached to the Carmelite habit, still we think that the chain of evidence of the fourteenth century, notwithstanding its incompleteness, is sufficiently strong to support the tradition, of the existence of which we obtain a glimpse at least at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of that century through the writings of Swanyngton, Sibert, William de Coventry, and Johannes Grossi, in addition to other evidential incidents. From the beginning of the fifteenth century to the present time there is no interruption of evidence whatever. The fact itself seems never to have been questioned until about 1640 when the Order was able to produce the most important document, namely, the narrative of St. Simon Stock's companion and secretary. It is, perhaps, regrettable that scepticism should not have been raised at an earlier date because it might then have resulted in the preservation of documents which are now entirely lost. However that may be, we submit that the evidence in hand is sufficient to strengthen and uphold the existing tradition. Taken by itself it might not be considered indisputable, and the documents in hand might appear too isolated, but tradition *plus* written evidence cannot easily be disputed.

With regard to the Sabbatine Indulgence the facts are widely different, for although there does exist a tradition, it goes no farther back than about the year 1480, that is to

alleged miraculous event. Such a state of things might well deter a more learned student from dealing with the matter at all, and if we venture upon it, it is only with the impression of throwing some light upon the difficulties that surround it. If we succeed in this we shall be convinced of having done as much as possible until some further discovery be made (of which there is little hope) that will have a positive bearing upon the matter and change its whole aspect.

In dealing with the Sabbatine Indulgence we have thought it better for our purpose to begin with the second part of the history which is indisputable, and reserve the first part for the end.

Arnold Bostius, for many years Prior of Ghent, and one of the most prominent men of his time, wrote several works on the history of the Carmelites, namely, in 1475 a book on the illustrious writers of the Order, in 1479 one on the Patronage of Our Lady, and in 1490 a work entitled, *Speculum Historiale*, an abridgment of which is printed in the first volume of the *Speculum Carmelitanum* by P. Daniel a Virgine Maria. Bostius was in correspondence with the leading men of his Order. As early as 1475 he exchanged letters with Blessed John Baptist Spagnuoli (Mantuanus), whom he exhorted to continue his literary work. In 1497 and the following year he wrote a number of letters (still extant) to his intimate friend, John Oudewater (better known by his Latin name, de Aquaveteri and its Greek equivalent, Paleonydor), then sub-prior at Frankfort, from which we obtain an idea of the extent of his correspondence, and, what is more, of his critical faculty ; for, when Paleonydor's *Fasciculus Tripartitus* appeared (1497), he frankly criticised some of the statements therein contained. 'There are many things in your book,' he says, 'which do not please me. You have inserted matters which in my opinion should have been omitted *ex certa scientia*.' After having dwelt for some time on one of them which does not concern us here, he continues :—

'You also seem to adhere a great deal too much to Brother

considers all the ancient monks and nuns as Carmelites. Had I but seen your manuscript I should have advised you to omit such things, but now my corrections come too late.

This criticism, which might with equal truth be addressed to some more recent writers, proves that Bostius was no blind adherent of time-honoured opinions which, however well meant, are often sadly deficient in solidity. Bostius died on the 4th of April, 1499, at a ripe old age and in high repute for sanctity.

In his work on the Patronage of Our Lady[1] written in 1479, he professedly dealt with all the favours bestowed by her upon the Carmelite Order, dwelling particularly on the vision of St. Simon Stock of which he gives a detailed account. But he says not a word about the Sabbatine Indulgence : a sure proof that he had not yet heard of it. This is all the more surprising since even then he was in correspondence with the leading men of the Order. When, in 1497, he prepared a work on St. Joachim in order to promote devotion to this great saint and pave the way towards the introduction of his feast (which was accomplished at the General Chapter of 1498), he wrote right and left on the project and in return received suggestions from various quarters. There is no reason why he should have made any secret about the *Patronage*, and his silence in that work on the Sabbatine privilege, implies that not only he but also his friends, were ignorant of the subject.

Balduin Leersius, of the convent of Arras, who died in 1483, wrote (probably shortly before his death) a book entitled *Collection of Examples and Miracles*,[2] in which we find the following passage :—

CHAPTER VI.—How the Blessed Virgin appearing to Pope John XXII. commanded him to grant the Carmelites privileges and to defend them from their adversaries even as she had promised to set him free from his enemies.

Pope John XXII. being in a state of the greatest anxiety and sorely tried from external sources, had recourse to the

glorious Virgin Mary, Mother of God. One day previous to his election to the Papacy whilst devoutly occupied in beseeching her assistance she appeared to him wearing the Carmelite habit, and speaking to him thus said: 'O John! John! Vicar of my beloved Son, as I am about to deliver thee from thy adversary and through my prayers obtain for thee the place of Vicar of my Son upon earth, see that thou upon whom such a grace will be conferred at my intercession, make some return to my Order and to those brethren who are mine. Confirm their rule which was begun by Elias and Eliseus on Mount Carmel, put into form by my servant, Albert the Patriarch and ratified by Innocent, thy predecessor and Vicar of my Son, for the remission of their sins.[3] Grant also to this Order on my behalf and in my name, the privilege that whosoever enters it and adheres faithfully to its Rule shall enjoy eternal life and be free from penalty and sin. And I, the Mother of Grace, will, if any of them should go to Purgatory, descend thereto at once (*subito*) after their death and release and bring to the holy mount of eternal life, as many as I may find there.' Whereupon, adding other things, she disappeared.

As soon as he was established on his throne, the Pope discharged to the best of his power every one of these commands. He bestowed favours upon the Order in every sense raising it to an honourable position besides granting it privileges and other Apostolical blessings. From the numerous Bulls given by him to the Order, it will be seen that not one of his predecessors was so lavish in their privileges as he. The account of this revelation and apparition is said to be contained in a Bull with seal appended, in England, and in the convent at Genoa there is an authentic copy more explicit than the above account.

Bostius, in his *Speculum Historiale*, written in 1490, copied this paragraph almost verbally, without adding a word of explanation about his silence on the subject in 1479.[4]

A few years later appeared Paleonydor's *Fasciculus Tripartitus*[5] already mentioned. In the eleventh chapter of the third part he speaks as follows :—

The most glorious Mother of God, the Virgin Mary, perpetual patron and most tender Mother of the Carmelites, con-

[3] Honorius, confirming the Rule in 1226, enjoined it 'in remissionem peccatorum.' These words do not occur in the Bull of confirmation of Innocent IV.

tinued to glorify Jonathan (that is the Dove), I mean the Order of Carmel which is distinguished alike by candour and a wise simplicity, and mindful of Elias and the olden days and her faithful servants, appeared to the Lord John XXII. previous to his election, saying: 'I have been sensible of thy devotion towards me, and now as I am about to free thee from thy adversary and raise thee to the supreme dignity, thou oughtest to grant something in return to my brethren, the sons of Elias. Establish, then, on a solid basis[6] their Rule begun by Elias and Eliseus on Mount Carmel, and given them in writing by my servant Albert. Also at my Son's request and mine, bestow upon them the privilege that whosoever enters this Order shall be freed from sin and its punishment, and obtain eternal salvation,' etc.

This apparation is said to be in a Bull with seal appended, containing the Indulgence, and preserved in England, an authentic copy of the same being in the convent of Genoa. This John XXII., obeying the Divine commands, placed our Order under the protection of the Apostolic See, etc.

It would be useless to adduce further evidence as to the promulgation of the Sabbatine Indulgence from this time forward.

The General Chapter held at Pentecost, 1517, in Siena, empowered the General to impose a special tax on the various provinces to defray the expenses of a Bull confirming this Indulgence,[7] but for some reason of other no such confirmation appears to have been obtained. The acts of the next Chapter (1524) are silent about the projected taxation, and there are no traces of such a Bull either in the official collection of the Order or in the Vatican archives. But in 1528, Clement VII. granted a Brief by which the Bull of John XXII. was expressly confirmed. The terms are verbally taken from the original Sabbatine Bull (of which more anon) and the Pontiff declares that by his Apostolic authority he approves and renews the same, and commands it to remain in full vigour. He also prescribed that within the space of a year this Brief should be

[6] This is again an allusion to the decree of the Council of 1274, where the Carmelites are allowed 'in solido statu permanere.'

replaced by a proper Bull, but this term having been allowed to elapse, the Bull of confirmation was not issued till 7th August, 1530. In the preface the Pope says that he has been approached by the General of the Order with a request to confirm all the privileges and indulgences granted by former pontiffs, because the Order being extremely poor, it was hoped that the knowledge of these favours would induce the faithful to contribute towards its maintenance. Among the privileges thus confirmed, the Sabbatine Indulgence occupies the first place, the words being again taken from the Bull of John XXII.[8] The next General Chapter, held at Padua on Pentecost, 1532, being anxious to complete the fabric of the church and convent of S. Maria in Transpontina in Rome, decreed as follows :—

Likewise we order and decide that each provincial shall labour faithfully and sincerely for the publication of the Bull recently issued by our most Holy Father Clement VII., confirming our privileges and indults and granting us new ones in addition. And that whatever alms may be obtained between the first day of publication and one year afterwards, inclusive, shall be divided into two equal parts, whereof one shall be handed over to the fabric of our convent in the Transpontina ; the other half shall belong to the convent where the Bull has been published and executed, after deduction of the actual cost. Nor shall anyone publish it otherwise than according to the form to be delivered.[9]

Further confirmations were given by Paul III., St. Pius V., Gregory XIII., Paul V., and many other Popes.

It goes without saying that from time to time there arose disputes concerning this privilege. The most serious

[8] See the *Bullarium* and also Daniel, *loc. cit.*, ii., 550.

[9] 'Item ordinamus et decernimus quod unusquisque provincialis fideliter et sincere laborabit circa publicationem bullae confirmationis privilegiorum et indultorum de novo concessorum per S. D. N. papam Clementem VII. Et quidquid eleemosynarum habitum fuerit a primo die publicationis usque ad terminum unius anni completi dividetur in duas partes quarum una cedet fabricae conventus nostrae Transpontini. Reliqua vero pars cedet conventui ubi publicabitur et executioni demandabitur. Deductis tamen prius solis expensis laborantium a principali summa. Nec aliquis publicabit nisi juxta formam tradendam.' It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that the Council of Trent, having forbidden to ask for alms on the strength of indul-

attack upon it was made at Lisbon in 1609. Among the reasons brought forward to induce the King of Spain (Portugal being then under the Spanish crown) to prohibit its publication was a complaint made by the royal exchequer that the extra day of abstinence observed by those desirous of gaining the Sabbatine Indulgence, deprived the crown of taxes to the amount of 30,000 scudi per annum. The more important question, however, was of course the theological and historical one, and this was submitted to the Holy Office in Rome. Various circumstances retarded the final decision, which was only given on the 11th of February, 1613.

During the proceedings of the Congregation it happened that one day being the Vigil of the feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, one of the Cardinals belonging to the Congregation of Inquisition happening to enter the church of the Discalced Carmelites of La Scala, picked up a breviary, where he found in the lessons of the feast, approved by Cardinal Bellarmine, the following passage relative to the subject in question :—

> Not only in this life, but also in the next (since her power and mercy are everywhere great) does the Blessed Virgin favour her chosen Order, for there exists a pious belief that she will without delay console, and bring to the heavenly land, those sons of hers who, having belonged to the Society of the Scapular while on earth, are now in Purgatory, if they have practised some abstinence, recited the prayers prescribed, and observed chastity according to their state of life. For so many and such great privileges bestowed upon it, the Order instituted the annual celebration of the Commemoration of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

This text greatly influenced the deliberations, and in due time there appeared the following decree of the Sacred Congregation :—

> It is lawful for the Carmelite fathers to preach that Christians may piously believe in the help promised to the souls of the brethren and members of the Confraternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel, namely, that the Blessed Virgin

after their death (which day has been consecrated to her by the Church), the souls of such brothers and members of the Confraternity who depart this life in charity and who while on earth have worn the habit, observed chastity according to their state of life, recited the Little Office (or, if unable to do so, have kept the fasts of the Church), and have abstained from the use of meat on Wednesdays and Saturdays, unless Christmas fell on one of these days.[10]

All objections that have been offered to the belief in the Sabbatine Indulgence from 1613 to the present day, have found their solution in this decree, so that we may dispense with a detailed relation.

We must now return to the end of the fifteenth century when, as we have seen, the Sabbatine Indulgence was first mentioned.

Nothing was known of it in 1479 when Bostius wrote on the Patronage, but two or three years later, Leersius was able to give an account not only of the fact itself, but also of the documents referring to it. There can be little doubt that both Bostius, in his *Speculum*, and Paleonydor quoted the same source as Leersius, if they did not derive their version directly from his. The question then arises: Whence came Leersius' information?

Some years previously a large work had been published under the title of *Mare Magnum*, being a collection of all the Papal indults and privileges arranged according to subject matters. Its author was Friar John Maria Polutianus de Novarola, belonging to the reform of Mantua. In 1490 he appeared as Father Vicar of the convent of Novarola, and his death is supposed to have taken place in 1505. Besides the *Mare Magnum*, he published the *Constitutions* of Blessed John Soreth, a Life of St. Albert, and two or three editions of the Breviary according to the rules of Mantua. The *Mare Magnum* was submitted to and approved by the Pope, and embodied in a Bull dated 28th November, 1476,[11] but being in many respects incomplete, two additional Bulls

[10] Daniel, *loc. cit.*, 568 *seq.*

were issued in the following year containing the confirmation of numerous indulgences and exemptions.[12] The cost of all this was very heavy for so poor an Order as were the Carmelites, for the bill came to 1,850 scudi (*aurei de camera*) and necessitated a special taxation authorised by the General Chapter held in 1478 at Brescia :—

Taxae extraordinariae pro impetratione Maris magni privilegiorum, indulgentiarum, revocationis calixtinae exceptionis a molestia inquisitorum contra observantes.

The English province being one of the most numerous, paid 148 ducats, Ireland thirty, and Scotland twenty. Had the Sabbatine Bull been known to Father Polutianus de Novarola or his collaborators, it would certainly have been included in one of these three expensive Bulls. Such was apparently not the case, and yet the publication of the *Mare Magnum* led indirectly to the discovery of this famous document, for the General Chapter of 1478 decreed as follows : ' Provinciales habent requirere omnia privilegia et transumpta mandare generali aut procuratori generali.'[13]

This decision of 1478, and the mention three or four years later of a Bull said to be in England with an authentic copy at Genoa, form too striking a coincidence to be wholly disconnected. It may be fairly questioned whether the discovery of the Bull really took place in England, for Leersius only says that it is reported to be preserved in England : '*dicitur fore in Bulla plumbea in Anglia.*' Evidently, then, neither he himself saw it nor did his informant speak from a personal knowledge of it ; but the case is different with regard to the authentic copy, for there he is quite positive : ' et in conventu Januensi est ejus instrumentum authenticum et magis amplum quam hic ponitur.'

Our conclusion, therefore, is that this authenticated copy of Genoa was the real source whence Leersius and his successors derived their information. It would be superfluous to enquire into the history of the English document ; what-

ever its nature and contents may have been, it certainly disappeared together with the rest of the archives at the suppression of the religious houses. But it is regrettable that we possess no transcript of the Genoese parchment. When in the middle of the seventeenth century a search was made for it, a copy of a Bull was indeed found, but, as we shall see from the sequence, this was quite a different document. In our opinion the London document was no Bull at all, and neither was its copy at Genoa. What has become of the archives of Genoa? No one knows, and there seems little ground for hope that much of them is preserved.

The Bull found at Genoa, about 1664, is one out of some sixteen copies of a document purporting to be an official transcript made at Majorca in 1421 of a Bull granted by Alexander V. in 1409, confirming the original Sabbatine Bull of John XXII. which is embodied in it. Among the various copies there is one of Genoa dated 1430, another of Messina dated 1443, and others of later dates. The very existence of these early copies tells against their alleged dates, for it is inconceivable that they should have formed part and parcel of the various archives without becoming known to many members of the Order, and if so, how can it be explained that until 1480 the Order knew nothing of so great a privilege? Although the printing press could not have helped much towards its circulation, and correspondence may have been a luxury, there was, perhaps, more intercouse between the various provinces then than at the present time; for the General Chapters held at intervals of from three to six years, brought all the leading men together. Frequently there were as many as five hundred, nay, a thousand Carmelites to be found on such occasions,[14] and it may be imagined that even if the Chapter had no opportunity of officially dealing with such matters,

[14] Thus, in 1393, at Albi (during the schism, when only half the provinces were represented !), 500; in 1462, at Brussels, over 1,000; in 1498, at

there was ample room for private intercourse and exchange of news, and surely the Sabbatine privilege was not of so trivial a nature as to be passed over in silence or to be kept a deep secret. Moreover, an examination of this document of Majorca shows clearly that the date assigned, 1421, is hopelessly incorrect. It consists of three parts, namely, the recital by the notary of the legal formalities connected with the copying of the original, the Bull of Alexander and that of John XXII. The former is to the effect that having diligently inspected a privilege granted by John XXII. 'to the General and the Brethren of the Order, and to our Beloved in Christ, the daughters and sisters, and the confratres of the Confraternity of the Carmelites,' he inserts the text of the said privilege so that it may acquire greater strength. This Bull is dated Rome, St. Mary Majors, 7th December, the first year of our pontificate. The Bull of John XXII. is dated Avignon, 3rd March, the sixth year of our pontificate. And if we inquire how these Bulls came to Majorca, the notary gives the explanation that they were presented to him by the venerable 'Frater Ilde Alphonsus de Theramo de Regno Angliae, Prior conventus Captunensis Ordinis S. Mariae de Monte Carmelo.' His own deed is dated on the year of the Incarnation, 1421, 2nd January, 15th Indiction, the sixth year of Alphonsus, King of Aragone, etc.

Before examining the contents of the Bull of John XXII., it is necessary to consider these chronological details. To begin with Alphonsus: he ascended the throne on 2nd April, 1416, consequently his sixth year corresponds to 2nd April, 1421—1st April, 1422, whereas the indiction for the year 1421 was 12, and for 1422 13. It is also surprising that a notary at Majorca should have used common style The name of the Frater de Theramo presents greater difficulty. If he really were an Englishman his Christian name cannot have been Alphonsus, nor his surname Theramo. The former is, we think, unexampled in the fifteenth century and for a long time afterwards,[15] while the latter, although

it occurs frequently in Italian deeds of that period, is decidedly un-English. The nearest approach to it is Trevans; indeed one of that name, Richard, became a Carmelite, and was ordained in 1380 and the following year at Winchester, whence he probably proceeded, like the majority of those who had frequented the *studium* there, to Coventry for further education. But it by no means follows that 'Ilde Alphonsus de Theramo' had anything to do with Richard Trevans, although the historians of the Order have identified the 'conventus Captunensis' with Coventry. Considering the corrupt state of the document anything may be possible, and we shall suggest another solution which will give this Father Theramo soul and body.

The most serious objection to the authenticity of Alexander's Bull is its being dated from St. Mary Major at Rome. Alexander V. never was in Rome. Elected during the Council of Pisa, he went as far as Bologna, where he died after a reign of less than a year. No modern historian would have the courage to defend the explanation offered by former writers that he may have visited Rome without anybody knowing it, or that Rome should be taken in the allegorical sense according to the axiom *Ubi Petrus ibi ecclesia*. All these considerations are too damaging for the Bull of Alexander V. to be accepted as genuine, but here again Bale has probably preserved the true version. In two places in his note-books he gives the text of the Sabbatine Bull;[16] once in the form which is now universally accepted, the other time in a version more closely resembling the text quoted by Leersius. He does not say where he has found it, but appends the following notice :—

Hanc confirmavit Alexander in primo [scored through and replaced by *sexto*] anno sui pontificatus datum in Avinione [scored through and replaced by *Roma*] 3 die Martii pontificatus nostri anno sexto. Ipse autem Johannes papa XXII. hoc confirmavit in Avinione anno primo sui pontificatus et Alexander

bearing the Christian name, Alphonsus, was a son of Edward I., who became Earl of Chester, but predeceased his father. One feels tempted to quote Dickens: 'If ever an Alphonse carried plain Bill in his face and figure,' etc

praenominatus in Roma confirmavit anno sexto ut dictum est et maledictionem dederunt omnipotentis Dei contravenientibus.

Here the dates of the Majorca Bull are inverted ; John's Bull receives the date 7th December, 1316, and Alexander's 3rd March, 1498, for it is evident that the sixth year of Alexander can only refer to Alexander VI. The document inspected by him is, then, none other than the one described by Leersius as the authenticated copy of John XXII.'s Bull.[17] This at once explains many of the bewildering peculiarities of this document. For if there had been a confirmation by Alexander V. in 1409, it would be surprising that Leersius and his followers should not have mentioned it, and still more astonishing that the *Mare Magnum* should be silent about the Bull. Not only is the difficulty about the various dates fully explained by our theory, but the mysterious Alphonsus de Theramo turns out to be a well-known historical personage. Negotiations between the Order and the Roman Court were carried on by the Procurator-General, or, to use his official title, the Procurator Curiensis, or Procurator Conventus Curiensis, which office was held in 1498 by Friar Petrus Terasse. There was good reason for seeking a Papal approbation of the Sabbatine privilege in 1498. It will be remembered that Leersius' work was written between 1480 and 1483, and Bostius' in 1491, but neither of these can have enjoyed a very large circulation since they remained manuscript. Paleonydor's *Fasciculus*, which also alludes to the Sabbatine Bull, was printed in 1497, and it is certainly not a mere

[17] We have endeavoured to trace Alexander VI.'s Bull at the Vatican archives, but without success—due, perhaps, to want of time. Two explanations are possible, namely, that confirmation was only given by word of mouth, which would account for the steps taken in 1517, 1528, and 1530 to obtain a confirmation, and also that the Vatican registers are by no means so complete as one would expect. Mr. W. H. Bliss, in his *Calendar of Papal Registers*, says truly : ' The system of registration in the Papal Chancery was not, however, nearly so perfect as that in the Chancery of the English kings, and there are still extant in the Public Record Office, in the British Museum, and elsewhere, many original Bulls, of which no mention can be found in the Regesta' (Vol. I., Preface). There are likewise many Bulls of undoubted authenticity preserved in our archives which are wanting in the Vatican registers.

coincidence that we should hear of a Papal approbation in the following year.

It must be acknowledged that there still remain some obscure points, but on the whole we believe that our view will bear investigation. The copyist, whoever he was, appears to have been absolutely incompetent, for no man with the most elementary knowledge of paleography would transcribe the word *apla* (with the sign of contraction) *amplam*, but *apostolicam*, and he may likewise have read the contracted form for *Procurator Conventus Curiensis : Prior Conventus Captunensis*. To this gross ignorance we are further indebted for the singularly corrupt text of the Bull that has come down to us. Daniel has endeavoured, but with indifferent result, to compare all the known copies and by striking an average, to obtain a reliable reading. We shall content ourselves with presenting the text such as it is. One thing, however, we cannot attempt to explain, namely, how the transcriber came to insert the two Bulls in an obviously misdated deed. To think of forgery is almost doing him too much honour ; it may be a case of mere stupidity.

If our view is, as we think, correct, it follows that the confirmation of the Sabbatine Bull by Alexander VI. leaves the question very much where it was, and that Leersius' account remains the earliest evidence in our possession.

The following is as literal a translation as its corrupt text allows of that famous document round which an animated discussion has been turning for four centuries :—

[John, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all and each of the Faithful in Christ, etc. As in the highest court of paradise a sweet soft melody of angels is heard, arising from the harmonious vision of Jesus united to His Eternal Father and saying : I and the Father are One, and : he that seeth Me seeth the Father, and the choir of angels cease not to sing : Holy, Holy, Holy ; so does the synod pour forth incessantly its praises to the Blessed Virgin, crying : Virgin, Virgin, Virgin, be Thou our mirror and our pattern. She is invested with the office of grace, as Holy Church sings : Mary full of grace, and Mother

saying: Hail, Queen, Mother of Mercy and our Help. Thus, while I was praying on bended knee, the Virgin of Carmel appeared to me saying these words][18] O John, John, Vicar of my beloved Son, even as I shall liberate thee from thy adversary and bestow upon thee the Papal dignity which by my supplications I have obtained for thee from my dearest Son, so grant thou to my beloved and holy Order of Carmel grace and apostolic confirmation. Whosoever maketh profession in the Order founded on Mount Carmel by Elias and Eliseus, and observes inviolate the rule laid down by my servant, the Patriarch Albert, and approved by my beloved son, Innocent the Vicar of my Son (for the Vicar of my Son ought to consent on earth to that which my Son hath decreed in heaven), namely, that he who shall persevere in holy obedience, poverty and chastity, or who shall enter the Order of my Brethren, shall be saved; and if others for the sake of devotion enter the holy Order, wearing in sign thereof the habit (*habitus signum ferentes*), and calling themselves *confratres* and *consorores* of the same, they shall be freed and absolved from a third part of their sins on the day when they enter it, provided they promise chastity if in widowhood, virginity if single, and if married inviolate troth of the laws of matrimony as Holy Church commandeth. The professed brethren of the said Order shall be loosed from guilt and punishment, and on the day when after this life they hasten to purgatory, I, the glorious Mother will descend (*Sabbato post eorum obitum:* on the Saturday after their death; or *subito:* at once[19]) and will set free as many as I shall find there, and lead them to the holy mountain of life eternal. However, these *confratres* and *consorores* are bound to recite the Canonical Hours according to the injunction of the Rule given by Albert. Those who do not know them should keep the fast on the days set apart by Holy Church, unless there be an impediment through some necessity; on Wednesday and Saturday they should abstain from flesh meat, except on the Nativity of my Son. After this, the holy Vision disappeared. [This holy indulgence, therefore, I accept, authorise and confirm upon earth, even as Jesus Christ through the merits of His Virgin Mother, hath graciously granted in heaven. To no man, therefore, etc.][20]

Two things are clear at first sight, namely, that the text is far from correct, the scribe having evidently had great difficulty in reading the paper before him, and secondly

[18] The beginning and end, placed within brackets, are omitted in Bale's MS.

[19] Although the Bull has *Sabbato*, the context shows clearly that *subito*

that, whatever the nature of John XXII.'s document may have been, it certainly was no Bull. The technical forms at the beginning and end must have been added when it was embodied in the Bull of confirmation. We do not profess to know whether Popes at the time of John XXII. were in the habit of writing private letters, or whether this is a fragment of autobiography or a confidential communication, but whatever it was, those who thought there existed in London a Bull in due form with seal appended, must have been mistaken. This does not dispense us, however, from facing the more important question as to whether the document has any claim to authenticity. Villiers de St. Etienne, perhaps the most scholarly historian the Carmelite Order has produced, leaves the matter undecided.[21] For our part we venture, after mature reflection, to uphold its claim. External evidence not assisting us in this investigation, we must rely on internal proofs.

The first of these, the general credibility of the Promise of Our Lady, will be examined in our final article ; here, we can only point to those arguments which flow from the wording of our document.

We have already shown that Leersius, in his account of the Sabbatine Bull, confounds the confirmation of the rule under Innocent IV. with that of Honorious III., whilst Paleonydor mixes it up with the approbation of the Order by the second Council of Lyons ; here we find no such confusion. In the Bull of Pope Alexander, mention is made of the beloved daughters the Carmelite Sisters. As we have seen in a previous article, these were instituted about the middle of the fifteenth century, accordingly there is no such allusion to them here. Again, a document of the end of the fifteenth century would unquestionably have spoken of the scapular as the specific part of the habit to be worn by the *confratres*, whereas our Bull still keeps to the old way of considering the habit *signum habitus* as the *vehiculum* of Our Lady's Promise, without any distinction of its various parts. We lay much stress on this point, because

a forger would unquestionably have blundered here. And, finally, we may draw the attention of the reader to the simple and unobtrusive way in which the rule inchoated by Elias and Eliseus on Mount Carmel is spoken of. As time went on, this shibboleth became more and more pronounced, and a late writer could never have resisted the temptation of improving upon the text. He would, at the very least, have added a few words to put this sore point in its proper light for the benefit of sceptics ; it is sufficient to cast a glance at contemporary authors to perceive the full weight of this argument.

Our conclusion, then, is that this document is of much earlier date than Alexander's Bull, and there is no reason why it should not come from Pope John XXII. The exact date supplied by Bale from some unknown source lends additional weight to this.

OUR LADY'S PROMISES

Perhaps the chief objection brought against the scapular tradition is that it begets presumption in the heart and mind of the faithful, who are in danger of attaching undue importance to what, after all, is only a form of devotion. It will be convenient to speak separately of the promise attached to the Scapular, and the Sabbatine promise. The objection brought forward to the former is of very old standing, since Sibert de Beka at the beginning of the fourteenth century had already inserted a clause into the words of Our Lady : ' Whosoever dies in it, *if only he is worthy*, shall not suffer eternal fire.' Other authors have thought best to make the promise dependent upon a pious death : ' Whosoever dies *piously*.' This version has received the approbation of the Church in the lessons for the feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, and Theodor Stratius, General of the Calced Carmelites, in a circular of about the year 1640, forbade the members of his Order to speak and preach of the scapular without some such explanation.

In our humble opinion all this does violence to the words

For such a truism we require no special revelation. We take the promise in its literal sense, and maintain that no one who dies with the scapular shall be lost. Since all those and only those who die in a state of grace go to heaven, the question naturally arises: How does the scapular help those who have not been in the state of grace to become reconciled with God ere it be too late? The answer is, that Our Lady will obtain for them the grace of perfect contrition, or of the reception of the sacraments. And since God does not bestow so great a grace without at least some co-operation on the part of the sinner, a further question arises: Is the wearing of the scapular adequate to this end? We think it is. It is a devotion; probably the easiest devotion, but still a devotion, and consequently not without a supernatural element. It therefore requires an actual grace with the voluntary co-operation of the sinner, and then the door is open for sanctifying grace, and all the more widely the more numerous the impulses of actual grace given.

We are told that there is danger that people while relying upon the scapular will neglect their religious duties during life, and trust that in the end everything will be all right. For our part we do not believe that Catholics are really so ignorant of the elements of their catechism. Our own experience in the confessional, and by the bedside of the sick and dying, tells a different tale; neither have we ever heard of a case of such gross superstition. Should there have been such cases of presumption, it must be admitted that there have also been cases of presumptuous trust in the last sacraments. The scapular may break, or be lost, or laid aside; the priest may not come in time before the dying man loses consciousness; these accidents are subject to Divine permission and prove with equal force that God will not be mocked. We have frequently been in a position of studying the downward road of a soul, when sin, especially of a certain kind, becomes habitual; the sacraments are neglected, the precepts of the

the scapular. But sooner or later even this is put aside, either because it has become unfit to wear, or through a natural (or supernatural) aversion of the sinner to anything connected with the Immaculate Virgin. This last step marks the vanishing of twilight and the beginning of the darkness of night.

On the other hand, it frequently happens that a sinner, after years spent in the mire of vice, begins to be ashamed of himself, and though perhaps he may not have at once the grace of receiving the sacraments, he resumes some little devotion, as saying from time to time a *Hail Mary*, or, as most commonly happens, resuming the long neglected scapular. It is the very least thing he can do, but by doing it he already emerges from the lowest level, and commences the ascent to something better. His progress may be distressingly slow, but still there is some progress and he is fairly on the road to the state of grace. Such cases are by no means isolated. When the apparently hardened sinner in reply to remonstrance, stammers : ' But I wear the scapular,' he does not mean that he thinks himself saved thereby, but that he is not so entirely immersed in sin as to be, so to say, beyond the reach of grace. Such has been our experience in hundreds of cases, whereas we have never heard of an instance of blind trust in the mechanical power of the scapular as though it were a talisman. Moreover, every treatise on this devotion is full of examples of persons who, after a notoriously bad life, made also a bad death, but only after having violently torn off and flung away the scapular.

As to the Sabbatine promise, we have already expressed our conviction that the words of Our Lady really were : ' I shall descend into Purgatory *subito*, at once (not *Sabbato*), after their death.' There is not the same measure of time in the other world as in ours. Even if that were so, we know that a soul having a long account to settle, may make up for the greater brevity of time by increased intensity of suffering, as has been beautifully brought out by Cardinal

lessen the solemnity of the doctrine of Purgatory. The faithful practice of the virtue of chastity in thought, word, and deed, according to the state of life, is not so universal a habit as to be a matter of little moment. The recitation of the Divine Office ;[22] the obligation of keeping the fasts of the Church, even when there would otherwise be a legitimate reason for dispensation ; the abstinence on Wednesdays and Saturdays besides the Fridays not merely for a short period, but as a lifelong practice ; all this is certainly worthy of an indulgence of very considerable extent.

Just as a forger at the end of the fifteenth century would have been at pains to give the alleged Bull a wording more in harmony with ecclesiastical style, so would he undoubtedly have made the promise dependent upon easier conditions. This is one more reason, and surely not the least, why we should unhesitatingly admit the full claim of the Bull.

CONCLUSION

In writing these articles we have set ourself the task of dealing with the question from a purely historical point of view. Having no reliable history of the Order to refer our readers to, we were sometimes obliged to give prominence to facts or theories which concern our subject only in a secondary way. But we have set aside all these considerations which belong rather to the domain of ascetics, such as the many advantages to be derived from this devotion, contenting ourself with those things that are apt to throw some light upon the matter. Whether or not we have succeeded in elucidating so obscure a question, we must leave to the judgment of our readers. We have made no secret of the weak points of our history—some may even think that we have dwelt too much upon them.

For the sake of clearness it may be useful to sum up the various points we have tried to establish :—

1. The Carmelites entered England in 1241 and after the approbation and partial mitigation of their rule in

1247, began to spread rapidly. After 1256 they met with opposition on the part of the secular clergy whereby many friars were discouraged, while others, frightened by the austerity of the rule, sought to shake off its yoke.

2. Having exhausted ordinary means, St. Simon Stock was favoured with an apparition of the Blessed Virgin, who promised success to a deputation to the Pope and, in order to encourage the wavering members of the Order, and to raise its prestige, assured eternal salvation to those who live and die in the habit.

3. A miraculous event taught St. Simon Stock that this promise held good, not alone in the case of those who wear the habit on account of their religious profession, but also of those who don it through devotion.

4. The Pope powerfully protected the Order which spread with astonishing rapidity, numerous grandees donning the habit.

5. The substitution of the scapular for the full habit was due to the manner in which the habit was blessed and handed to the recipient at the ceremony of profession.

6. The Confraternity of the Scapular has grown out of the institution of the *confratres* attached to the various convents, who were granted a participation in the merits and good works of the religious.

7. The feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel was instituted in thanksgiving for certain graces not directly connected with the scapular, but in its oldest form it bore officially the name : Feast of the Confratres.

8. The so-called Sabbatine Bull cannot with certainty be traced further back than the year 1480, but interior evidence, in the absence of external proofs, is in favour of the promise having really been made by Our Lady to Pope John XXII. The promise appears to insure not so much release from Purgatory on the first Saturday following death, but rather *a most speedy release*.

9. There is nothing either in the scapular devotion or in the Sabbatine promise, that is not strictly in harmony

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

JUBILEE OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

THE Encyclical Letter of His Holiness, Pius X., promulgating a Jubilee in honour of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, will be found amongst the documents of the present number of the I. E. RECORD. Many questions which have reference to the present Jubilee as well as to the Jubilee of the Holy Year were discussed at length by Dr. Mannix in the I. E. RECORD of March, April, and May, 1901. We may specially mention questions concerning the intention, Confession, and Communion, which are necessary for gaining the indulgence of the Jubilee. We refer our readers to Dr. Mannix's articles for a detailed discussion on these points. In the present number of the I. E. RECORD it will be useful to note some points which specially regard this Jubilee.

1. The Jubilee will last for three months, not necessarily continuous, to be definitely fixed by the Ordinary for each diocese, to be completed before the 8th December, 1904. No individual can forestall the Ordinary with regard to the time during which the Jubilee can be gained. The Jubilee Confession and Communion, however, can be made in a diocese where the Jubilee has not yet been promulgated or has ceased, by the inhabitants of a diocese where the Jubilee has been promulgated and has not ceased. Moreover, the prescribed works can be performed by *peregrini* in a diocese where the Jubilee is open, although it has not yet been promulgated or has ceased in their own dioceses. *Vagi* can perform the prescribed works in any place where the Jubilee is open.

2. Special facilities are allowed to travellers—*navigantes atque iter agentes*—by means of which they, immediately on their return home, can gain the Jubilee by performing

3. The present Jubilee can be gained only once, and can be applied to the souls in Purgatory.

4. The prescribed works are Confession, Communion, fast, visits to churches, and prayers for specified intentions of the Pope. Actually approved confessors have received power to commute the prescribed works in case of necessity for other pious works of equal value. They can dispense with Communion in the case of those who will not receive their first Communion before the close of the Jubilee. Two questions of importance arise in connection with this power of commutation and dispensation :— (*a*) Can confessors exercise this power outside the Confessional ? Benedict XIV. laid down in the Constitution *Inter Praeteritos*, § 63, that confessors cannot use their special faculties outside the Confessional. The rules of Benedict hold for other Jubilees, unless in so far as they are revoked.[1] Now, no general revocation in this particular matter has taken place. In the Jubilee of 1865 confessors were allowed to commute the prescribed works outside Confession, but in the Jubilee of 1886 this power was refused to confessors. In the Encyclical Letter of the present Jubilee there is no mention of power to commute the prescribed works outside Confession. Until, then, special permission be given by the Roman Congregations—and, so far as we know, it has not yet been given—confessors cannot exercise their power of commutation outside the Confessional. What we have here said expressly about the power of commuting the prescribed works holds equally with reference to the other special faculties granted to confessors by the Jubilee Encyclical. (*b*) Can actually approved confessors commute all the prescribed works ? They can certainly commute the visits and the fast, and can dispense from Communion those who will not receive their first Communion before the end of the Jubilee. There is special difficulty, however, with regard to Confession, Communion, and the prescribed prayers. Benedict XIV.

confessors have not the power of commuting Confession, Communion, and the prescribed prayers which are separable from the visits. The rules of this Constitution remain in force until they are revoked. No general revocation has yet been made with regard to commutation of Confession, Communion, or the prescribed prayers. Neither does the Encyclical give any indication of such a revocation for the present Jubilee. So we are compelled to hold that confessors cannot commute these works. There are some theologians, however, who maintain that power is now given to make this commutation. Bonquillon held this view in his commentary on the Jubilee of 1886. The safest course to adopt in practice is to abstain from attempting to make a commutation of Confession, Communion, and the prayers as long as they can possibly be performed. If it be quite impossible to perform any of them a confessor may commute them *in quantum possit.*

5. Other indulgences are not suspended during the time of the present Jubilee.

6. VISITS.—(*a*) Three devotional visits to a church are necessary for gaining the present Jubilee. The three visits need not be made on the same day.[2] It is not necessary to make them in the same church, or in the same parish, or even in the same diocese. They can be made wholly or partially in any church where the Jubilee is open.[3] (*b*) The churches to be visited are the cathedral church if there be one in the place, the parochial church if there be no cathedral church in the place, or the principal church if there be no parochial church in the place. (*c*) Under the designation of 'principal church' may be included oratories which are open to the public if Mass be usually said there.[4] Chapels of colleges, monasteries, and convents, which are not open to the public, cannot serve for the Jubilee visits of the faithful. It is certain, too, that such chapels will not serve for the Jubilee visits of those who belong to those colleges, monasteries, and convents. Hence, those who live in colleges, etc., the chapels

of which are not open to the public, must make their Jubilee visits to the cathedral, parochial, or principal churches. If they are prevented by rule from going to these churches they must obtain a commutation of their visits from their confessors. The most suitable works which confessors can substitute are visits to their private chapels. (*d*) Regulars cannot make their Jubilee visits to their own churches unless in those cases where their churches come under the title 'parochial or principal churches.' They must make their visits to the churches which the ordinary faithful of the place must visit. (*e*) What is meant by a 'place' when the Encyclical Letter speaks of cathedral, parochial, or principal church of a place? It is clear from the Encyclical itself that different dioceses and different parishes are different 'places.' Within the same parish there can also be different places. This is also clear from the Encyclical. We think that, in this case, 'place' must be taken in the canonical sense which is attached to the word in connection with the canonical cause of dispensation known as *angustia loci*, and in connection with the erection of Confraternities. In this sense a place may be defined[5] with Putzer as 'agglomeratio habitantium ab aliis agglomerationibus uno saltem milliario italico distans.' An Italian mile is equivalent to 1,628 yards of our measurement. It must be borne in mind, however, that this definition is at most a general explanation, for it has been decided that places which are nearer to one another may, on account of difficulty of communication, be different 'places' in the canonical sense.[6] In cases of difficulty it is advisable to consult the Ordinary. (*f*) The visits must be devotional and not already obligatory. Hence a visit made through curiosity will not suffice. It will be necessary to leave and re-enter the church. Hence, also, a visit made to the church for the purpose of hearing an obligatory Sunday Mass will not suffice. If a person enter the church some time before Mass,

for the purpose of making the Jubilee visit it will not be necessary to leave the church again before the obligatory Mass. (*g*) Vocal prayers, not already obligatory, must be said for the intentions of the Pope. It is not necesnary, though it is better, to know these intentions explicitly. The Pater and Ave repeated five times will, according to all theologians, suffice. (*h*) Special provision has been made according to which confessors can substitute other sensible pious works for vocal prayers in the case of deaf mutes. There seems to be no sufficient reason for commuting, in their case, the internal acts of prayer for the intentions of the Holy Father.[7]

7. FAST.—(*a*) The Jubilee fast is a black fast. The Encyclical makes this clear—*esurialibus tantum cibis utentes. Cibus esuriales* exclude even *lacticinia*.[8] The collation and frustulum are allowed. (*b*) Those who are free from the obligation of fasting by age, infirmity, labour or even dispensation, are still bound to the Jubliee fast if they wish to gain the Jubilee indulgence. They can obtain a commutation of the fast from their confessors if there be a grave cause. A grave cause, in this connection, means such a cause as will excuse from the observance of an ecclesiastical law binding *sub gravi*. Hence, a cause which merely suffices for a dispensation will not suffice for a commutation. (*c*) A black fast of *one* day is prescribed. (*d*) Those performing the Jubilee in Lent can select for their Jubilee fast any day of Lent, except those days not included in the Lenten Indult. Those days are Good Friday, and, in many dioceses, Spy Wednesday. (*e*) Outside Lent any day may, we think, be taken for the Jubilee fast—even Quarter Tense. This seems clear from the Encyclical which excepts throughout the whole time of the Jubilee only the days of Lent not contained in the Lenten Indult.

POWER OF CURATES IN IRELAND TO ASSIST VALIDLY AT MARRIAGES

REV. DEAR SIR,—In this diocese a Curate has the power of assisting at marriages in the parish to which he is appointed, independently, *quoad validitatem*, of any delegation from the Parish Priest. He is recognised as a *deputatus ad universitatem causarum*, and is, I presume, *a parochus*, in the sense of the Council of Trent. This being the case I wish to know :—(1) Can such a Curate assist at the marriage of his parishioners in another diocese without special delegation from his Parish Priest or Bishop.—For example, can he go up to Dublin and validly assist at their marriage there ? (2) Can he delegate another Priest to marry them in his own or in a different parish ? (3) Is assistance at marriage an act of jurisdiction on the part of the Priest, and if so, what kind ?

An answer to the above questions in an early number of the I. E. RECORD—with a few words, if convenient, on the right of Curates in general to assist at marriages in this country—will, I am sure, be highly appreciated by your readers, and especially by your humble correspondent, SACERDOS.

Before we reply to the questions of our correspondent a few words about the power of Irish Curates to assist validly at marriages will not be out of place. Curates, as such, in Ireland have not power to validly assist at marriages. They do not receive such power from the common law of the Church, because the common law does not command Bishops to appoint assistant Priests with power to assist validly at marriages of parishioners. As far as the common law goes, a Bishop may appoint an assistant Priest with power to perform validly all parochial duties, or only some parochial duties Neither do Curates in Ireland receive the power of validly assisting at marriages from the Maynooth Statutes. Though these Statutes state that Curates participate in the pastoral office,[1] and are bound *in solidum* with the Parish Priest to perform all the duties of the pastoral office,[2] this must be understood to refer to all those duties which Diocesan laws

Curates. That this is the true interpretation of the Statutes is clear not only from custom, but also from the statement of the Council itself, which lays down with regard to Curates :—' Eorum jura et munera definiri debent ab Episcopis in Synodis Dioecesanis.'[3] Hence, we must look to the regulations of each diocese for a solution of this question.

Even if the Bishops of particular dioceses state, in appointing Curates, that they appoint them with power to administer all the Sacraments, this does not *of itself* give Curates a right to assist validly at marriages. This is a special power which the Holy See does not recognise as contained in the power to administer all the Sacraments. This seems clear from a reply of the S. C. Inq., dated 7th September, 1898 :—

An facultati generali administrandi omnia sacramenta, quae ordinem episcopalem non requirunt, includatur facultas assistendi omnibus matrimoniis fidelium dioeceseos ? *Resp.* :— Negative, nisi agatur de vice-parochis, qui ex consuetudine dioecesis habitualiter delegati censeantur pro propria paroecia.

If it be said that the question proposed for solution referred to all the marriages of the faithful of the diocese, and not to the marriages of the faithful of a particular parish to which a Priest is sent, we reply that the words of the Sac. Cong. make it clear that the power of assisting at marriages of the faithful of a particular parish is not contained in the general faculty of conferring all Sacraments, unless there be a diocesan custom which interprets this general faculty in this favourable sense. There is no such custom or law generally existing in Ireland. In some special cases a custom or law of this kind does exist, so that no express mention of matrimonial power is required. We refer to the case of Priests who are appointed administrators of vacant parishes or of parishes of which the Parish Priests are incapacitated from performing the duties of their office. Outside such cases there is not any general law or custom in Ireland which interprets the faculty of conferring all the

legitimate customs of each diocese must be consulted for a knowledge of the powers of Curates in matrimonial affairs. We know several dioceses in which Curates do not receive power to assist validly at marriages independently of the Parish Priest. We know several other dioceses in which Curates do receive this power.

Even when Curates do receive this power in any diocese it is understood to be independent of the Parish Priest only as to validity. It is not independent of the Parish Priest as to its lawful use. Exceptional circumstances, of course, may make it advisable for a Bishop to appoint a Curate who is independent of the Parish Priest both as to the valid and lawful use of power to assist at marriages. Such exceptional circumstances only rarely exist, and are not to be presumed. Bishops who have given Parish Priests the principal care of souls in their parishes do not wish Curates to be ordinarily independent as to the lawful use of the power to assist at marriages.

We think it well to point out, too, that our correspondent is in error when he presumes that a Curate who is delegated *ad universitatem causarum* in matrimonial cases is a *parochus* in the sense of the Council of Trent. Gasparri[4] holds that Administrators of vacant parishes and of parishes the Parish Priests of which are incapacitated by age, infirmity, or similar causes, from performing their parochial duties, are *parochi* in the sense of the Council of Trent, since they are at least *delegati ad universam curam animarum*. This opinion, though favoured by some, is not held by canonists generally, nor can it be easily reconciled with recent decisions of the Roman Congregations,[5] or with the usual theological notions of ordinary and delegated power. But even Gasparri does not hold that an assistant Priest, who is delegated not *ad universam curam animarum*, but only *ad universitatem causarum* in matrimonial matters, is a *parochus* in the Tridentine sense. He is only a delegate of the Ordinary or of the Parish Priest. This is an important distinction, because of the different interpretation

which must be given to the powers of a Priest who acts *proprio nomine*, and of a Priest who acts *nomine Episcopi vel Parochi*.

We are now in a position to answer the questions of our correspondent. (1) A Curate who is delegated *ad universitatem causarum* to assist at marriages can, unless he be specially restricted by the delegating superior, validly assist at the marriages of parishioners outside the parish.[6] He can validly assist at the marriage of *vagi* only in the parish. (2.) He can sub-delegate another Priest to assist validly at the marriages of parishioners in or outside the parish, unless he be specially restricted by the delegating superior. He can give this sub-delegation, however, only in particular cases.[7] He cannot sub-delegate another Priest to assist validly at the marriages of *vagi* outside the parish. He can sub-delegate another Priest to assist at their marriages in the parish in particular cases. The Ordinary can, however, give a delegate the power of giving general sub-delegation. A special grant is necessary for this. It is not presumed to exist until its existence be proved. This wide power of sub-delegation is given to administrators of vacant parishes.[8] (3.) Assistance at marriage is not, strictly speaking, an act of jurisdiction, although in many ways it follows the rules laid down for interpretation of jurisdiction. Hence, a Parish Priest who has been deprived of all jurisdiction, can validly assist at marriages so long as he retains his title. Assistance at marriage is merely the presence of a duly authorised witness, required for the validity of marriages where the Tridentine law binds.[9] From this it is clear that such phrases as 'jurisdiction,' 'delegation,' 'sub-delegation,' when used in connection with assistance at marriage, must be taken in a wide sense.

J. M. HARTY.

---

[6] Feije, n. 307, 10°. [7] Feije, n. 307, 8°.

LITURGY

BLESSING OF THE BAPTISMAL FONT ON HOLY SATURDAY

Rev. Dear Sir,—Permit me to invite your opinion with reference to a practice widely prevalent in connection with the blessing of the Font on Holy Saturday:—The Oils on the occasion are taken from the small oil stocks by dipping the thumb and index finger into the Oils, when the crosses are made with one or both on the surface of the water. Does this satisfy the Rubric which speaks of an *infusion?* O'Kane states that the practice has a certain approval in the English Ritual. Is there a similar approval for the practice in Ireland ?

Sacerdos.

We have seen no reference in any of the classical Liturgists to the practice described by our respected correspondent, and approvingly mentioned by O'Kane.[1] They evidently did not contemplate the case where a scarcity of Holy Oils would occur on Holy Saturday above all the days of the year, and it is only this circumstance that can justify the custom. O'Kane says[2] that there is no reason why every parish church having a font should not be provided with a proper supply of Oils for all emergencies, and we quite agree with him—as far at least as this country is concerned. In addition to replenishing his oil stocks each priest can easily take away in small bottles, or other vessels provided for the purpose, a supply of Holy Oils required for the blessing of the Baptismal Font. But the unforeseen will sometimes happen in spite of every precaution. Supposing then a priest finds himself without the necessary supply, may he act in the manner suggested ? We think he may. For the substantial requirement of the Rubric will be complied with, and the symbolical significance of the rite, intended in the mixing of the Oils and water, will be realised though, perhaps, somewhat imperfectly. 'Fit haec commixtio, quia fideles populi per aquam significati, in Baptismo uniuntur et incorporantur Christo per Chrisma

et Oleum figurato.'[3] As, however, this method scarcely fulfils the directions of the Rubric, unless in a strained and forced manner, and as it does not, moreover, fully bring out the beautiful symbolism implied in the ceremony, we would restrict its adoption to cases of recognised necessity. Therefore, to come to the point of the question raised, we cannot see any justification for its general application. The English Ritual, too, in its note, would seem to approve of it only subject to similar limitations.

In view of their possible opportuneness, we may here call attention to some matters in connection with the blessing of the Baptismal Font that are occasionally overlooked.

1. This blessing should be carried out on every Holy Saturday, and repeated on the Vigil of Pentecost, in every church which has *de jure* a Baptismal Font.[4] A Parish Priest having charge of two or more churches possessing Fonts may, according to De Herdt,[5] either delegate another priest to bless the Fonts in the *succursal* chapels, or have some of the water consecrated by himself transferred to them.

2. In the blessing performed on Holy Saturday and the Vigil of Pentecost, the form given in the Roman Missal must be used whether the occasion is solemn or private. The Ritual form is only to be used *extra haec tempora.*

3. The Fonts should be thoroughly cleansed and dried some days before Holy Saturday, so that all unpleasant odours from the corruption of Oils or water shall have time to disappear.[6]

4. Should it happen that the newly-consecrated Oils have not been provided for Holy Saturday, then the solemn blessing may be proceeded with up to that part of the ceremony where the *infusio* takes place. It is then interrupted for the time being. As soon as the Oils are obtained the remainder of the ceremony is performed privately. Here it is presumed that there is no immediate need of the baptismal water, pending the arrival of the fresh Oils. Where such a necessity exists, and where baptism has to

[3] Quarti, *De bened. Eccles.*, Tom ii., sec. 7, par. 2.
[4] S.R.C. Decr., n. 4005 (nov. ed.) [5] *Sac. Lit. Prax.*, T. iii., n. 54.
[6] O'Loan, *Ceremonies of some Ecclesiastical Functions*, p. 301.

be administered on, or immediately after, Holy Saturday, the old Oils may be used, and the water thus consecrated is preserved until the Vigil of Pentecost.[7]

5. Asked whether it is not enough to bless the Baptismal Font once a year only, namely, on Holy Saturday, the Sacred Congregation of Rites replied[8]:—'Aquam baptismalem in Parochiis esse benedicendam in Sabbatis Paschal et Pentecostes, non obstante quacumque contraria consuetudine, quae omnino eliminari debet.'

6. The faithful are often very eager to procure a small quantity of the water thus solemnly blessed on Holy Saturday. As the Font may not be able to contain a sufficiency for all purposes, the following plan, suggested by the Congregation of Rites,[9] may be adopted. A large vessel filled with water is placed near the Font. Over this is performed that part of the ceremony up to the infusion of the Oils exclusive. The Font is then filled from the larger vessel, the ceremony completed, and the water remaining in the larger vessel, with which no Oils have been mixed, is reserved for the use of the people.

7. The symbolism of the ceremony of blessing the Baptismal Font is very striking. The Tract compares the desire of unregenerated mankind for the living waters of life eternal to the longing of the stag for the limpid fountains. In the prayers God is invoked to remove from the elements of corporeal creation the corruption of sin, with which they were cursed at the fall, and make them not only harmless and pure, but also useful for the services of man. The breathing on the water signifies the ease with which the demons are expelled by the priest by means of the Cross from which the graces of Baptism are derived. The immersion of the Pascal candle—which typifies Our Lord upon whom the Holy Spirit visibly descended at His Baptism—and its immediate elevation represent the effects of the Sacrament of Regeneration. Then the three-fold repetition of many of the actions has of course, reference to the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.

P. MORRISROE.

[7] S.R.C. Decr., n.n. 2773, 3092, 3879.
[8] 13 April, 1874.
[9] S.R.C. Decr., n. 3524.

DOCUMENTS

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. ON THE JUBILEE OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI DIVINA PROVIDENTIA

PII PAPAE X.

LITTERAE ENCYCLICAE

AD PATRIARCHAS PRIMATES ARCHIEPISCOPOS EPISCOPOS ALIOSQVE LOCORVM ORDINARIOS PACEM ET COMMVNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTES

VENERABILIBVS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS PRIMATIBVS ARCHIEPISCOPIS EPISCOPIS ALIISQVE LOCORVM ORDINARIIS PACEM ET COMMVNIONEM CVM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBVS

PIVS PP. X.

VENERABILES FRATRES

SALVTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

Ad diem illum laetissimum, brevi mensium intervallo, aetas nos referet, quo, ante decem quinquennia, Pius IX decessor Noster, sanctissimae memoriae pontifex, amplissima septus purpuratorum patrum atque antistitum sacrorum corona, magisterii inerrantis auctoritate, edixit ac promulgavit esse a Deo revelatum beatissimam virginem Mariam, in primo instanti suae Conceptionis, ab omni originalis culpae labe fuisse immunem. Promulgationem illam quo animo per omnium terrarum orbem fideles, quibus iucunditatis publicae et gratulationis argumentis exceperint nemo est qui ignoret ; ut plane, post hominum memoriam, nulla voluntatis significatio data sit tum in augustam Dei Matrem tum in Jesu Christi Vicarium, quae vel pateret latius, vel communiori concordia exhiberetur. Iam quid spe bona nos prohibet, Venerabiles Fratres, dimidio quamvis saeculo interiecto, fore ut, renovata immaculatae Virginis recordatione, laetitiae illius sanctae veluti imago vocis in animis nostris resultet et fidei atque amoris in Dei Matrem augustam praeclara longinqui temporis spectacula iterentur ? Equidem ut hoc aveamus ardenter pietas facit, quam Nos in Virginem beatissimam, summa cum beneficentiae eius gratia, per omne tempus fovimus : ut vero

futurum certo expectemus facit catholicorum omnium studium, promptum illud semper ac paratissimum ad amoris atque honoris testimonia iterum iterumque magnae Dei Matri adhibenda. Attamen id etiam non diffitebimur, desiderium hoc Nostrum inde vel maxime commoveri quod, arcano quodam instinctu, praecipere posse Nobis videmur, expectationes illas magnas brevi esse explendas, in quas et Pius decessor et universi sacrorum antistites, ex asserto solemniter immaculato Deiparae Conceptu, non sane temere, fuerunt adducti.

Quas enimvero ad hunc diem non evasisse, haud pauci sunt qui querantur, ac Ieremiae verba subinde usurpent : *Expectavimus pacem, et non erat bonum : tempus medelae, et ecce formido.* Ast quis eiusmodi *modicae fidei* non reprehendat, qui Dei opera vel introspicere vel expendere ex veritate negligunt ? Ecquis enim occulta gratiarum munera numerando percenseat, quae Deus Ecclesiae, conciliatrice Virgine, hoc toto tempore impertiit ? Quae si praeterire quis malit, quid de vaticana synodo existimandum tanta temporis opportunitate habita ; quid de inerranti pontificum magisterio tam apte ad mox erupturos errores adserto ; quid demum de novo et inaudito pietatis aestu, quo ad Christi Vicarium, colendum coram, fideles ex omni genere omnique parte iam diu confluunt ? An non miranda Numinis providentia in uno alteroque Decessore Nostro, Pio videlicet ac Leone, qui, turbulentissima tempestate, eâ, quae nulli contigit, pontificatus usurâ, Ecclesiam sanctissime administrarunt ? Ad haec, vix fere Pius Mariam ab origine labis nesciam fide catholica credendam indixerat, quum in oppido Lourdes mira ipsa Virgine ostenta fieri coepta : exinde molitione ingenti et opere magnifico Deiparae Immaculatae excitatae aedes ; ad quas, quae quotidie, divina exorante Matre, patrantur prodigia, illustria sunt argumenta ad praesentium hominum incredibilitatem profligandam. Tot igitur tantorumque beneficiorum testes, quae, Virgine benigne implorante, contulit Deus quinquagenis annis mox elabendis ; quidni speremus *propriorem esse salutem nostram quam cum credidimus* ? eo vel magis, quod divinae Providentiae hoc esse experiedon novimus ut extrema malorum a liberatione non admodum dissocientur. *Prope est ut veniat tempus eius, et dies eius non elongabuntur, Miserebitur enim Dominus Iacob, et eliget adhuc de Israël* [2] ut plane spes sit nos etiam brevi tempore

[1] Ier. viii. 15 [2] Isai. xiv. 1.

inclamaturos : *Contrivit Dominus baculum impiorum. Conquievit et siluit omnis terra, gavisa est et exultavit.*[3]

Anniversarius tamen dies, quinquagesimus ab adserto intaminato Deiparae conceptu, cur singularem in christiano populo ardorem animi excitare debeat, ratio nobis extat potissimum, Venerabiles Fratres, in eo, quod superioribus Litteris encyclicis proposuimus, *instaurare* videlicet *omnia in Christo.* Nam cui exploratum non sit nullum, praeterquam per Mariam, esse certius et expeditius iter ad universos cum Christo iungendos, perque illum perfectam filiorum adoptionem assequendam ut simus sancti et immaculati in conspectu Dei ? Profecto, si vere Mariae dictum : *Beata quae credidisti, quoniam perficientur ea, qua dicta sunt tibi a Domino*[4] ut nempe Dei Filium conciperet pareretque ; si idcirco illum excepit utero, qui Veritas naturâ est, ut *novo ordine, nova nativitate generatus . . . invisibilis in suis, visibilis* fieret *in nostris*[5] : quum Dei Filius, factus homo, *auctor* sit *et consummator fidei nostrae ;* opus est omnino sanctissimam eius Matrem mysteriorum divinorum participem ac veluti custodem agnoscere, in qua, tamquam in fundamento post Christum nobilissimo, fidei saeculorum omnium extruitur aedificatio.

Quid enim ? an non potuisset Deus restitutorem humani generis ac fidei conditorem aliâ, quam per Virginem, viâ impertiri nobis ? Quia tamen aeterni providentiae Numinis visum est ut Deum-Hominem per Mariam haberemus, quae illum, Spiritu Sancto foecunda, suo gestavit utero ; nobis nil plane superest, nisi quod de Mariae manibus Christum recipiamus. Hinc porro in Scripturis sanctis, quotiescumque *de futura in nobis gratia prophetatur ;* toties fere Servator hominum cum sanctissima eius Matre coniungitur. Emittetur agnus dominatur terrae, sed de petra deserti : flos ascendet, attamen de radice Iesse. Mariam utique, serpentis caput conterentem, prospiciebat Adam, obortasque maledicto lacrymas tenuit. Eam cogitavit Noë, arca sospita inclusus ; Abraham nati nece prohibitus ; Iacob scalam videns perque illam ascendentes et descendentes angelos ; Moses miratus rubum, qui ardebat et non comburebatur ; David exsiliens et psallens dum adduceret arcam Dei ; Elias nubeculam intuitus ascendentem de mari. Quid multa ? Finem legis, imaginum atque oraculorum veritatem in Maria denique post Christum reperimus.

[3] Isai. xiv. 5 et 7.
[4] Luc. i. 45.
[5] S. Leo M. Serm. 2. *de Nativ. Domini*, c. 2.

Per Virginem autem, atque adeo per illam maxime, aditum fieri nobis ad Christi notitiam adipiscendam, nemo profecto dubitabit qui etiam reputet, unam eam fuisse ex omnibus, quacum Iesus, ut filium cum matre decet, domestico triginta annorum usu intimaque consuetudine coniunctus fuit. Ortus miranda mysteria, nec non Christi pueritiae, atque illud in primis assumptionis humanae naturae, quod fidei initium ac fundamentum est, cuinam latius patuere quam Matri ? Quae quidem non ea modo *conservabat conferens in corde suo* quae Bethlehem acta, quaeve Hierosolymis in templo Domini ; sed Christi consiliorum particepts occultarumque voluntatum, vitam ipsam Filii vixisse dicenda est. Nemo itaque penitus ut illa Christum novit ; nemo illâ aptior dux et magister ad Christum noscendum.

Hinc porro, quod iam innuimus, nullus etiam hac Virgine efficacior ad homines cum Christo iungendos. Si enim, ex Christi sententia, *haec est autem vita aeterna : Ut cognoscant te, solum Deum verum, et quem misisti Iesum Christum*[6]*;* per Mariam vitalem Christi notitiam adipiscentes, per Mariam pariter vitam illam facilius assequimur, cuius fons et initium Christus.

Quot vero quantisque de caussis Mater sanctissima haec nobis praeclara munera largiri studeat, si paullisper spectemus ; quanta profecto ad spem nostram accessio fiet !

An non Christi mater Maria ? nostra igitur et mater est. Nam statuere hoc sibi quisque debet, Iesum, qui Verbum est caro factum, humani etiam generis servatorem esse. Iam, qua Deus Homo, concretum Ille, ut ceteri homines, corpus nactus est : qua vero nostri generis restitutor, *spiritale* quoddam corpus atque, ut aiunt, *mysticum*, quod societas eorum est, qui Christo credunt. *Multi unum corpus sumus in Christo.*[7] Atqui aeternum Dei Filium non ideo tantum concepit Virgo ut fieret homo, humanam ex ea assumens naturam ; verum etiam ut, per naturam ex ea assumptam, mortalium fieret sospitator. Quamobrem Angelus pastoribus dixit : *Natus est vobis hodie Salvator, qui est Christus Dominus.*[8] In uno igitur eodemque alvo castissimae Matris et carnem Christus sibi assumpsit et *spiritale* simul corpus adiunxit, ex iis nempe coagmentatum *qui crediturі erant in eum.* Ita ut Salvatorem habens Maria in utero, illos etiam dici queat gessisse omnes, quorum vitam continebat vita Salvatoris. Universi ergo, quotquot cum Christo iungimur, quique,

[6] Ioann. xvii. 3. [7] Rom. xii. 5. [8] Luc. ii. 11.

ut ait Apostolus, *membra sumus corporis eius, de carne eius et de ossibus eius*,[9] de Mariae utero egressi sumus, tamquam corporis instar cohaerentis cum capite. Unde, spiritali quidem ratione ac mystica, et Mariae filii nos dicimur, et ipsa nostrum omnium mater est. *Mater quidem spiritu . . . sed plane mater membrorum Christi, quod nos sumus.*[10] Si igitur Virgo beatissima Dei simul atque hominum parens est, ecquis dubitet eam omni ope adniti ut Christus, *caput corporis ecclesiae*,[11] in nos sua membra, quae eius sunt munera infundat, idque cumprimis ut eum noscamus et *ut vivamus per eum ?*[12]

Ad haec, Deipararae sanctissimae non hoc tantum in laude ponendum est quod *nascituro ex humanis membris Unigenito Deo carnis suae materiam* ministravit,[13] qua nimirum saluti hominum compararetur hostia ; verum etiam officium eiusdem hostiae custodiendae nutriendaeque, atque adeo, stato tempore, sistendae ad aram. Hinc Matris et Filii nunquam dissociata consuetudo vitae et laborum, ut aeque in utrumque caderent Prophetae verba : *Defecit in dolore vita mea, et anni mei in gemitibus.*[14] Quum vero extremum Filii tempus advenit, *stabat iuxta crucem Iesu Mater eius*, non in immani tantum occupata spectaculo, sed plane gaudens quod *Unigenitus suus pro salute generis humani offerretur, et tantum etiam compassa est, ut, si fieri potuisset, omnia tormenta quae Filius pertulit, ipsa multo libentius sustineret.*[15] Ex hac autem Mariam inter et Christum communione dolorum ac voluntatis, *promeruit* illa *ut reparatrix perditi orbis dignissime fieret*,[16] atque ideo universorum munerum dispensatrix quae nobis Iesus nece et sanguine comparavit.

Equidem non diffitemur horum erogationem munerum privato proprioque iure esse Christi ; siquidem et illaeius unius morte nobis sunt parta, et Ipse pro potestate mediator Dei atque hominum est. Attamen, pro ea, quam diximus, dolorum atque aerumnarum Matris cum Filio communione, hoc Virgini augustae datum est, ut sit *totius terrarum orbis potentissima apud unigenitum Filium suum mediatrix et conciliatrix.*[17] Fons igitur Christus est, et *de plenitudine eius nos omnes accepimus*[18]*; ex quo totum corpus compactum, et connexum per omnem iuncturam*

[9] Ephes. v. 30.
[10] S. Aug., L. *de S. Virginitate*, c. 6.
[11] Coloss. i. 18.
[12] 1 Ioann. iv. 9.
[13] S. Bed. Ven., L. iv. in Luc. xi.
[14] Ps. xxx. 11.
[15] S. Bonav. I. Sent. d. 48, ad Litt. dub. 4.
[16] Eadmeri Mon. *De Excellentia Virg. Mariae*, c. 9.
[17] Pius IX. in Bull. *Ineffabilis*.
[18] Ioann. i. 16.

subministrationis . . . augmentum corporis facit in aedificationem sui in caritate.[19] Maria vero, ut apte Bernardus notat, *aquaeductus* est[20]; aut etiam collum, per quod corpus cum capite iungitur itemque caput in corpus vim et virtutem exerit. *Nam ipsa est collum Capitis nostri, per quod omnia spiritualia dona corpori eius mystico communicantur.*[21] Patet itaque abesse profecto plurimum ut nos Deiparae supernaturalis gratiae efficiendae vim tribuamus, quae Dei unius est. Ea tamen, quoniam universis sanctitate sanctitate praestat coniunctioneque cum Christo, atque a Christo ascita in humanae salutis opus, *de congruo*, ut aiunt, promeret nobis quae Christus *de condigno* promeruit, estque princeps largiendarum gratiarum ministra. *Sedet* Ille *ad dexteram maiestatis in excelsis*[22]; Maria vero adstat regina a dextris eius, *tutissimum cunctorum periclitantium perfugium et fidissima auxiliatrix, ut nihil sit timendum nihilque desperandum ipsa duce, ipsa auspice, ipsa propitia, ipsa protegente.*[23]

His positis, ut ad propositum redeamus, cui Nos non iure recteque affirmasse videbimur, Mariam, quae a Nazarethana domo ad *Calvariae locum* assiduam se Iesu comitem dedit, eiusque arcana cordis ut nemo alius novit, ac thesauros promeritorum eius materno veluti iure administrat, maximo certissimoque esse adiumento ad Christi notitiam atque amorem? Nimium scilicet haec comprobantur ex dolenda eorum ratione, qui, aut daemonis astu aut falsis opinionibus, adiutricem Virginem praeterire se posse autumant! Miseri atque infelices, praetexunt se Mariam negligere, honorem uc Christo habeant: ignorant tamen non *inveniri puerum nisi cum Maria matre eius.*

Quae cum ita sint, huc Nos, Venerabiles Fratres, spectare primum volumus, quae modo ubique apparantur sollemnia Mariae sanctae ab origine immaculatae. Nullus equidem honot Mariae optabilior, nullus iucundior quam ut noscamus rite er amemus Iesum. Sint igitur fidelium celebritates in templis, sint festi apparatus, sint laetitiae civitatum; quae res omnes non mediocres usus afferunt ad pietatem fovendam. Verumtamen nisi his voluntas animi accedat, formas habebimus, quae speciem tantum offerant relligionis. Has Virgo quum videat,

[19] Ephes. iv. 16.
[20] Serm. de temp., in Nativ. B. V., *de Aquaeductu*, n. 4.
[21] S. Bernardin. Sen. · Quadrag. *de Evangelio aeterno*, Serm. x, a. 3, c. 3.
[22] Hebr. i. 3. [23] Pius IX. in Bull. *Ineffabilis.*

iusta reprehensione Christi verbis in nos utetur : *Populus hic labiis me honorat : cor autem eorum longe est a me.*[24]

Nam ea demum est germana adversus Deiparentem relligio, quae profluat animo ; nihilque actio corporis habet aestimationis in hac re atque utilitatis, si sit ab actione animi seiugata. Quae quidem actio eo unice pertineat necesse est, ut divini Mariae Filii mandatis pernitus obtemperemus. Nam si amor verus is tantum est, qui valeat ad voluntates iungendas ; nostram plane atque Matris sanctissimae parem esse voluntatem oportet, scilicet Domino Christo servire. Quae enim Virgo prudentissima, ad Carnae nuptias, ministris aiebat, eadem nobis loquitur : *Quodcumque dixerit vobis facite.*[25] Verbum vero Christi est : *S. autem vis ad vitam ingredi serva mandata.*[26] Quapropter hoc quisque persuasum habeat : si pietas, quam in Virginem beatissimam quis profitetur, non eum a peccando retinet, vel pravos emendandi mores consilium non indit, fucatam esse pietatem ac fallacem, utpote quae proprio nativoque careat fructu.

Quae si cui forte confirmatione egere videantur, hauriri ea commode potest ex ipso *dogmate* immaculati conceptus Deiparae. Nam, ut catholicam *traditionem* praetermittamus, quae, aequae ac Scripturae sacrae, fons veritatis est ; unde persuasio illa de immaculata Mariae Virginis Conceptione visa est, quovis tempore, adeo cum christiano sensu congruere, ut fidelium animis insita atque innata haberi posset ? *Horremus*, sic rei causam egregie explicavit Dionysius Carthusianus, *horremus enim mulierem, quae caput serpentis erat contritura, quandoque ab eo contritam, atque diaboli filiam fuisse matrem Domini fateri.*[27] Nequibat scilicet in christianae plebis intelligentiam id cadere, quod Christi caro, sancta, impolluta atque innocens, in Virginis utero de carne assumpta esset, cui vel vestigio temporis, labes fuisset illata. Cur ita vero, nisi quod peccatum et Deus per infinitam oppositionem separantur ? Hinc sane catholicae ubique gentes persuasum habuere, Dei Filium, antequam, naturâ hominum assumptâ, *lavaret nos a peccatis nostris in sanguine suo*, debuisse, in primo instanti suae conceptionis, singulari gratia ac privilegio, ab omni originalis culpae labe praeservare immunem Virginem Matrem. Quoniam igitur peccatum omne usque adeo horret Deus, ut futuram Filii sui Matrem non cuiusvis modo maculae voluerit expertem, quae voluntate suscipitur ; sed, munere sin-

[24] Matth. xv. 8.
[25] Ioann. ii. 5.
[26] Matt. xix. 17.
[27] 3. Sent. d. 3, q. 1.

gularissimo, intuitu meritorum Christi, illius etiam, qua omnes Adae filii, mala veluti haereditate, notamur : ecquis ambigat, primum hoc cuique officium proponi, qui Mariam obsequio demereri aveat, ut vitiosas corruptasque consuetudines emendet, et quibus in vetitum nititur, domitas habeat cupiditates ?

Quod si praeterea quis velit, velle autem nullus non debet, ut sua in Virginem relligio iusta sit omnique ex parte absoluta ; ulterius profecto opus est progredi, atque ad imitationem exempli eius omni ope contendere. Divina lex est ut, qui aeternae beatitatis potiri cupiunt, formam patientiae et sanctitatis Christi, imitando, in se exprimant. *Nam quos praescivit, et praedestinavit conformes fieri imaginis Filii sui, ut sit ipse primogenitus in multis fratribus.*[28] At quoniam ea fere est infirmitas nostra, ut tanti exemplaris amplitudine facile deterreamur ; providentis Dei numine, aliud nobis est exemplar propositum, quod, quum Christo sit proximum, quantum humanae licet naturae, tum aptius congruat cum exiguitate nostra. Eiusmodi autem nullum est praeter Deiparam. *Talis enim fuit Maria*, ait ad rem sanctus Ambrosius, *ut eius unius vita omnium sit disciplina.* Ex quo recte ab eodem conficitur : *Sit igitur vobis tamquam in imagine descripta virginitas, vita Mariae, de qua, velut speculo, refulget species castitatis et forma virtutis.*[29]

Quamvis autem deceat filios Matris sanctissimae nullam praeterire laudem quin imitentur ; illas tamen Eiusdem virtutes ipsos fideles assequi prae ceteris desideramus, quae principes sunt ac veluti nervi atque artus christianae sapientiae : fidem inquimus, spem et caritatem in Deum atque homines. Quarum quidem virtutem fulgore etsi nulla, in Virgine, vitae pars caruit ; maxime tamen eo tempore enituit, quum nato emorienti adstitit. Agitur in crucem Iesus, eique in maledictis obiicitur *quia filium Dei se fecit.*[30] Ast illa, divinitatem in eo constantissime agnoscit et colit. Demortuum sepulchro infert, nec tamen dubitat revicturum. Caritas porro, qua in Deum flagrat, participem *passionum Christi* sociamque efficit ; cumque eo, sui veluti doloris oblita, veniam interfectoribus precatur, quamvis hi obfirmate inclamant : *Sanguis eius super nos, et super filios nostros.*[31]

Sed ne immaculati Virginis conceptus, qui Nobis caussa scribendi est, contemplationem deseruisse videamur, quam is magna atque propria importat adiumenta ad has ipsas retinen-

[28] Rom. viii. 29.
[29] *De Virginib.*, l. 2, c. 2.
[30] Ioann. xix. 7.
[31] Matth. xxvii. 25.

das virtutes riteque colendas! Et revera, quaenam osores fidei initia ponunt tantos quoquoversus errores spargendi, quibus apud multos fides ipsa nutat? Negant nimirum hominem peccato lapsum suoque de gradu aliquando deiectum. Hinc originalem labem commentitiis rebus accensent, quaeque inde evenerunt damna; corruptam videlicet originem humanae gentis, universamque ex eo progeniem hominum vitiatam; atque adeo mortalibus invectum malum impositamque reparatoris necessitudinem His autem positis, pronum est intelligere nullum amplius Christo esse locum, neque ecclesiae, neque gratiae, neque ordini cuipiam qui naturam praetergrediatur; uno verbo, tota fidei aedificatio penitus labefactatur. Atqui credant gentes ac profiteantur Mariam Virginem, primo suae conceptionis momento, omni labe fuisse immunem; iam etiam originalem noxam, hominum reparationem per Christum, evangelium, ecclesiam, ipsam denique perpetiendi legem admittant necesse est; quibus omnibus, *rationalismi* et *materialismi* quidquid est radicitus evellitur atque excutitur, manetque christianae sapinetiae laus custodiendae tuendaeque veritatis. Ad haec, commune hoc fidei hostibus vitium est, nostra praesertim aetate, ad fidem eamdem facilius eradendam animis, ut auctoritatis Ecclesiae, quin et cuiusvis in hominibus potestatis, reverentiam et obedientiam abiiciant abiiciendamque inclament. Hinc *anarchismi* exordia; quo nihil rerum ordini, tum qui ex natura est tum qui supra naturam, infestius ac pestilentius. Iamvero hanc quoque pestem publicae pariter et christianae rei funestissimam, immaculati Deiparae conceplus delet dogma; quo nempe cogimur eam Ecclesiae tribuere potestatem cui non voluntatem animi tantum, sed mentem etiam subiici necesse est: siquidem ex huiusmodi subiectione rationis christiana plebs Deiparam concinit: *Tota pulchra es, Maria, et macula originalis non est in te.*[32] Sic porro rursum conficitur Virgini augustae hoc dari merito ab Ecclesia, *cunctas haereses solam interemisse in universo mundo.*

Quod si fides, ut inquit Apostolus, nihil est aliud nisi *sperandarum substantia rerum*;[33] facile quisque dabit immaculata Virginis conceptione confirmari simul fidem, simul ad spem nos erigi. Eo sane vel magis quia Virgo ipsa expers primaevae labis fuit quod Christi mater futura erat; Christi autem mater fuit, ut nobis aeternorum bonorum spes redintegraretur.

[32] Grad. Miss. in festo Imm. Concept. [33] Hebr. xi. 1

Iam ut caritatem in Deum tacitam nunc relinquamus, ecquis Immaculatae Virginis contemplatione illud sancte custodiendum, quod Iesus per antonomasiam suum dixit, scilicet ut diligamus invicem sicut ipse dilexit nos ? *Signum magnum*, sic apostolus Ioannes demissum sibi divinitus visum enarrat, *signum magnum apparuit in caelo : Mulier amicta sole, et luna sub pedibus eius, et in capite eius corona stellarum duodecim.*[34] Nullus autem ignorat, mulierum illam, Virginem Mariam significasse, quae caput nostrum integra peperit. Sequitur porro Apostolus : *Et in utero habens, clamabat parturiens, et cruciabatur ut pariat.*[35] Vidit igitur Ioannes sanctissimam Dei Matrem aeterna iam beatitate fruentem, et tamen ex arcano quodam partu laborantem. Quonam autem partu ? Nostrum plane, qui exilio adhuc detenti, ad perfectam Dei caritatem sempiternamque felicitatem gignendi adhuc sumus. Parientis vero labor studium atque amorem indicat, quo Virgo, in caelesti sede, vigilat assiduaque prece contendit ut electorum numerus expleatur.

Eamdem hanc caritatem ut omnes nitantur assequi quotquot ubique christiano nomine censentur vehementer optamus occasione hac praesertim arrepta immaculati Deiparae conceptus solemnius celebrandi. Quam modo acriter efferateque Christus impetitur atque ab eo condita religio sanctissima ! quam idcirco praesens multis periculum iniicitur, ne, gliscentibus erroribus ducti, a fide desciscant ! *Itaque qui se existimat stare, videat ne cadat.*[36] Simul vero prece et obsecratione humili utantur omnes ad Deum, conciliatrice Deipara, ut qui a vero aberraverint resipiscant. Experiendo quippe novimus eiusmodi precem, quae caritate funditur et Virginis sanctae imploratione fulcitur, irritam fuisse numquam. Equidem oppugnari Ecclesiam neque in posterum unquam cessabitur : *Nam oportet et haereses esse, ut et qui probati sunt, manifesti fiant in vobis.*[37] Sed nec Virgo ipsa cessabit nostris adesse rebus ut difficillimis, pugnamque prosequi iam inde a conceptu pugnatam, ut quotidie iterare liceat illud : *Hodie contritum est ab ea caput serpentis antiqui.*[38]

Utque caelestium gratiarum munera, solito abundantius, nos iuvent ad imitationem beatissimae Virginis cum honoribus coniungendam, quos illi ampliores hunc totum annum tribuemus ; atque ita propositum facilius assequamur instaurandi omnia in

[34] Apoc. xii. 1.
[35] Apoc. xii. 2.
[36] 1 Cor. x. 12.
[37] 1 Cor. xi. 19.
[38] Off. Imm. Conc. in II Vesp. ad *Magnif.*

Christo: exemplo Decessorum usi quum Pontificatum inirent, indulgentiam extra ordinem, instar Iubilaei, orbi catholico impertiri decrevimus.

Quamobrem de omnipotentis Dei misericordia, ac beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi, ex illa ligandi atque solvendi potestate, quam Nobis Dominus, licet indignis, contulit; universis et singulis utriusque sexus christifidelibus in alma Urbe Nostra degentibus vel ad eam advententibus, qui unam e quatuor Basilicis patriarchalibus, a Dominica prima Quadragesimae, nempe a die xxi februarii, usque ad diem II iunii inclusive, qui erit solemnitas sanctissimi Corporis Christi, ter visitaverint; ibique per aliquod temporis spatium pro catholicae Ecclesiae atque huius Apostolicae Sedis libertate et exaltatione, pro extirpatione haeresum omniumque errantium conversione, pro christianorum Principum concordia ac totius fidelis populi pace et unitate, iuxtaque mentem Nostram pias ad Deum preces effuderint; ac semel, intra praefatum tempus, esurialibus tantum cibis utentes ieiunaverint, praeter dies in quadragesimali indulto non comprehensos; et, peccata sua confessi, sanctissimum Eucharistiae sacramentum susceperint; ceteris vero ubicumque, extra praedictam Urbem degentibus, qui ecclesiam cathedralem, si sit eo loci, vel parochialem aut, si parochialis desit, principalem, supra dicto tempore vel per tres menses etiam non continuos, Ordinariorum arbitrio, pro pro fidelium commodo, praecise designandos, ante tamen diem VIII mensis decembris, ter visitaverint; aliquae recensita opera devote peregerint: plenissimam omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentiam concedimus et impertimus; annuentes insuper ut eiusmodi indulgentia, semel tantum lucranda, animabus, quae Deo caritate coniunctae ex hac vita migraverint, per modum suffragii applicari possit et valeat.

Concedimus praeterea ut navigantes atque iter agentes, quum primum ad sua domicilia se receperint, operibus supra notatis peractis, eamdem indulgentiam possint consequi.

Confessarius autem, actu approbatis a propriis Ordinariis potestatem facimus ut praedicta opera, a Nobis iniuncta, in alia pietatis opera commutare valeant in favorem Regularium utriusque sexus, nec non aliorum quorumcumque qui ea praestare nequiverint, cum facultate etiam dispensandi super Communione cum pueris, qui ad eamdem suspiciendam nondum fuerint admissi.

Insuper omnibus et singulis christifidelibus tam laicis quam ecclesiasticis sive saecularibus sive regularibus cuiusvis ordinis et instituti, etiam specialiter nominandi, licentiam concedimus et facultatem ut sibi, ad hunc effectum, eligere possint quemcumque presbyterum tam regularem quam saecularem, ex actu approbatis (qua facultate uti possint etiam moniales, novitiae aliaeque mulieres intra claustra degentes, dummodo confessarius approbatis sit pro monialibus) qui eosdem vel easdem, infra dictum temporis spatium, ad confessionem apud ipsum peragendam accedentes, cum animo praesens iubilaeum assequendi, nec non reliqua opera ad illud lucrandum necessaria adimplendi hac vice et in foro conscientiae dumtaxat, ab excommunicationis, suspensionis aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis et censuris, a iure vel ab homine quavis de causa latis seu inflictis, etiam Ordinariis locorum et Nobis seu Sedi Apostolicae, etiam in casibus cuicumque ac Summo Pontifici et Sedi Apostolicae *speciali licet modo* reservatis, nec non ab omnibus peccatis et excessibus etiam iisdem Ordinariis ac Nobis et Sedi Apostolicae reservatis, iniuncta prius poenitentia salutari aliisque de iure iniungendis, et si de haeresi agatur, abiuratis antea et retractatis erroribus, prout de iure, absolvere ; nec non vota quaecumque etiam iurata et Sedi Apostolicae reservata (castitatis, relligionis, et obligationis, quae a tertio acceptata fuerit, exceptis) in alia pia et salutaria opera commutare et cum poenitentibus eiusmodi in sacris ordinibus constituis etiam regularibus, super occulta irregularitate ad exercitium eorumdem ordinum et ad superiorum assequutionem, ab censurarum violationem dumtaxat, contracta, dispensare possit et valeat. Non intendimus autem per praesentes super alia quavis irregularitate sive ex delicto sive ex defectu, vel publica vel occulta aut nota aliave incapacitate aut inhabilitate quoquomodo contracta dispensare ; neque etiam derogare Constitutioni cum appositis declarationibus editae a fel. rec. Benedicto XIV, quae incipt ' *Sacramentum poenitentiae* ; ' neque demum easdem praesentes litteras iis, qui a Nobis et Apostolica Sede, vel an aliquo Praelato, seu Iudice ecclesiastico nominatim excommunicati, suspensi, interdicti seu alias in sententias et censuras incidisse declarati, vel publice denuntiati fuerint, nisi intra praedictum tempus satisfecerint, et cum partibus, ubi opus fuerit, concordaverint, ullo modo suffragari posse et debere.

Ad haec libet adiicere, velle Nos et concedere, integrum

cuicumque, hoc etiam Iubilaei tempore, permanere privilegium lucrandi quasvis indulgentias, plenariis non exceptis, quae a Nobis vel a Decessoribus Nostris concessae fuerint.

Finem vero, Venerabiles Fratres, scribendi facimus, spem magnam iterum testantes, qua plane ducimur, fore ut, ex hoc Iubilaei munere extraordinario, auspice Virgine Immaculata a Nobis Concesso, quamplurimi, qui misere a Iesu Christo seiuncti sunt, ad eum revertantur, atque in christiano populo virtutum amor pietatisque ardor refloreat. Quinquaginta abhinc annos, quum Pius decessor beatissimam Christi Matrem ab origine labis nesciam fide catholica tenendam edixit, incredibilis, ut diximus, caelestium gratiarum copia effundi in hasce terras visa est ; et, aucta in Virginem Deiparam spe, ad veterem populorum religionem magna ubique accessio est allata. Quidnam vero ampliora in posterum expectare prohibet ? In funesta sane incidimus tempora ; ut prophetae verbis conqueri possimus iure : *Non est enim veritas, et non est misericordia, et non est scientia Dei in terra. Maledictum, et mendacium, et homicidium, et furtum, et adulterium inundaverunt.*[39] Attamen, in hoc quas. malorum diluvio, iridis instar Virgo clementissima versatur ante oculos, faciendae pacis Deum inter et homines quasi arbitrai *Arcum meum ponam in nubibus, et erit signum foederis inter me et inter terram.*[40] Saeviat licet procella et caelum atra nocte occupetur ; nemo animi incertus esto. Mariae adspectu placabitur Deus et parcet. *Eritque arcus in nubibus, et videbo illum, et recordabor foederis sempiterni.*[41] *Et non erunt ultra aquae deluvii ad delendum universam carnem.* [42] Profecto si Mariae, ut par est, confidimus, praesertim modo quum immaculatum eius conceptum alacriore studio celebrabimus ; nunc quoque illam sentiemus esse Virginem potentissimam, *quae serpentis caput virgineo pede contrivit.*[43]

Horum munerum auspicem, Venerabiles Fratres, vobis populisque vestris apostolicam benedictionem amantissime in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die II Ferbuarii MCMIV, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

PIVS PP. X.

---

[39] Os. iv. 1-2.
[40] Gen. ix. 13.
[41] Gen. ix. 16.
[42] Ib. 15.
[43] Off. Imm. Conc. B,M.V.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE PRINCIPLES OF MORAL SCIENCE. An Essay by the Rev. Walter McDonald, D.D. Dublin: Browne and Nolan, Ltd., 1903.

DR. MCDONALD'S object, he tells us, has been 'to explain and defend a definite system of Moral Science, that, namely, which has been taught for centuries in the Catholic schools.' He has done something, we conceive, much more useful: he has subjected that system to an outspoken critical examination for which we can find no parallel in any other work on Moral Science. It is the criticism of a friend, but of a friend who is quick to observe deficiencies and to point them out. Not, indeed, that Dr. McDonald is critical only; a considerable portion of his book is given up, as he says, to an explanation and defence of commonly received opinions, and a further portion to the exposition of certain interesting opinions of his own; and the whole book is deserving of most careful study.

With not a few of Dr. McDonald's opinions we are disposed to disagree; and his reasoning does not always appear to us to be entirely convincing. But we have no doubt whatever as to the great value of the essay he has published. Very many of the points which he discusses have been subjects of controversy since men first busied themselves with Moral Science, and are likely to be still controverted so long as men are interested in such questions. In not a few the speculative view which men hold is of no vital consequence: it will not affect the practical conduct of their lives. But it is important that educated Catholics, members of the clergy more especially, should think out these problems, and think them out for themselves. It is not enough to accept blindly traditional arguments and traditional opinions, where the authority on which they rest is a purely human one. It is well to scrutinize the opinions and weigh the arguments apart from the long years and great names which appear to sanction them. And a chief merit—we had almost said the chief merit, of Dr. McDonald's book is this: it will teach its readers to think—to think seriously, to think

independently, and yet to think reverently. We heartily recommend the essay.

A. F.

A MANUAL OF MYSTICAL THEOLOGY; or, the Extraordinary Graces of the Supernatural Life Explained. By the Rev. Arthur Divine, Passionist, Author of *Convent Life*; *A Manual of Ascetical Theology*, etc. London: R. & T. Washbourne, 4, Paternoster-row; New York Benziger Bros. Price 7*s*. 6*d*. net.

THE author of this work is not unknown to our readers. Already he has written many religious works whose merit it has been our pleasure from time to time to bring under the notice of the public in the pages of this periodical. The book before us is a companion volume to *A Manual of Ascetical Theology*, published some few years ago, and it brings to a close the series of valuable works on Moral, Dogmatic, Ascetical, and Mystical Theology, to which the author's literary activity has been for some time past steadily devoted. We feel that no small service has been done in bringing within the compass of the ordinary man, unacquainted with Latin, the principles of Catholic Theology in its various branches.

The following is the plan of the present volume. It is divided into four parts. In the first of these, the meaning of Mystical Theology is explained, the nature of contemplation, its divisions, objects, causes, and fruits. Here the author describes the functions of the different faculties of the soul in the performance of the contemplative act, indicates the supernatural helps which the soul receives from God during the process, and notes that the resulting effects are, chiefly, humility, and human and Divine charity. Part II. treats of the preparation required for Contemplation, and in this connection the subjects of prayer, vocal and mental, mortification, active and passive mortification of the spirit and senses, are exhaustively dealt with. In the Third Part we are introduced into the depths of Mysticism. The various degrees of Contemplation are discussed from the initial stage, or prayer of recollection, to that exalted state—reached only by the privileged few—which consists in a permanent consciousness of God's presence in the soul and of His intimate and absorbing union with it in the firm bonds of ardent love. Following Scoramelli, the author divides the various degrees of

Contemplation into ten, and in his explanation of the secret mysteries or *arcana*, of these stages, he lays St. Teresa, St. John of the Cross, and other Mystics, under contribution. The last Part deals with certain Mystical phenomena which, though usually associated with the contemplative act, are not necessarily connected with it. Persons, linked to God by the ties of a deep love, sometimes are favoured with supernatural manifestations of Divine predilection. These take the form, generally, of visions, locutions, prophecies, private revelations, and miracles. A good deal of interesting information is given by the author in the discussion of these matters. For instance, the character and form of Scripture and later Church-history apparitions are examined, and the tests are given whereby the real may be discerned from the fictitious, the true from the false. In the light of what is said in this connection some accurate ideas may be gathered regarding the strange things we sometimes read of in the lives of the saints. For while many of these wonderful incidents do not exceed the bounds of possibility or probability, we are to be careful about accepting any, unless their authenticity is established on unimpeachable evidence. As an example, take the revelation said to have been made to Margaret Mary Alacoque about the final perseverance of those who make the Nine Fridays. The author, assuming the genuineness of the promise, rightly states that its acceptance in the literal sense would seriously conflict with the truths of Revelation, and hence maintains that it is to be understood not literally, but qualifiedly and hypothetically.

This brief and imperfect analysis of the work will help our readers to form some idea of its scope and contents. It is an attempt to synthetize the principles governing the higher life of the Mystic into a science, and we believe the author has succeeded in his purpose. For, after reading his book, Mysticism becomes simple of understanding, and the roads to it straight and easy. We are sure the work will be helpful for those aspiring after the higher life by its more difficult way of Contemplation. It will even be useful for those working out their salvation on a lower plane. Between the Mystic and the ordinary Christian the difference is only one of degree. For if, as the author of the *Psychology of the Saints* says, ' Mysticism is the love of God,' then every man who loves God is more or less of a Mystic, the difference being that while the life of the

common Christian is sometimes warped by worldly cares and concerns from its upward course, the life of the saint is altogether ' wrapped up and permeated with the love of God.'

The publishers have turned out the book in excellent style. The type is clear and readable, and the binding firm and durable.

P. M.

SCHRIFTEN UND EINRICHTUNGEN ZUR BILDUNG DER GEISTLICHEN. Marcus Siebengartner. Freiburg i/B.

IT is strange that, although the Church has always guarded most jealously the education of those who are to be her miniters, yet, if we except Theiner's book, published while still a young man, there was no reliable scientific history of clerical education.

To-day, when the relative merits of the seminary and the university, as regards the training of clerics, is being so earnestly, at times so warmly, discussed on the Continent, the work of Dr. Siebengarten is exceedingly opportune.

In the first portion of his book the author gives a clear sketch of clerical education from the Apostolic age down through the cathedral and cloister schools, the Middle Age universities, and the seminaries of the post-Tridentine period. In the second part he presents his readers with a series of documents bearing on the same question—St. Gregory's account of Origen's attitude towards his clerical pupils, Raban Maur on the education of the clergy, capitularies of Charlemagne on the same subject, the statutes of the Middle Age schools and universities, the rules laid down for seminaries by St. Charles Borromeo, the Regulations of St. Sulpice, and the Statutes of Maynooth. It is a pity that in this portion of his work the author should have thought it necessary to present his documents in a German translation. We earnestly recommend the book to those who are interested in clerical education, as well as to the wider circle of those who wish to study closely the educational life of the Middle Ages.

J. MACC.

THE FRIARS, AND HOW THEY CAME TO ENGLAND. By Father Cuthbert, O.S.F.C. Sands & Co. 1903.

OUTSIDE as well as inside the Church at present we find a

wonderful revival of interest in the life and works of St. Francis. We suppose it is because the circumstances of to-day resemble in so many points those of the age of St. Francis, and that a little more of his spirit infused into business life would do much to soften the bitter conflicts between capital and labour.

Father Cuthbert's book will be found useful and interesting. It consists of an Essay of 139 pages on the Friars, which serves as an Introduction to a translation of Ecclestone's 'Chronicle on the Coming of the Franciscans to England,' the latter occupying only 109 pages.

We have read the Introductory Essay and the Chronicle with the greatest interest, and we are convinced that the author's exposition of the spirit of St. Francis and his followers will come as a revelation to those who have been accustomed to follow less sympathetic writers.

But we do most emphatically protest against the author's calling his opening essay introductory. It is nothing of the kind. An introduction to such a work as Ecclestone's Chronicle should have given an account of the MSS., the reasons for rejecting or accepting certain passages, an account of the writer, as well as a sketch of the state of England when the Friars came. The author barely touches on these matters, and hence should have avoided titles which are likely to be misleading. The essay on the Friars, however, taken by itself, well deserves perusal. It shows St. Francis as he should be shown—the humble servant of his Master and the friend of the poor. The same spirit characterises the Franciscans till the present day.

J. MacC.

THE SQUIRE'S GRAND-DAUGHTERS. By Lady Gilbert. London: Burns and Oates. Price 5s.

M. DUNOIS, suffering from the errors of a wayward and misguided youth, finds, when he comes unexpectedly into possession of a vast English estate, his connection with the Anarchists inconvenient and oppressive. The struggle between the helpless old man and the ruthless agents of the society is sensational and pathetic. Still more pathetic is the self-sacrifice of his English grand-daughter, Marigold, when she learns the terrible secret of his past, and the more awful secret of the murderous errand which he is now compelled to undertake. Marigold and the

volatile little worldling, Fifine, the French grand-daughter, are finely contrasted. Lance Dangerfield, Marigold's *fiancé*, and the absent-minded but amiable old naturalist, Dr. Meadows, are very interesting sketches. The noblest character after Marigold is, undoubtedly, Sir Harley Winthrop. The villain of the plot is Colonel de Vedrasse.

The ultimate release of old Dunois by apoplexy, just in time to escape the fiendish clutches of this villain, and the complete vindication of his innocence of the murder of the Russian prince, leads to a solution of all difficulties. The plot is conceived with much skill, the characters well drawn, and the consummation, as the end of all novels ought to be, is happy.

SALVAGE FROM THE WRECK. By Father Gallwey, S.J. New Edition. London : Art and Book Co.

THE first edition of this well-known collection of Father Gallwey's funeral discourses was published in 1889. In this edition there are added the discourse preached at the funeral of Mrs. Theodore Galton, and the sermons delivered at the centenaries of Stonyhurst and New Hall. There are sixteen discourses in all, beginning with that preached on Sir Charles Temple in 1865, and including those on Lady Georgiana Fullerton, and Prince Louis Napoleon. The object of the author is 'to chronicle the good deeds and words of those we live with, that the good seed may not be wasted.'

THE SHAKSPEARE ENIGMA. By Rev. W. A. Sutton, S.J. Dublin : Sealy, Bryers, and Walker. Price 3s. 6*d*.

THIS is a reprint in one volume of the essays already contributed to the *New Ireland Review* by Father Sutton, on the authorship of the plays which ordinary persons are wont to attribute to Shakespeare. Everybody knows that Father Sutton combats the vulgar opinion, and firmly believes he has to demolish but the baseless fabric of superstitious veneration in which the name of Shakespeare is held by an unthinking multitude, and the obstinacy of another set who refuse to assent to reason, because such assent would require them 'to unlearn and recant much that they had learnt and announced with much pain and earnestness.' Father Sutton is convinced that his book contains evidence perfectly competent to exclude all reasonable doubt,

and ' to produce moral certitude, conviction without fear of being mistaken,' that Bacon is the author of these plays.

Father Sutton's book will be found very useful and interesting by all who desire an epitome of the literature and arguments of the Baconians. The author has no sympathy with the 'nostrums' of a certain offshoot of the Baconian school. His is a plain unvarnished tale, ' completely independent ' (barring a few) ' of anagrams, cryptograms, ciphers of all sorts,' which some using have turned to their own destruction ' on account of too much zeal in that direction.' Father Sutton objects to the intolerance displayed by the protagonists of the traditional belief ; presumably strength of conviction gives him a charter to brand an adversary as ' the maintainer of this vulgar, wanton, wilful, persistent error.'

The book errs, we think, in being too assertive, and in style it is possibly too adjectival. Nearly everyone is " illustrious." As we do not think respect for persons ought affect the value of argument, we fear the author attributes too much to personality when he says that ' with regard to this particular truth, that Bacon is really and truly Shakspeare, this book of Judge Webb will undoubtedly do signal service, both immediate and permanent, and that both on account of its intrinsic worth, and on account of its distinguished author.'

POEMS OF JAMES CLARENCE MANGAN. Centenary Edition. Edited by D. J. O'Donoghue. Dublin : O'Donoghue and Co. ; Gill and Son. London : A. H. Bullen.

THIS is the best collection yet published of the poems of Ireland's sweetest singer. It contains about two hundred of Mangan's poems, seventy of which have now been collected for the first time. Mr. O'Donoghue has laboriously searched every one of the many hiding-places of Mangan's poetry, sifted his discoveries, and given us in the present volume the best and most characteristic effusions of poor Mangan's genius.

The book is divided into seven parts. Part I. contains more than thirty versions, more or less free, from the Irish ; Part II. Original Poems relating to Ireland ; Part III. Original Poems, Personal and Miscellaneous ; Part IV. Oriental Versions and Perversions ; Part V. Oversettings from the German ; Part VI. Versions from the Castilian, Spanish, Welsh ; Part VII. Extravaganzas.

The volume contains John Mitchel's splendid Introduction to Mangan's poems, and Mr. O'Donoghue's Preface and very valuable notes on the sources from which he collected the poems.

Mr. O'Donoghue tells us that he discovered in all more than eight hundred poems by Mangan, and he believes that his tale is exhaustive. No one can speak with such authority on this subject as Mangan's biographer. He thinks the present collection comprises practically all that the poet's admirers will deem worthy of his genius. Yet we could wish that a complete collection, even though it extended to several volumes, were printed. While the poems are still to be found, it is a pity that they do not receive an abiding form.

We are grateful for the labours and research of Mr. O'Donoghue in giving us the present exquisite collection, and we wish the volume a hearty God-speed to the hearth of every Irish homestead.

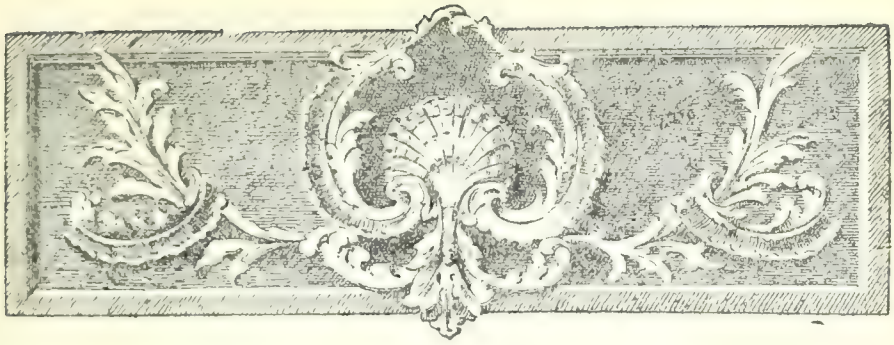
DAS ROSENKRANZGEBET. Fr. Schmitz, S.J. Herder, 1903.

FATHER SCHMITZ is to be congratulated on his contribution to the history of the Rosary. He tells us that he derived his information in great part from MSS. and books belonging to Denmark, where before the Reformation there were numerous houses of the Dominican Order. He is right in accepting the traditional origin of the devotion, the tradition being so well founded. His account of the Rosary as practised in the fifteenth century is careful and exact. We may note, in conclusion, that he perceives the truth of what has been so often said before, viz. :—that the mysteries we use are substantially those used by Alan Roche, who says that in his time they were the traditional ones.

J. M.

ALTAR-STONES

[In the diocese of Dublin Altar-stones can be obtained from the Sisters of Charity, Upper Gardiner-street. Outside of Dublin we do not know what special arrangements are made; but it is evident that what is so easy in Dublin cannot be impossible elsewhere.—ED. I. E. RECORD.]



DR. McDONALD'S 'PRINCIPLES OF MORAL SCIENCE'

THIS book deserves a welcome as an honest attempt to grapple with the difficulties of moral science. How great those difficulties are is generally recognised, and by none more fully and freely than by those who have tried to overcome them. Modern theories in history and science have directed renewed attention to the fundamental problems of ethics, and it is fitting that readers who are interested in the subject should be able to study the Catholic answer to those problems in the mother tongue. Students of theology, too, will benefit by being able to consult an English author, who goes over the ground rendered so familiar to them by our Latin text-books. There are many such works published in other modern languages, but as yet the English language is singularly deficient in them.

These, however, were not the reasons that induced Dr. McDonald to publish his essay. He tells us in his preface that while it is his main object to explain and defend the traditional system of morals which has been taught for centuries in the Catholic schools, yet he claims to have arrived at some important conclusions which are not to be found elsewhere. 'If it were otherwise,' he says, 'I should not have thought of writing or publishing.'

In the course of teaching moral theology, he noticed a considerable difference between the general principles

formulated in the treatises on Human Acts, Laws, and Conscience, and the special conclusions arrived at afterwards when treating of the particular virtues. These special conclusions he regards as the true rules of moral conduct, and as furnishing the material for that wider synthesis which forms the substance of the earlier and fundamental treatises. Hence these special conclusions should furnish a test for the validity and accuracy of the general principles laid down in the treatises on Human Acts, Law, and Conscience.

I quite agree. A general principle of morals which breaks down when applied to particular cases does not deserve to rank as a principle. It makes a pretence of being a rule of conduct, while in practice it furnishes no guide to conduct at all. If, then, the contention be true, that some of the general principles of the fundamental treatises of moral theology as found in our text-books do not harmonise with the doctrine on special virtues, all moralists will welcome the demonstration of its truth, and will be thankful for an accurate and plain statement of the general principles which should be substituted in place of the old.

No theologian would pretend that the common doctrine found in our text-books on the fundamental treatises of moral theology has reached its final, definitive, and perfect stage. Progress is still possible, and no doubt progress will be made in the method of presenting the doctrine, in the enunciation and ordering of the principles, and in other ways. And if we are to advance, some one must attempt the task, some one must act as pioneer of the way. This is another reason why this book deserves a welcome. But if the advance is to be on secure lines, it is no less necessary that the critic should be on the look out, and should perform his task honestly and fearlessly.

This is what I propose to do in this article. For the great bulk of the book, inasmuch as it presents in a good English dress the common doctrine of the Catholic schools, I have nothing but praise and a sincere welcome to offer. It is with two or three of those special conclusions at which

Dr. McDonald has arrived, and which he says are not to be found elsewhere, that I propose to deal. I may say frankly at the outset that I do not agree with them ; and so I find my place among those many students of morals, who, as he tells us in his Preface, the author foresaw would question and deny the success of his attempt in the direction of novelty.

In the remarks which I have to make I shall strive to be as impersonal as possible ; I shall look at the doctrines criticised from the purely objective point of view, and I am sure Dr. McDonald will not resent the friendly and honest criticism of a fellow-worker in a field of knowledge, as difficult as it is interesting.

A good practical test of the morality of an action is the effect which it produces. Adultery, theft, selfishness are seen to be morally wrong because of the evil consequences which they produce. What, however, is to be said of the moral quality of an action which produces both good and bad effects ? The administration of chloroform renders the subject insensible to pain, but it also deprives him of the use of reason for the time being ; craniotomy preserves the mother but it kills the child. How are we to judge of the morality of such actions as these which produce effects of opposite moral quality ? Dr. McDonald discusses and rejects the test which is commonly given in our text-books of moral theology. He translates the principle as formulated by Father Lehmkuhl thus :—

> It is lawful to perform an action which produces two effects, one good, the other bad,—provided (1) the action, viewed in itself is good or at least indifferent ; (2) the agent does not intend the evil effect, but only the good (it is well to add in some cases : and provided there is no danger of subsequent evil consent or intention) ; (3) the good effect is produced as immediately as—that is, not by means of—the bad ; (4) and there is a sufficiently weighty reason for permitting the evil effect. (Page 149.)

He then proceeds to criticise the principle in this manner :—

> There is not one of these four conditions that does not present difficulties to my mind. Let us take them in order :—

(1) 'The action'—that is, as I understand it, the external action—'viewed in itself, must be good or at least indifferent.' But is not the whole question at issue this: how is one to know whether this action is good in itself, when its effects are good as well as evil? You tell me that it is to be considered lawful—which is the same as good—if, among other things, it is good in itself; and I do not see how this makes me a whit the wiser. (Page 149.)

Dr. McDonald misunderstands the principle which he impugns. The whole question at issue is, of course, the morality of the action which produces both good and bad effects. We wish to know whether the administration of chloroform, for instance, is a good action; whether craniotomy is lawful; whether, to take a third example given by Dr. McDonald, it is lawful to walk in the fields in summer time for the sake of exercise and relaxation, in spite of the fact that at each step we crush the life out of many lowly forms of sentient being. The principle tells us that such actions will be morally good if certain conditions are verified. The first is that the action viewed in itself, that is, apart from its effects, must not be bad. This is not the whole question at issue, as Dr. McDonald asserts that it is; the question at issue is, whether the action remains good, even though it produce an evil effect. We can examine the morality of the action apart from its evil effect, and this is what the principle tells us to do. Thus, in the last instance quoted from Dr. McDonald, it is possible to walk in the fields without destroying sentient life at all, or at least we may conceive of its being done; the question is, whether it remains a lawful action in summer time, when it cannot ordinarily be done without destroying animal or insect life. The action of walking in the fields, even in summer time, is ethically good, or at least indifferent, viewed in itself, apart from consequences, and thus it satisfies the first condition laid down in the principle. This is a distinct step towards the solution of the question concerning the morality of walking in the fields in summer time; when we have got thus far, we are something more than a whit the wiser. For, if the question were whether

I may tell a lie to save another's life, or in other words, whether a lie is lawful when it produces a good effect in spite of its also producing a bad one, the question would at once be settled in the negative by the application of our principle; the first condition would not be satisfied, because to lie is bad in itself.

Dr. McDonald proceeds:—

(2) 'The agent must not intend the evil effect, but only the good.' But, according to the doctrine laid down in the last chapter, the question of intention or subsequent consent does not arise. We want to test whether a certain external action, regarded in itself, is morally good or bad; and I think I have shown that external acts, as such, do not depend for their morality on any concomitant or subsequent act of the will. (Page 149.)

Dr. McDonald misunderstands the second condition as seriously as he misunderstood the first. We are not concerned here with the mere external action regarded in itself. We want to know whether it is lawful to walk in the fields in summer time. The action is regarded as a complete human act, therefore as a voluntary act, as one issuing from free will, therefore as necessarily informed by a certain intention, an intention which may be good or bad. To walk in the fields in order wantonly to destroy sentient life is a bad action, because informed by a vicious intention; to walk in the fields for recreation, or to till them, is good. With a view to settling whether in a concrete case walking in the fields is a good and lawful action, the principle lays down the condition that the intention must not be bad. This has nothing to do with the disputed question whether the intention can change the nature of the external act.

The third condition is: 'The good effect must be produced as immediately as—that is—not by means of the bad.'

Criticising this condition Dr. McDonald asks: 'Is this universally true?' I answer, Yes, if in the circumstances the evil effect remains evil, for we must not do evil that good may come of it. To amputate a diseased leg in

order to save life is not evil, and so the example does not show that the condition laid down is false, though the Doctor seems to think that it does. And though he here implies that when chloroform is administered, the good effect is obtained through the evil, he does not prove it ; and even if that were proved, he would still have to show that to produce unconsciousness by administering chloroform when there is good reason for it, is evil. Dr. McDonald refers us to another work of his for a criticism of the terminology of the fourth condition, and then briefly subjoins :

> The ' weighty reason ' required is the good effect which must also be produced by the action. . . . Now it is not much addition to one's sum of knowledge to be told that an action is wrong which does not produce any but an evil effect ; nor does it help much to be informed further that the good effect produced must bear some proportion to the evil. (Page 150.)

I shall have something to say to this further on.

After his polemic against the principle of a double effect, Dr. McDonald inquires whether the distinction between direct and indirect causality may not serve as a basis for the test which ought really to be applied in all cases of mixed results. He rejects this suggestion, but in his discussion on this point he falsifies the meaning of the distinction as commonly used by theologians, and confounds it with the distinction between *per se* and *per accidens*. When theologians treat of the lawfulness of direct and indirect killing, the distinction does not merely refer to the direct or indirect causality of the external act ; it has special reference to the intention.[1] Dr. McDonald, indeed, rules the question of intention out of court, but such is not the practice of moral theologians when they discuss the questions with which the Doctor is here occupied, and inasmuch as those questions are concerned with human acts, acts necessarily informed by some intention, not with the merely physical

[1] ' *Directe* id dicitur intendi in quavis actione, quod *primario* et *ratione sui* intenditur. Correlativum habet *indirecte*, quod dicitur de illo, quod tantum ratione alterius intenditur et quasi *per accidens*. . . . In moralibus *directe* intendit homicidium, qui illud mandat ; *indirecte*, qui illius aliquam causam ponit, ut ebrietatem, ex qua illud sequatur.'—*Lexicon Scholasticorum Verborum.*

external acts of the body, as he seems to suppose, it is difficult to see the reason for abstracting from the intention.

Finally, the Doctor proposes a principle of his own in substitution for the principle of a double effect. He states it thus :—

> An external action is to be considered morally good, even though it should produce a bad as well as a good effect, provided (1) it does not subordinate a being which by nature is not to be subordinated ; and (2) the good effect produced is sufficient to compensate for the bad. (Page 158.)

The chief reason why Dr. McDonald wrote his book was, it will be remembered, to remedy a defect in other authors. As he says, just before the statement of his new principle :—

> I am convinced that when they come to practical work our theologians retain their sound common sense and forget or neglect the general principle which they were at such pains to establish at an earlier period, when treating of what I may call the metaphysics of moral science. (Page 157.)

Unless I am very much mistaken this procedure will be necessary in the case of Dr. McDonald's own principle. In fact, he himself virtually acknowledges as much. On two conditions, he says, an external action will be morally good, even though it produces a bad as well as a good effect ; first, it must not subordinate a being which by nature is not to be subordinated. But which are those beings which by nature are not to be subordinated ? Unless this is known, it will not be possible to apply the general principle. It will only be a general rule of conduct in so far as it enables us to decide the morality of particular cases. However, Dr. McDonald confesses that there is no general rule that can be given.

> It is reasonable to ask [he says] how one is to decide whether and how far any being is by nature subservient to another. I know of no general rule that may be applied ; one has to go through the different essences in nature, examine their circumstances, compare them, and then decide whether and how far they are independent or subservient. (Page 163.)

To go through the different essences in nature, examine

their circumstances, and compare them, is the work of a theologian, and not an easy task even for him; so that there will be no slight difficulty in discovering whether the first condition is verified in a particular case.

The second condition is, that the good effect produced should be sufficient to compensate for the bad. Now this seems identical with one of the conditions ordinarily required by theologians in the common statement of the principle of a double effect. 'There must be a sufficiently weighty reason for permitting the evil effect,' says Father Lehmkuhl, quoted above. Dr. McDonald would seem to have forgotten his criticism of that condition in the former connection: 'Nor does it help much,' he wrote, 'to be informed that the good effect produced must bear some proportion to the evil' (page 150). If it did not help much there, I cannot see how it can help much here. Furthermore, he confesses that here also no general rule can be given for deciding whether the good effect is sufficient to compensate for the bad (page 165). The circumstances must be balanced in particular cases, certain allowances have to be made; what those allowances are is a question which the writer on ethics has to face when he comes to treat of the separate virtues; in doing this he must draw liberally on the light supplied by other practical sciences. The work, evidently, is not child's play; in any case the result will not help us much.

I am afraid practical moralists will not find Dr. McDonald's principle of much use. It is as difficult to decide whether the conditions laid down are verified, as to decide the moral quality of the external action.

Moreover, unless I seriously misunderstand the Doctor's meaning, the principle is inadequately formulated. As laid down it would allow actions to be done which are certainly wrong. For example: I am in poverty, and I have the opportunity of relieving my wants and those of my family by stealing £5 from a wealthy neighbour. This action produces a good and a bad effect; it relieves my want, though to be sure it also deprives my neighbour of a sum which he will hardly miss. The action will be lawful,

according to Dr. McDonald, on condition that it does not subordinate a being which by nature is not to be subordinated, and if the good effect is sufficient to compensate for the bad. Both these conditions would seem to be verified by my action. I subordinate money to human wants, as by nature it should be subordinated; the good effect is out of all proportion to the bad. The money in my hands goes to feed my family, in the hands of its owner it would go to feed his dogs.

I must confess I do not see why this is not a legitimate application of Dr. McDonald's principle; it is with the purpose of excluding such applications of the principle of a double effect that theologians require, as a first condition, that the action in itself should be good, or at least indifferent; but Dr. McDonald rejects that condition as involving the whole question at issue.

Besides the principle of a double effect, Dr. McDonald adversely criticises the common doctrine about penal laws. However, his chief objections to that doctrine are not new; they appear to me to have been abundantly answered by such classical writers on Law as Suarez and Laymann. Besides, I should very much doubt whether the Doctor's rather strict views on this point are at all general in the land of potheen. It will be more interesting to pass on to his criticism of the fundamental principle of Probabilism and Equiprobabilism alike, the principle that doubtful laws do not bind the conscience.

This principle is capable of being understood in several ways. All theologians hold that doubtful laws bind in some sense. Thus, in a case of practical doubt as to the existence of a law I am bound to make due inquiry, and I am not at liberty to act until I can, directly or reflexly, form a certain conscience on the question. Dr. McDonald strives to show that there is no general law which obliges one in doubt to acquire certainty as to the rightness of his action before he proceeds to act. (Page 199, *sqq.*) But surely the law which forbids us to act with a doubtful conscience binds us to do this. *Quod non est ex fide peccatum est.* If I doubt whether it be a day of abstinence or not, and eat meat

without taking any pains to form a certain conscience, I commit a sin, and that whether it be a day of abstinence or not. For the very fact of my eating meat in spite of my being doubtful whether it is not forbidden by the Church shows that I am prepared to break the law of the Church about abstinence, and this is a sinful disposition, which is externated by my eating meat, which act therefore is a sin, whether there be a prohibition to eat meat on that day or not. This explains why it is always a sin to eat meat with a doubtful conscience, even when the doubtful law does not exist. How would Dr. McDonald explain this on his assumption that doubtful laws bind directly and of their own force ? A law which does not exist cannot bind. Dr. McDonald's argument, therefore, seems destitute of force. The fact that the sin committed by one who acts in doubt is of the same species as would be the sin committed against the doubtful law if it existed, does not show that a doubtful law binds the conscience ; it only proves that there is a general law which prescribes that we must form a certain conscience before we act.

Moreover, a doubtful law may in a certain sense be said to bind after due inquiry has been made, and the doubt cannot be directly solved. If, after forming my conscience in this case I act against the law which really exists, I commit a material sin, but I am excused from formal guilt. All theologians, I think, also admit this. The doubtful law is said in such cases to bind imperfectly, *in actu primo*, not perfectly and *in actu secundo*. Dr. McDonald hardly seems to admit the validity of this distinction as applied to the obligation of law, and almost violently attacks the defenders of probabilism, who use it in the exposition of their system. His remarks, however, show that he has misunderstood its history and meaning.

I do not know [he writes] when or by whom this distinction between first and second act was introduced into treatises on the binding force of laws. St. Alphonsus took it, apparently, from Cardinal Gotti ; and the curious in such matters may inquire whether the learned Cardinal is responsible for first transferring the terms in question from the treatises on actuality and

activity, where they were found originally and where they serve some purpose, to treatises on law and its obligation, where they are almost without meaning. (Page 206.)

But surely treatises on law and its obligation are treatises on actuality and activity. This appeared so evident to Suarez that he took it for granted at the beginning of his great treatise on Laws.[2]

There can be no objection, then, to using the distinction, *in actu primo* and *in actu secundo*, of the different phases in which we may consider the obligation of laws. Such classical authors as Suarez and Sylvius used it in this sense long before Gotti wrote. The very term *obligation* is derived from physical activity, as St. Thomas explains in a celebrated passage :—

Ita se habet imperium alicujus gubernantis ad ligandum in rebus voluntariis illo modo ligationis qui voluntati accidere potest, sicut se habet actio corporalis ad ligandum res corporales necessitate coactionis. Actio autem corporalis agentis nunquam inducit necessitatem in rem aliam nisi per contactum coactionis ipsius ad rem in quam agit, unde nec ex imperio alicujus regis vel domini ligatur aliquis, nisi imperium attingat ipsum cui imperatur ; attingit autem ipsum per scientiam. Unde nullus ligatur per præceptum aliquod nisi mediante scientia illius præcepti ; et ideo ille qui non est capax notitiæ, præcepto non ligatur ; nec aliquis ignorans præceptum Dei, ligatur ad præceptum faciendum, nisi quatenus tenetur scire præceptum. Si autem non teneatur scire, nec sciat, nullo modo ex præcepto ligatur. Sicut autem in corporalibus agens corporale non agit nisi per contactum, ita in spiritualibus præceptum non ligat nisi per scientiam.[3]

It is difficult, then, to see what ground Dr. McDonald has for objecting to a distinction which is in accord with the nature of things, and which has been consecrated by the usage of centuries in the schools. His subsequent remarks, however, show that he has seriously misunderstood the meaning in which the distinction is used.

Now, when those theologians [he writes] who defend probabilism by calling in aid this distinction between first and second

[2] Lib. I., c. iv., n. 3.

[3] *De Veritate*, q. 17, a. 3.

act,—when they say that a law which has been promulgated, indeed, but is not yet known for certain to a particular subject, binds only in first act, what do they mean ? What can they mean ? The first act of the law began to be, as we have seen, when the legislator's jurisdiction began ; and all the laws which it is possible for him to make, even though he has and never had the least intention of making them, bind in first act by the very existence of this power. That is the only philosophical meaning attaching to the term ' first act,'—a power to operate, as distinguished from an operation. (Page 207.)

There is a certain note of triumph about this, and it would be unfair to leave the reader to suppose that Dr. McDonald in unaware that the usage of theologians is against him. The facts are against him as well. We are here concerned not with the jurisdiction of the legislator, but with the obligation, binding force, activity, of the law. The jurisdiction of the law-giver is in first act while it remains *in habitu ;* it comes into second act when it is used to make a law. The law just made but not yet in force is in first act ; when it comes into operation, when it begins to bind, it is in second act. This may be illustrated and at the same time proved by a brief quotation from Sylvius :—

Controversia [utrum lex naturalis obliget omnes homines generaliter, etiam pueros et amentes] tolli posse videtur, dicendo quod ea lex omnes omnino aliqualiter obliget, scil. obligatione saltem imperfecta et in actu primo : quamvis non omnes obliget obligatione perfecta et in actu secundo.[4]

We have learnt from St. Thomas, quoted above, that a law binds perfectly and fully only through the knowledge of the subject. A law is a rule framed to direct the actions of rational beings, who are guided by reason and will ; in order then to guide them the rule must be known. A law is also a rule given to a community of men, not to an individual, so that in order to bind, it must be authoritatively brought to the knowledge of the community as such, or in other words, it must be promulgated. *Leges tunc instituuntur cum promulgantur.* Laws then do not exist in

[4] In I^{am} II^{ae} q. 94, a. 4.

their full and perfect being until they are by promulgation brought to the certain knowledge of the community. This is the teaching of St. Thomas, and, I think, of all theologians. Yet it is a truth which is sometimes ignored or forgotten by Dr. McDonald. Thus, on page 196, we read :—

> Moral theologians argue as if a law could not exist objectively whenever there is reasonable doubt as to this objective existence ; either because, in that case, it could not have been sufficiently promulgated ; or because laws can bind only those who have knowledge of their existence. These arguments, however, are so feeble that I can hardly regard them as being intended to prove,—what, nevertheless, is the only thing they could be conconceived to prove,—that the existence of law, objectively considered, is affected by doubt in the mind of the subject.

When moral theologians use these arguments to show that a doubtful law does not impose a perfect obligation, they are not dealing with a merely negative doubt, nor with the merely subjective doubt of some particular individual ; they mean a positive doubt resting on solid grounds, a doubt resting on an objectively probable opinion, which makes it objectively doubtful whether the law has been promulgated. For if it had been promulgated there could not be such ignorance of its existence among the community. In such circumstances the law has not been sufficiently brought to the knowledge of the community, and so it is wanting in one of its essential elements. This is what St. Alphonsus and other theologians mean when they say that a law which is not promulgated does not bind, or is no law ; and, that a doubtful law is not sufficiently promulgated. If Dr. McDonald had always borne this in mind, he would not have written such passages as the following :—

> Of themselves, therefore, doubts in the mind of those who are subject to a law, prove absolutely nothing as against the existence of the law ; and instead of laying down the principle, doubtful laws do not bind, we should say, It is doubtful whether laws bind in cases of doubt. A doubtful law binds or does not bind according to the truth or falsehood of either of the opinions about its existence or its meaning. (Page 197.)

Nor is it a question of subjective responsibility or freedom therefrom, as the Doctor seems to suppose :—

> The question of responsibility is thus raised: when and why is one responsible for an act which is out of order materially? Is it necessary that one should be subjectively certain of the material deordination? Or may a man be held responsible even though he is merely in doubt subjectively? The advocates of probabilism commonly maintain that there can be no responsibility as long as subjectively the agent merely doubts of the objective deordination. Is this proved? Is it true? (Page 198.)

Probabilists maintain that a probable opinion against a law does not merely affect individual responsibility, it affects the objective binding force of the law. However, I never came across a probabilist who maintained what Dr. McDonald says they commonly do maintain. This will be clear from what has been already said, and it is not necessary to comment on the three or four pages of argument with which the Doctor proves the falsity of a thesis which no probabilist, that I know of, would defend.

In spite of his objections to the maxim: Doubtful laws do not bind—Dr. McDonald allows that sometimes it is true. A doubtful law does not bind, he says, 'whenever observance of such a law is the greater of two or more evils or dangers of which one has to be faced or accepted.' (Page 205.)

There is, of course, a well-known principle of moral theology which prescribes that in case of a perplexed conscience, when we must choose one of two evils, there is an obligation to choose the less. Dr. McDonald goes further than this and seems to propose the principle as the one universal solvent of all cases of doubtful conscience. He writes:—

> Doubtful laws are to be observed whenever the evil or the danger to be apprehended from not observing them, is considered greater than any that would result from observance. This, accordingly, of all the principles yet proposed for the resolution of practical doubts, is the only one that a scientific moralist can harmonize with the other principles of his science. (Page 205.)

Further on he gives us an algebraic formula for the principle :—

When once you have become convinced that in cases of doubt the golden rule is to follow the course which is apprehended as least dangerous, the next question to be considered is, how quantities of danger are to be measured and compared so as to find out which is the least. It seems to me that they may be measured according to the following general rule: The quantity of the evil that is feared, multiplied by the probability that it will occur,—probability being regarded as a fraction of the unit certainty,—is equal to the amount of danger in any given case. The formula may be stated algebraically thus: $D = lp$; where D means the danger, l the loss or evil, and p the probability that this loss will be incurred. (Page 210.)

It seems to me that there is no probability that this golden rule will be adopted by moralists for other cases of doubt than those so-called cases of perplexity, in which there is no choice but the less of two moral evils. In one class of cases it would be immoral to apply it. I cannot do better than take an instance given by Dr. McDonald himself :—

Take, for instance, the case of a trades-union rule which is probably inordinate. It is a serious loss to the artizans concerned if the rule should be in order objectively whilst they are not allowed to act on it; and it may also be a serious loss to employers if the men are allowed to act on a rule which, objectively, is a violation of employers' rights. In this case the dangers are capable of being compared, just as if the question in doubt were one merely of fact. (Page 213.)

Let l be the loss to the artizans and p the probability that it will occur, while l' represents the loss to the employers and p' the probability that it will occur. Then by the formula, if

$$lp > l'p'$$

the artizans may act on the trades-union rule, which is probably unjust. And so, according to this doctrine, I may do something which is probably unjust to my neighbour in order to avoid a greater money loss to myself. Does Dr. McDonald mean this? Is it sound morality?

In many other cases of doubt, the rule cannot be applied

for want of definiteness in the elements of the case, or because the two evils or losses are incommensurable, or too dependent on subjective considerations. I doubt, for example, whether I have said my Breviary. In such cases Dr. McDonald tells us, if I understand him rightly, to estimate the relation of the loss accruing from enforcing a law which does not exist, to that which is caused by not enforcing a law which does exist. The loss accruing from enforcing a law which does not exist in this case is about an hour of my time; but, on the other hand, by saying my Breviary again I gain merit. On the other side of the account by not enforcing a law which does exist I lose spiritual merit, but I gain an hour of time. Dr. McDonald seems to suppose that there is always loss to somebody, the Church or the lawgiver perhaps, when a doubtful law is not enforced. This I fail to see. When an adverse custom makes the obligation of a law first of all doubtful, and then removes it altogether, is it not for the public good in the circumstances? Putting this aside, how can the loss of merit be measured in this case? On one supposition I gain merit for saying my Breviary twice in the day, on the other I lose what I should have gained by saying it once. Then, what is the relation between the value of merit and of time? And what value shall I give to my time? It is worth more in the morning when I am fresh; less after dinner; it has probably a middle value in the evening up to, say, six o'clock, when it rapidly increases till bed-time. But how measure all this quantitatively for the purposes of the formula?

Then there is the difficulty of assessing the probabilities. Dr. McDonald takes it for granted that a probabilist will assess them differently from an equiprobabilist. Here, then, we are landed in all the dangers of subjectivism. In short, Dr. McDonald's great principle had better be confined to the class of cases for which it is suitable, and for which it is commonly employed by theologians. If we attempt to apply it to other cases, we shall find that it is no fixed guide, but a very weathercock which will point in any direction towards which the impulse of passion drives us.

The foregoing strictures on the special conclusions arrived at by Dr. McDonald in his book suggest a question with regard to his fundamental assumption, that the general principles as stated in our text-books on Human Acts, etc., are not in keeping with the particular conclusions formulated in the treatises on the special virtues. Is this true?

It seems to me that it is only true in a very qualified and immaterial sense. The general principles necessarily abstract from special features and particular circumstances, which have to be considered and allowed for, when the general principles are applied to concrete cases. This is no more than has to be done in other sciences. When we apply the truths of pure mathematics to physical science, corrections and allowances have to be made continually. The infinite complications of nature are too complex for our abstract theories. In some such sense it may be said that the intricacies of human acts cannot be expressed in a simple formula. And yet, just as no one would deny the truth and the value of pure mechanics, because the truths it teaches have to be applied with caution and with necessary corrections when we come to applied mechanics, so the truth and the value of the general principles of morality should not be impugned because in their application we have to allow for special circumstances. This is done by theologians, who frequently apply a general principle tacitly, without quoting it in so many words, just as the mathematician uses the multiplication table, or the logician the principle of contradiction. If Dr. McDonald will give due attention to these considerations, I shall be surprised if the inconsistency which he has noticed in our text-books will not disappear.

T. SLATER, S.J.

THE CENTENARY OF BOSSUET—II

BOSSUET'S SERMONS

III.

IN the foregoing portion of this paper (I. E. RECORD, April, 1904), we have sketched the career and studied the rank which belongs to Bossuet as a preacher. But, however interesting it is to inquire what rank Bossuet holds amongst preachers it is no less interesting and more instructive to consider what was the preparation he made for preaching, and what were his principles with regard to the office and end of preaching. Two things are necessary for success in preaching, namely, aptitude and diligence ; and in both Bossuet was pre-eminent. By nature he was formed for eloquence. While he was still a student at the College of Navarre, an incident occurred which shows his aptitude for public speaking. One evening, at the Hotel de Rambouillet, the Marquis de Feuquières mentioned the young Bossuet, and stated in presence of a large company that if the young student were given a subject and shut up in a room without books, he would be ready after a few minutes' reflexion to deliver a discourse upon it. Madame and Mdlle. de Rambouillet wished to test the truth of the statement. A carriage was despatched to the College of Navarre to fetch the young Bossuet. On his arrival a subject was named, and he was given a few minutes for preparation, at the end of which he delivered a discourse on the General Judgment which delighted and astonished his audience. Voiture, a celebrated literary man of the period, was present, and at the conclusion of the discourse he remarked that he had never heard anyone preach so early or so late.[1] The preacher was aged sixteen, and the hour was eleven at night. During his studies

[1] 'Qu'il n'avait jamais ouï precher, ni si tot ni si tard.'—Bausset, *Histoire de Bossuet*, liv. i.

Bossuet gave many other proofs of his talent for oratory by the manner in which he acquitted himself in delivering academic addresses. But he had the wisdom to know that the best talents require cultivation. Therefore he made long and careful preparation before he undertook the duty of preaching. According to Bousset himself, in his letter to Cardinal de Bouillon, two things are indispensable in preparation for preaching:—*former le style, et apprendre les choses*,[2] 'to form one's style, and to lay up a store of knowledge.' By the study of the great classic models, and especially by the study of Cicero, he formed his style. He was not unacquainted with the best writers of his time, but not to these did he attribute the formation of his style. 'I have read,' he says to Cardinal de Bouillon, 'French authors but little. Whatever I possess in respect to style I have derived from Latin authors, and to some extent from Greek writers, such as Plato, Isocrates, and Demosthenes.'

But what he considered more important than style was a fund of knowledge. Cicero requires that an orator be a man possessing *multarum rerum scientiam*. Bossuet judged that a preacher required wide and varied knowledge. 'For fulness is needed to produce abundance, and abundance to produce variety, and without abundance and variety it is impossible to please.' The first kind of knowledge necessary for a preacher is that of the Holy Scripture. 'A man preaches more or less efficiently according as he is more or less versed in the Holy Scripture.'[3] Bossuet acted on this principle, and he made the Scriptures his life-long study. He carried a copy of the Bible with him on his journeys. He made it a rule that in all his residences—at Paris, at Court, and in the country—there should always be a Bible and a Concordance on his desk. 'I could not live without it,' he used to say. He read the sacred text again and again; and made notes of the reflexions

[2] Letter to Cardinal de Bouillon, 1670:—'Sur le style et la lecture des Ecrivains et des Pères de l'Eglise pour former, un orateur.' See Anatole Floquet, *Etudes sur la vie de Bossuet*, vol. ii., p. 516. Paris: 1855.

[3] St. Augustine, *de Doctrina Christiana*, lib. iv.

which occurred to him as he read, as well as of the passages which might be useful in the preparation of his sermons. In the letter already mentioned we have, from himself, an interesting account of his method of reading the Sacred Scriptures :—

> The plan I have followed in reading them is to note, in the first place, the striking passages which are easily understood, without being concerned about those which are obscure. By this means one's mind becomes filled with the whole substance of the Scripture. St. Augustine very justly remarks that the obscure passages contain no other truths than are contained in those which are clear. The reasons he gives are beautiful, but too long to repeat. The clear passages are the most beautiful, and if I had to train a young man I would make him read them so often that he would know them by heart. In this way he would come to know the most beautiful passages ; and then he would proceed to those which are difficult. As regards the Old Testament, I have never done anything else than read the version according to the Hebrew and compare it with the Vulgate, and catch the genius and form of expression of the sacred text. Vatable alone furnishes all that in his translation and notes. When difficulties occur which are not explained, I would advise to pass on, for a man may be very learned without knowing everything, and in that Book one never knows everything. Moreover, I have learned by experience that by persisting in the effort to understand the obscure passages one wastes time which should be devoted to reflexion on what is clear, for it is this reflexion which forms the intellect and nurtures piety.

Next after the study of the Scriptures he made a diligent study of the Fathers of the Church. During the six years of his residence at Metz he devoted to study all the time not required for the fulfilment of his duty as canon. He read assiduously the writings of the Greek and Latin Fathers, and made a large collection of extracts for future use, which in his manuscripts he entitled *Reflexions Morales*. The Abbé Delmont, in a learned work entitled *Bossuet et les Saints Pères*, has made a critical examination of the writings of Bossuet, and has shown, what indeed must be evident to all who read his sermons, how deeply versed he was in the works of the Fathers. The erudite Origen, the grave Tertullian, the sweet St. Gregory of Nazianzen, the eloquent Chrysostom, the divine Augustine, St. Athanasius, St.

Ambrose, St. Jerome, and St. Gregory, all contribute their share to enrich the flood of Bossuet's eloquence.

But, perhaps, the best evidence of the attention he bestowed on the study of the Fathers is to be found in the letter to Cardinal de Bouillon, from which so much has already been quoted:—

As to the Fathers [he writes], I should like to combine St. Augustine and St. Chrysostom. The one elevates the mind to great and subtile thoughts, the other brings it down to the level of the people. The former, if studied by himself, would produce a style too abstract, and the latter a style too simple and too popular. Not but each has his defects; but in authors we ordinarily take their leading characteristic. In St. Augustine is to be found the whole doctrine; in St. Chrysostom exhortation, rebuke, strength, the method of treating examples from Scripture and of developing every word and every circumstance. I should wish to read St. Augustine pretty much in the following order:—The treatises, *De Doctrina Christiana*, *De Catechizandis Rudibus*, *De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae*, *Encheiridion ad Laurentium*, *De Spiritu et Litera*, *De Vera Religione*, *De Civitate Dei* (the latter to have, as it were, an abridgment of his whole teaching). Add to these a few of his letters; for instance, that to Volusian, *Ad Honoratum*, *De Gratia Novi Testamenti*, and a few others; and the treatises *De Sermone Domini in Monte*, and *De Consensu Evangelistarum*.

With regard to St. Chrysostom, his work on St. Matthew, in my judgment, is his best. It is well translated into French, and in reading it one might, at the same time, collect matter and form one's style. However, when there is question of dogmatic proof, one should never trust translations. The homilies (of St. Chrysostom) on Genesis are excellent; on St. Paul admirable; those to the people of Antioch very eloquent; also some detached homilies on various texts and incidents.

I strongly recommend the *Pastoral* of St. Gregory, particularly the third part, which, if I mistake not, is most remarkable for admonitions to all classes of persons, and contains admirable moral lessons and the substance of the teaching of that great Pope.

These works serve to supply a body of doctrine; but, as custom requires that one should quote certain sentences, that is to say, *accuratius aut elegantius dictata*, Tertullian furnishes many such. But one should bear in mind that the beautiful passages are very well known. The best works of Tertullian are his *Apology*, *De Spectaculis*, *De Cultu Muliebri*, *De Velandis Virginibus*, *De Poenitentia*, admirable; *Contra Marcionem*, *De Carne*

Christi, De Resurrectione Carnis. De Praescriptionibus is excellent, but for a different purpose.

In St. Cyprian one learns admirably the divine art of using the Scriptures, and of gaining authority by causing God to speak on all subjects, by making a serious and solid application of them. St. Augustine also teaches the same admirably, by the manner and the authority with which he uses the Scriptures in his polemical works, especially in his works against the Pelagians. What one should learn from that Father is not so much ideas and passages for quotation, as the manner of treating dogmatic and moral subjects, and the purest spirit of Christianity. For the rest the reading of the Fathers, such as I propose, is not so long as it appears. With a little time and perseverance it is incredible how much one can get through.

Clement of Alexandria will come in his turn, and it will be useful to read his *Pedagogue;* also certain select sermons of St. Gregory Nazianzen, an author well suited to elevate one's style.

Amongst the Fathers Bossuet's preference was for St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine. He had a small edition of St. Augustine's works containing the treatises on the Psalms, on the City of God, and against the Donatists. This he carried about with him wherever he went. Moreover, in each of his residences he had a complete edition of all St. Augustine's works. If asked to preach with but little time for preparation, he used but two books, the Bible and St. Augustine.

Thus did Bossuet form his style and collect a store of knowledge. But besides this general preparation he carefully prepared his sermons when it was his duty to preach. Before entering on a course of Lent or Advent sermons, he arranged the list of subjects to be treated, and made a collection of matter. Moreover, he wrote in full all the discourses which he preached during the years of his residence in Paris. The manuscripts still exist, and furnish evidence of his industry. Some of the earlier amongst them show how prevailing fashions sometimes influence even great minds. While he was at the College of Navarre, phonetic spelling was much in vogue amongst the students. Bossuet for a time adopted the phonetic method. In some of the earlier manuscript sermons, for instance, he writes: 'longtans' (*longtemps*), 'hureux,'

(*heureux*), 'tans' (*temps*), 'pène' (*peine*), etc. In maturer years he abandoned, and as a member of the Academy he condemned, the phonetic system of writing. As he became more experienced in public speaking he sometimes contented himself with sketching the outline of his discourse, noting the texts of Scripture and the extracts from the Fathers which he purposed to make use of, or referring to the collection he had already made, viz., 'Extraits de l'Ecriture Sainte,' and 'Remarques Morales.' The latter method is that which he followed during the period of his residence at Meaux. But we can find no better testimony than that of Bossuet himself as to the diligence with which he prepared for preaching. At the close of his sermon on 'The Vain Excuses of Sinners,'[4] he speaks as follows :—

St. Augustine, of old time, spoke thus to his audience from the pulpit : 'Consider, brethren, how painful and how laborious our life is ; ' and having set before them his labours and his dangers, he continued : 'Console us in this world by living virtuously (*consolamini nos bene vivendo*).' Like that great man I also may say to you with modesty and simplicity of heart, that in truth our life is laborious. We wear out our minds in searching the Sacred Scriptures and ecclesiastical writers for what is useful for your salvation ; in selecting what is appropriate to you ; in adapting ourselves as far as possible to the capacity of all, for one must find bread for the strong, and milk for the children. But enough on the subject of our toil, we do not make it a matter of reproach to you. After all it is a duty ; and if labour is painful idleness is insupportable.

But diligent though his preparation was he did not rely on it alone for success. He knew that the grace which fertilizes the Divine word must come from above, and that he who desires to preach with fruit must be, as St. Augustine expresses it, *orator antequam dictor*,[5] and must join prayer to preparation. Hence he added prayer to study. One day as he was about to preach, two of his attendants entered his room. They found him on his knees before a crucifix, rapt in reflexion, with the book of the Gospels open before

[4] 'Sur les vaines excuses des pécheurs.'
[5] *De Doctrina Christiana*, lib. iv., 15.

him. This, says the historian of his life, was his habitual practice before preaching. No wonder grace was on his lips!

But what was the motive which animated Bossuet to prepare so diligently for preaching? What was the estimate he formed of the office and the scope of preaching? Bossuet looked on the office of preaching as analogous to that of offering the Holy Sacrifice. To his mind the pulpit was as sacred as the altar. In his sermon on the Word of God,[6] he expresses this noble idea :—

> Christians [he says], in the temple of God there are two places, august and venerable, the pulpit and the altar. In the one petitions are offered to God, in the other His ordinances are proclaimed. In the one the sacred ministers speak to God on behalf of the people, in the other they speak to the people on behalf of God. In the one Jesus Christ is adored in His real body, in the other He makes Himself known in the truth of His doctrine. There is a close alliance betewen these two sacred places; and the works accomplished in them bear an admirable relation to each other. In both there is distributed to the children of God a heavenly nourishment. If you desire a parallel yet closer: in the one by the efficacy of the Holy Ghost and by the mystic words, on which we cannot think without trembling, the gifts offered are changed into the body of Christ; in the other by the same spirit and by the power of the Divine word, the faithful should be interiorly changed and made the body and the members of Jesus Christ.

Such was Bossuet's idea of the dignity and sanctity of the preacher's office. His idea of the end of preaching was no less sublime :—

> Christ [he says] did not establish preachers to be ministers of pleasure, of refinement, of public curiosity, but to strengthen the reign of truth: 'I am the Lord thy God who teach thee profitable things, that governs thee in the way that thou walkest."[7]

Great as were his powers of oratory his guiding principle was, *L'utilité des enfants de Dieu est la loi suprème de la chaire* —'The utility of the children of God is the first law of

[6] 'Sermon sur la parole de Dieu.'
[7] Isaias xlviii. 17.

preaching.'[8] A motto worthy to be engraved on every pulpit! This was the principle which guided his own conduct, and this was the principle he impressed on his clergy:—

> Speak [he said to them], speak simply and plainly to the people. Abandon yourselves to the impulse of Christian charity, and the Holy Ghost will inspire your words. It is not man who speaks or acts; it is God who acts through him by His all-powerful grace.

He lamented that preachers did not preach sufficiently often on the mysteries of religion. 'How can men,' he said, 'love Jesus Christ if they do not know Him.'[9] He knew that efficiency in preaching depends in some measure on training. Hence he urged the superiors of his seminary to train up the young clergy with care in the practice of public speaking. To attain the end of preaching he did not rely on human eloquence. Like St. Paul he desired 'to recommend himself to the conscience of men by the manifestation of truth.'[10]

> The ear [he says] is flattered by harmony and arrangement of words; the imagination is pleased by refinement of thought; the intellect is swayed by probability of argument; but the conscience seeks for truth. And as it is to the conscience preachers address themselves, they should not aim at brilliant and sparkling wit which pleases, nor at harmony which delights, nor at emotion which thrills; they should seek the flash which pierces, the thunder which awes, the bolt which crushes hearts. Where shall they find these things if they do not make truth to shine; and Jesus Christ Himself to speak? The evangelical preacher is he who makes Jesus Christ Himself to speak, but he does not make Him use the language of men; he fears to give a strange form to eternal truth. Therefore he derives all from the Scripture, he even adopts its sacred language not only to strengthen, but also to embellish his discourse.[11]

Such was Bossuet's career as a preacher and such his principles. According to Cicero[12]:—

> There is nothing more rare than a perfect orator. To be

[8] Exord.: 3 Sermon on the Immaculate Conception.
[9] Bausset, *Vie de Bossuet*, liv. vii.
[10] 2 Cor. iv. 2.
[11] 'Sermon sur la parole de Dieu,' 1st point.
[12] *De Oratore*, lib i., c. 28.

a perfect orator (he adds), a man should possess the acuteness of the logician, the wisdom of the philosopher, the language almost of the poet, the memory of the lawyer, the voice of the tragedian, and the gesture of the actor.

A perfect preacher is no less rare, yet such a one was Bossuet. In him was united a majestic presence, a powerful and melodious voice, a flowing delivery, elevation of thought, grace of diction and strength of argument. All cannot reach the heights to which he attained. But for all his example and his principles are instructive and inspiring. The study of a great model exercises an elevating and refining influence even on those who cannot reproduce it. So it is with Bossuet. The history of his career shows also the excellence of classical and ecclesiastical studies. Leo XIII. holds him up as an illustration of it to the Bishops of France. In his *Letter on Clerical Studies*, 8th September, 1899, he writes :—

> After having yielded to the exigencies of programmes what circumstances may require, the studies of aspirants to the priesthood must remain faithful to the traditional methods of past ages. It was by them that were formed the eminent men of whom the Church of France is so justly proud ; the Petaus, the Thomassins, the Mabillons, and many others, not to mention your Bossuet, styled the eagle of Meaux, because by elevation of thought and sublimity of expression his genius soars into the loftiest regions of science and Christian eloquence.[13]

Bossuet's high conception of the dignity and end of preaching has a lesson even for those unacquainted with the language in which he spoke. Like St. Augustine, who spent his life in preaching to the labourers and fishermen of Hippo, Bossuet employed the eloquence which had delighted the brilliant audiences of the capital, in instructing the inhabitants of a small provincial town. The two greatest orators of the Church did not think it beneath them to preach to the poor. To Bossuet it seemed that 'a single good thought suggested to a single soul'[14] was a sufficient reward for a preacher's labour. To him the supreme law

[13] Leo XIII., *Letter to the Bishops of France*, 8th September, 1899.
[14] *Elevations sur les mystères*, 24 Semaine, No. 10.

of preaching was the utility of the faithful. His diligence, too, in the study of Holy Scripture and of the Fathers is not beyond imitation. Men sometimes speak of the 'decadence' and the 'decay of modern preaching.' The history of Bossuet's career indicates the remedy if the evil exists. To him as to others labour was painful, but to him idleness was insupportable. He sought inspiration at its source, in the Scriptures and in the Fathers. Therefore, 'the Lord filled him with the spirit of understanding, and he poured forth the words of his wisdom as showers.'[15] What more salutary lesson can be learned from his centenary than to adopt his ideals and imitate his example?

PATRICK BOYLE, C.M.

[15] Eccles. xxxix. 9.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION—SOME QUERIES AND REPLIES

THROUGHOUT the country there are many priests who are taking a deep interest in the spread of Technical Education. They consider this training on its own merits apart from what channel it may travel through and they go further and feel that in a great measure it depends on ourselves whether it is to be of the right sort or not. From such as these I receive many queries and as there may be a great number whose minds turn towards the same line of enquiry, I have asked the Editor of the I. E. RECORD to allow me a few pages which may enable me to answer many such querists at once.

A frequent question has been whether I can recommend any good book on Technical Education. As such a book does not exist, for the simple reason that it could not, of course I cannot name it. A little consideration of what this education is, will show that such matter could not be contained in any one book save a very large encyclopædia. The matter covers every profession, trade, or way of living in which scientific principles may be adopted, from that of the electrical engineer or the industrial chemist, down to the humble, but necessary, chimney sweep. The consequence is, that no one manual could embrace such a wide area. Anyone who would wish to study a course of Technical Education in this sense should read up the works of experts on every line of industry which would be almost an impossible task. But I think there is a little manual which meets the want in this particular case. Many an enquirer likes to know in a broad way the features of technology, the scientific facts or principles underlying agriculture and industries. To such I can recommend a handy manual, *Technology for Schools*, published by Blackie and Son. There are few books which, in a compass of just 200 pages, treat of so many subjects from this

particular view, and anyone who reads carefully through it, will lay a good foundation for future research on more extensive lines. As a correlated work of very great value and also small compass, I think no one should be without *Fields, Factories, and Workshops*, published by Sonnenschein & Co. There is material for a life-time's thought and work in the pages of this book.

I presume no Irish priest, interested in this movement, is without Coyne's *Ireland: Industrial and Agricultural.* This work, written by as true an Irishman as he was a Catholic may be called the 'Summa' in this particular line of thought. Lastly, there is nothing that wins so many adherents to the belief in scientific method as the study of these countries in which it has been given an honest trial. For such reading there is a first-class series published by Newnes, London, which sketches the Continental countries in a very interesting way. Swiss life in town and country, Danish and Belgian ditto,—each is treated in a capital little volume. With a modest library made up of the works above-mentioned a priest will be well equipped for his labours in the field of Irish economics.

Another query which crops up pretty frequently is as follows. It is well known that I am an ardent acolyte of the German school of Technical Education, and I am asked to give reasons for the faith that is in me. I am such for many reasons. The first is, because the Germans have on their side that success in practice which all consider to be the ultimate proof of the correctness of a theory. In somewhat over thirty years their system of technical training has made such a change in the industrial life of that country that it is only rivalled in swiftness, completeness and beneficence by what we read in fairy tales. Starting with a population mostly agricultural, Germany to-day is turned into a vast hive of industries where the farmers cannot supply the wants of the workers. Happy farmers! Three decades ago there was no dockyard of importance, now German production supplies some of the finest vessels afloat. During that time she has conquered industry after industry, and apace with all this there has been a

marvellous increase in the comforts of ordinary living. As an English writer said a few days ago : ' Excepting the period of the great industrial revolution in England in the latter half of the eighteenth century, nothing like the tremendous growth of towns in Germany within the last generation or so has ever been witnessed in Europe in modern times.' The wages of the workman have increased three and, in in cases, fourfold, and the German workman of to-day, with his retiring pension at 65, is the envy of his comrades the world over. We have nothing like the conditions that prevail in the first-class factories, with their libraries, recreation halls, theatres, hospitals, convalescent homes, seaside settlements, etc. And I am the more enamoured of the German methods because this magic change was begun by the people and wrought out to a successful issue by the people themselves. Those who have never travelled in that land and who have read little about it, at least, under this aspect, say that all was due to the Government. Well, even to-day, the Government only pays half the expenses of the Technical Education of the country. In the beginning nearly every technical school was started by private enterprise, and it was when successfully launched and working for some years that the State subsidy came. That feature in the history of this country may serve us for an object lesson in self-reliance. Another motive that biassed me in favour of the German system was the whole-hearted tribute paid to it by Americans. Over and over again some of the highest educational authorities there have admitted the supremacy of Germany in this respect. Quite lately, the *Indianopolis Journal*, speaking of the last Mosely Commission, said :—

> The work of the Commission cannot but be of great value to educational work in England, and it is not unlikely that it will also be of much benefit to us ; for, while we may compare favourably with the British in some points of our educational system, there are others in which we fall behind, while if the comparison is made to include the systems of Germany and France, we shall find that we have a great deal to learn.

As a priest, too, there is one feature about the German

progress that must commend itself to me, and, doubtless, will be appreciated by my clerical brethren. The great focus of industrial and technical progress is in the Catholic district of Germany. The more remarkable technical and commercial colleges, the greatest industries, are to be found in the Rhineland which, as everyone knows, is the most Catholic part of Germany. The exhibition of Dusseldorf, which was a purely local exhibition, was one of the most remarkable exhibitions that the world has ever seen. The machinery hall covered five acres. The main industrial hall covered seven. Yet it was an exhibition of the Catholic Rhineland products. and in Dusseldorf the Catholics are seven to one. An American machinery expert with whom I had a chat told me that he sold six of the high-grade machines in the Catholic districts for one that he sold in the Protestant. This little fact is an awkward one for those who ascribe industrial and economic short-sightedness to the influence of the Catholic Church.

Several clerical friends ask to what do I ascribe the successful results of the German training. Other countries, such as England, seem to be spending large sums of money and without much results. For instance, the upkeep of South Kensington is enormous, and its failure to achieve anything practical might be described by the same adjective. In Ireland we have had the Royal College of Science at work for years, and one would need a very powerful microscope to see any beneficial effects from that establishment as far as the commercial or industrial progress of Ireland is concerned. To my mind there are two distinguishing characteristics of German work. The first is that every student is trained to specialise. As you go through a technical college you see that the work is narrowed down to specific objects in every department. For example, the civil engineer attends the lectures of one expert for road-making, but he must go to another class-room and another teacher for bridge-making. In Charlottenberg—the Berlin Technical College —I counted six large class rooms devoted to the various stages of shipbuilding. In Zurich, which follows German

methods, there is a building as large as the whole Royal College of Science in Dublin, devoted to electro-chemistry. This building is quite distinct from the chemistry building and from the electricity department. In the engineering school, one large room contains about 500 models to illustrate the various kinds of cogged wheels that might be needed for different motions. This, then, is the first feature of the work of the German, that of specialisation.

The second characteristic is the practical bent that is given to his work. The student is not allowed to run off into abstruse speculation, every theory must shape towards some useful result. The industrial and scientific worlds are filled with problems, and towards these the student's mind is directed in the hope that some lucky day he may find a solution. There were dozens of chemists employed for nearly ten years in the great problem of the synthetic production of indigo. They discovered it at last and that discovery practically ruined the English indigo trade. I met with a curious illustration of the practical turn of the German mind in a laboratory in Vienna. My readers are all familiar with the little instrument called Crooke's radiometer. Its whirling vanes excited much curiosity, but it was little more than a scientific toy. The inventor used it to measure translucency, and his method was to count the number of vane-revolutions in a certain time. A German physicist got hold of it and put a little speck of iron on one of the vanes, thus making it respond to magnetic attraction. By adjusting a light at one side and a magnet at the other, both sliding on a graduated bar, he has made a most useful instrument for testing translucency of paper and other objects. This, then, is the all-pervading idea in German work, that science is to be the road to practical results. In these two ways, specialising and the practical tendency of their teaching, the Germans hold a supreme position. There is an excellent series of pamphlets on German Technical Education, principally by Dr. Rose of Stuttgart, and brought out in the Parliamentary papers. A list of these papers, and the price of each, can be had from Ponsonby's, Grafton-street, Dublin. It may seem to

some of my readers that a cheaper way of getting such papers would be through the local Member of Parliament, but this might not be a reliable method.

It has occurred to some friends of mine that a priest might, with great benefit to himself and others, visit some one of the great technical centres on the Continent, and it has been queried what technical college might one visit with advantage. To my mind there is no college which an Irish priest could inspect with more advantage than the Polytechnicum of Zurich. It is the finest technical college in Europe, a verdict which I have had from the lips of Germans themselves, and which was corroborated by students who had worked in other places. The only school that might compare with it would be that of Charlottenberg, near Berlin, but American students, who had spent time in both places, assured me that the Zurich college was superior.

Any Irishman pacing the magnificent halls of its many buildings must feel every stone cry out in favour of the enormous power of co-operation. The gallant Swiss, with a country half the size of Ireland, and treated by nature in a niggardly fashion, with a population half that of Ireland, joined hands, and instead of each canton, like an Irish county, frittering away its resources in individual effort, there was erected a magnificent central college, finer than anything wealthy England will have for decades to come. If the Irish counties would imitate the Swiss cantons in ten years time we would have little fear of English or any other competition. At Zurich, too, there are many most interesting trade schools,—schools of domestic economy, etc. Then, it is needless to say, that when our visitor has satiated himself with the cream of Technical Education he can turn to the brilliant scenes of nature for speedy relaxation. The place is easy of access, cost of travel small, living inexpensive, and everything to repay the traveller for his time and money. The commercial representative of Britain, T. C. Milligan, Esq., who may be found at the British Consulate General, is most courteous in giving any advice and enlightenment that visitors may need on local matters.

With regard to specific subjects the question arises, what books are to be recommended. As a kind of general direction there may be instanced Macmillans' series of Manuals for Beginners. Anything these publishers put their name to, is, as a rule, worthy of a place in a library, but this is particularly true of the series I mention. They have *Building Construction for Beginners*, *Mechanics*, *Hygiene*, *Botany*, etc., all making up a first class series. With regard to definite technical instruction, no one could do better than get the catalogue of Crosby, Lockwood and Co., and see their publications on the various crafts; or, if foreign work is in view, one may consult the catalogue of Nony et Cie, 63 Boulevard St. Germain, Paris. Scientific Agriculture is well treated in several books. The Americans have now the best work in this line, and hence it is books brought out by their best men that one should consult. Four publications, *Rural Wealth and Fertility*, *The Fertility of the Land*, *Irrigation and Drainage*, *The Farmstead*, are published by Macmillan, and should have a place on the book-shelf of 'the New Curate.' There are some things in these books that concern America only, but the bulk of the contents will suit any country and any people that want to make progress. My work would not be complete were there an omission of some publications dealing with the commerical side of life. The farmer, the artisan, and the shopkeepers are linked beyond the reach of any divorce, and we might as well pay all attention to the reservoir and none to the aqueducts as to neglect the merchant that distributes the wealth. Consequently, *Goodwin's Book-keeping*, published by Goodwin, 1215 Broadway, New York; *Modern Business Methods*, *Commercial Education at Home and Abroad*, the two latter published by Macmillan, will complete the economic book-shelf of my friends.

In conclusion, I avail myself of this opportunity to thank so many of my brother priests who, by encouraging words and interesting queries, make one feel that the furrow he ploughs is not as lonely as he may be inclined to think.

P. J. Dowling, C.M.

BIBLIOTHECA ALPHONSIANA

THE Editor of the I. E. RECORD, some seven years ago, at the request of a young priest, gave a list of a hundred books with which to begin a library.[1] The article suggested to us a study the substance of which we venture to make public now.

Professor Candido M. Romano in his highly appreciated book on the works of St. Alphonsus,[2] says: 'The writings of the saint are an encyclopædia, all having one character and one scope, Truth, Holiness, Redemption, in one word GOD.' Monsignor Poirier considers 'the works of St. Alphonsus a repertory accessible to all intelligences, to the simple as well as the most enlightened: they are an armory useful at all times to the universal Church, and of which one may say, "mille clipei pendent ex ea, omnis armatura fortium."' The reading of the letters addressed to the Holy See on the occasion of the Doctorate of St. Alphonsus show how general was this opinion. The servant of God, Pius Bruno Lanteri, prophesied the world-wide propagation of the treasures to be found in the Bibliotheca Alphonsiana :—

> I shall see it from heaven [said he, to his spiritual children] and some of you shall see it on earth; the books of the Blessed Alphonsus de Liguori shall be spread all over the world, and he himself shall not only be canonized, but also be declared Doctor of the Universal Church. . . . I am certain of it. You will see that I make no mistake.[3]

Professor Romano devotes over 400 pages, and Cardinal Villecourt[4] no less than 320, to the appreciation of our saint's works. His Eminence gives us three catalogues. In the first we have the printed works and MSS., to the number of 1,913, examined by the S.C.R. In the second

---

[1] I. E. RECORD, vol. xvii., p. 528.
[2] *Delle Opere di S. Alfonso.* Roma, 1896.
[3] *Apostolato del Servo di Dio Pio Brunione Lanteri.* Tormo.
[4] *Vie et Institut de S. Alphonse.* Tournai, 1864.

all the printed works that existed in 1864 and others that were lost or unfinished. The third arranges the works according to matter. It is interesting to note that the saint was 49 when he wrote his *Visits to the Blessed Sacrament*, which was one of his first books ; he was 54 when he published *The Glories of Mary ;* he had reached the ripe age of 57 when the first edition of his *Moral Theology* appeared.

Rohrbacher, in his *Church History* (vol. xxvi.), says that the works of St. Alphonsus flowed from his heart as from a fountain, and continuing the similitude he adds : ' His style is like water flowing from its fountain-head, simple, clear, limpid.' ' He avoided,' says Professor Romano, ' the errors of language of his time and wrote with clearness and grace ; free, indeed, from vain ornaments, but full of that persuasiveness which reminds one of his achievements in the Neapolitan Courts.' These and many other testimonies regarding matter and style may be resumed in the words which we read in the process of his Beatification : ' Nihil magis discretum Alphonsi Scriptis, ubi latet occulta quaedam et divina virtus, quae in animos legentium sensim illabitur, eos linit suaviter, flectit, immutat, illustrat et eo quo constituit impellit.'

We say nothing here of the multiplied approvals and recommendations of all the Sovereign Pontiffs from Benedict XIV. to Leo XIII., which may be found *in extenso* in the *Life* written by Cardinal Villecourt, and in the work of Professor Romano. We divide our ' Bibliotheca ' into four sections, and our first section is

I.—' THEOLOGIA MORALIS '

This is St. Alphonsus' great work. Most of what he published after the appearance of his *Moral Theology* was either his teaching in form of compendium, or the defence of his system or some solution he had given. Repeated attacks obliged him to study and restudy many questions up to 1773, when his system had reached perfect maturity and his decisions were finally fixed. It was then the seventh edition appeared. The *Monitum*, which we find in the seventh edition, was incorporated into the *Dissertatio* of

the eighth ; and the ninth, the last during the saint's lifetime, is a reproduction of the eighth. In this work we have a complete practical course of moral theology. We say *practical ;* for if St. Alphonsus had not been devoted heart and soul to the active ministry of a priest we should never have had this work. He made his theological studies in the rigid school, but the principles, whatever may be thought of them considered *in se*, did not stand the test of application to the masses, for whom the Sacrament of Penance was specially instituted. His experience also taught him that the manner of acting of those who belonged to the opposite school, was not less hurtful to souls. Feeling intensely the difficulties which both presented, he was unceasing in his study of authors of every shade of opinion. He writes in his *Monitum ad Lectorem :—*

> Alios inveni qui plus aequo indulgentes iis, qui dicunt (ut ait Isais, cap. 30), *nolite aspecere nobis ea quae recta sunt, loquimini nobis placentia*, consuunt pulvillos sub eorum capite, ut in peccatis misere conquiescant. . . . Contra vero reperi alios qui concilia cum praeceptis confundunt, novis mandatis conscientias aggravant, humanam imbicillitatem nihil pensi habentes, nihilque memores illius canonis (cap. ult ne transat.) qui admonet : *In his vero in quibus jus non invenitur expressum, procedas, aequitate servata semper in humaniorem partem, secundum quod personas et causas loca et tempora videris postulare.* . . . Utraque sane extremitas maxime periculosa.

It was, therefore, the insurmountable difficulties, which either extreme presented to him, and which must present themselves to any priest, who with true zeal devotes himself to the sacred ministry, that led to the publication of his *Theology* in which he gives us the fruit of his study and experience, extending over thirty years. ' Propterea,' he continues in his *Monitum*, ' in lucem edere deliberavi hoc novum opus, quod inter opiniones nimis benignas et nimis severas medium locum teneret.' How admirably he succeeded is admitted, for we read in the Decree for the saint's Doctorate (23rd March, 1871) : ' Obscura delucidavit, dubiaque declaravit, cum inter implexas Theologorum sive laxiores sive rigidiores sententias tutam stravit viam, per quam christifidelium animarum moderatores inoffenso pede

incedere possent.' This book, then, as indeed all the works of the Holy Doctor, has unmistakably the note *practical*. 'Reperies,' he writes, 'omnes questiones et res morales quae magis *ad praxim* deserviunt.'

1°. *Editions.* We have before us a MS. containing the first essays of St. Alphonsus on moral subjects. The first work which he gave to the public were his notes on Busembaum. This was in 1748. The first volume of the real work, which is tabulated as the second edition, appeared in 1753, and the second volume the year after. Counting this as the second edition, seven others appeared during the life-time of the saint. The ninth edition was that examined by the S.R.C. in view of the Beatification of the Venerable Servant of God.[5] A new edition is now passing through the press. It will interest the reader to know that St. Alphonsus cites in his *Moral Theology* more than 800 authors, and that the citations themselves are over 17,000. An edition is now passing through the press, the editor of which has had the unique advantage of having at hand all the editions of the *Theologia Moralis*, and all the editions of the lesser works on Morals which appeared in the life-time of St. Alphonsus. He has thus been able to collate edition with edition and work with work. He has, moreover, verified all, or very nearly all, the 17,000 citations. It will seem to any one, who considers the difficulties, an herculean

[5] What is called the first edition of St. Alphonsus' *Theologia Moralis* has for title: *Medulla Theologiæ Moralis R. P. Hermanni Busembaum Societatis Jesu Theologi cum adnotationibus per Rev. Patrem D. Alphonsum de Liguori.* In the title he declares that the work was in *usum juvenum Congñs. SSi. Salvatoris.* The Holy See changed *Salvatoris* into *Redemptoris* in 1749; *i.e.*, one year after the publication of the *Medulla.* The very copy of the *Medulla* which the saint used, and on the margin of which he wrote some notes, still exists, and is conserved as a relic, like his MSS. The title of what we know as the second edition was changed, and begins: *Theologia Moralis concinnata a R. P. Alphonso de Liguori.* This he dedicated to Benedict XIV. The following is taken from the title-page of the ninth edition, and from the very copy which was used by the S.C.R., and in which *nihil censura dignum* was found: 'Theologia Moralis Illustrissimi et Reverendissimi D. Alphonsi de Ligorio olim Episcopi S. Agathae Gothorum et Rectoris Majoris Congregationis SS. Redemptoris, adjuncta in calce perutile instructione ad Praxim Confessariorum. . . . Editio absolutissima, in qua praeter omnia, quae in coeteris addita fuere nunc primum Auctor ipse plura reformavit, aliquibus sententiis clarius explicatis, aliis de nova additis, aliis re maturius pensata immutatis, et novas animadversiones magni ponderis adjecit.' 3 vols. Bassani. 1785.

work, and he will not be surprised that even with the help of researches made already by two others, it has taken the editor seventeen years to prepare this edition.

Notwithstanding the opposition of some, and the hatred of others, who went so far as to burn Liguori's works, the *Theology* was in general well received, and was greatly esteemed by those best able to judge of its merits. Alphonsus had really caught the public ear and he profited by the circumstance to give to those who could not or would not buy his larger work, a compendium. This led to the publication, in 1755, of

2°. *Instruzione e Pratica pei Confessori.* 3 vols. in octavo. This compendium contains all the questions treated in the larger work, and it is enriched with valuable *appendices.* In these we have—(1°) The Direction of Souls in the Spiritual Life. He treats of Prayer in all its stages reaching to highest contemplation, of Mortification, and of Frequent Communion. (2°) The Manner of Assisting the Dying. (3°) Examen Ordinandorum. (4°) Monita ad Confessarios et Parochos. Ten editions were called for in a few years, and the saint, having heard that it was so much appreciated at the other side of the Alps, translated it into Latin. It is thus we have

3°. *Homo Apostolicus instructus in sua vocatione ad audiendas confessiones.* This appeared in 1759. Where a discrepancy occurs between what the saint teaches in his larger work and in the *Homo Apostolicus* it is necessary to consult the sixth *Italian* edition, published in Naples in 1765.

In 1776 he wrote in Italian his *Instructions to Confessors,* but as he translated it into Latin, we give its Latin title :—

4°. *Praxis Confessarii ad bene excipiendas confessiones.* Perhaps none of his works were better received than this. It used to be said that his angel must have assisted him in its composition. He instructs a confessor, as only a great master can, in his fourfold office of father, physician, doctor, and judge. By the *Praxis* he completed his two former works. He treats of every class of penitent. 'Ce livre,' says Cardinal Villecourt, 'respire une onction toute

divine, une charité, une douceur et une moderation admirable.'[6]

With the Italian and Latin compendiums of his larger work one would have thought that even this most zealous Doctor might have been satisfied. But no! He found priests who considered the *Homo Apostolicus* too long and too difficult. He asked himself how he could help even those, and the practical answer was the publication, probably in 1764, of the

5°. *Confessore Diretto per le Confessioni della Gente di Campagna.* This work has not been translated into Latin, but we have an excellent rendering of it in French from the pen of Father Pladys, namely, *Le Confesseur des Gens de la Campagne et Avis Pratique concernant l'Administration du Sacrement de Penitence.*[7] Marignal notes on each paragraph of this edition give the contents at a glance. The work is a marvel of brevity, completeness, and clearness. We see what a wonderful grasp the author had of his teaching. As a compendium made by the saint himself, in which he gives his teaching on daily occurring cases, the work is of great value in view of the decision of the S. Poenit., July 5th, 1831.

6°. *Instruzione al Popolo*, or in Latin, *Instructio catechistica ad Populum in Praecepta Decalogi et Sacramenta.* This appeared during his episcopate, and was intended to help his priests to remove the grave ignorance which he found amongst his people. He also wished to indirectly combat a certain rigorism that kept the people away from the Sacraments. It has been translated into almost every language. There are several English editions.

7°. If we add *Breve Dottrina Cristiana* we come to the last compendium of this indefatigable labourer in the vineyard of the Lord.

8°. *De Probabilismo.* For the purpose of this paper it is enough to note that the system of St. Alphonsus, which was examined on the occasion of his Doctorate, and de-

[6] *Vie*, vol. iv., p. 3, c. i, art. 2.
[7] Paris, Libraire d'œuvre de S. Paul.

fended against all the objections of the *Promotor Fidei*, is that found in the ninth edition of his *Moral Theology* : *Morale systema pro delectu opinionum quas licite sectari possumus*.[8]

9°. *Other Dissertations and Tracts.* For convenience' sake we put under this heading, *De Infallibilitate Romani Pontificis*, *De auctoritate Papae super concilium*, *De Immaculata Conceptione*, in all of which he wrote with an exactness and fulness not surpassed by the definitions which followed a hundred years later. In his letters and in his *De Prohibitione et abolitione Librorem noxae lectionis* we are convinced of how clearly he foresaw the ultimate effects of publications which appeared in his day. We have tracts, *De Missarum Stipendio*, *De Ministro et Forma Matrimonii* ; also *Regulae quaedam de Pontificum Decretis et eorum usu in Theologia Morali* (*vide Introd. ad Moral.*). If we add *Advice to Young Confessors*, and *How to assist those condemned to Death*, we are at the end of the first section.

II.—ELOQUENTIA SACRA

His Eminence Cardinal Capecelatro, in his *Vita di S. Alfonso*, says : ' Our dear saint was undoubtedly an admirable master of preaching by his example, but not less by his instructions. These instructions are scattered through his letters . . . but his complete teaching is found chiefly in his *Selva*, or *Instructions and Advice to Preachers*.' He expresses the hope that all may be printed in one volume, ' for such a collection,' his Eminece adds, ' would form a work excellent, easy to read, instructive, and in itself sufficient for an ecclesiastic.'[9] This has been done by the editors of the centenary edition.[10] We give here a list of the saint's works on what we may call the theory of preaching, and then the matter which he has collected for our use.

[8] In all there are twelve dissertations or apologiæ, in which the Holy Doctor develops or defends his system. For a detailed account we refer the reader to *De Morali Systemate S. Alphonsi—Historico-Theologica Dissertatio*, auctore Leonardo Gaudé. Romae, 1894. It is Father Gaudé who is editing the new edition of the saint's *Theology*.

[9] L. ii., c. 12.

[10] Our references will be to this centenary edition.

1°. Works on Preaching.—Letter to a Religious on Preaching with Apostolic Simplicity. Refutation of a French work on Preaching (vol. xv.). Instructions to Preachers. (This is an abridgment of his larger work and may be found at the beginning of *Sermons for Sundays*.) Advice to those who give Spiritual Exercises to Priests. (This at the beginning of the *Selva*.) Hints to Catechists (vol. xv.). Now the dominant note of all these works is: *Preaching should be popular*. Here are some headings of the Letter mentioned above: 'All sermons should be simple and popular.'—'A preacher should avoid high flown subtleties in thought;' and 'Superfluous elegance of language.'—'The saints were popular preachers.'—'Culpability of those who abandon the popular style.'—'The art to please is found in an Apostolic (simple, popular) style.'

St. Alphonsus was accused by preachers who used what was called a 'sublime' style of having set aside rhetoric. The art with which he himself preached would have been a sufficient answer, but he could have pointed to his admirable treatise on rhetoric. This will be found in vol. xv., beginning at page 179. Towards the end there is a most useful section on *Memory*, *Delivery*, and *Gesture*.

2°. The Matter for Sermons, Conferences, and Instructions.—A. (*a*) *Sermons* for all the Sundays of the year (vol. xvi.). (*b*) Sermons on the Incarnation for Advent and Christmas (vol. iv.). For the Passion, see vol. viii. (*c*) Sermons for times of Public Calamity. To these are added a most useful collection of texts from Holy Scripture and the Fathers (vol. xvii.). (*d*) Sermons for the Feasts of the B.V.M. and on her Dolours (vols. vii., viii.). (*e*) Occasional Sermons: The Holy Rosary (vol. xvii.).—Discourse to Maidens.—On Confraternities (vol. xv.).—For taking the Religious Habit, or for Profession (vol. xi.).—On St. Joseph (vol. viii.). To these must be added Preparation for Death. This is at once a book of meditation and a book of sermons. Each chapter gives matter for three meditations, so arranged that there is ample matter for one sermon.[11]

[11] For an appreciation of these works see I. E. Record, vol. xvi., p. 1,075.

B. *Conferences.*—(*a*) FOR PRIESTS. The full title of these conferences in the original is *Selva di Materie predicabili.* The title *Selva* is retained in some of the French editions—there are at least five—and in Duffy's English editions. The title in the centenary edition, vol. xii., runs, *Dignity and Duties of a Priest, or Selva.* Monsignor Gaume made one of the French translations. In his admirable Preface he says :—

> Against the invasion of private judgment we must call to our aid the imposing authority of the Catholic spirit. Read the *Selva* and say whether you can more efficaciously reach this end. Here it is not man's thought that is given to rule ours ; it is the thought of ages . . . it is solely tradition that preaches, instructs, forbids, commands, encourages, terrifies. This work is a sacred pulpit from which you hear, one after another, the voice of prophets, apostles, and apostolic men, of martyrs, solitaries, the most illustrious bishops of East and West, the most famous doctors, and the most skilful masters in the science of the saints ; you have the successors of St. Peter and the Councils, organs of the Holy Ghost ; in a word, antiquity, the middle ages, modern times, the entire Catholic Church speak to you.

'Alphonsus,' says Rohrbacher, 'received and handed on to us, with absolute fidelity and quite unbroken, the divine inheritance of Catholic tradition.' But, according to Cardinal Dechamps, we shall find on reading this book attentively, 'that the thought of the author is the frame-work of the whole, and that he skilfully adapts to his pen that which is strongest and sweetest in tradition.'[12] The saint made this collection during the twenty-eight years (1732-1760) in which he was occupied with the most salutary work of clergy retreats. He was 64 when he published the *Selva.*

(*b*) FOR RELIGIOUS. *The True Spouse of Christ, or a Religious sanctified by the Virtues proper to the Religious.* This work was immediately translated into other languages. Already in 1776, six years after its first appearance, Father Bernard Hyper, O.S.B., in his Preface to the German edition wrote :—

> I do not fear to say that you will find collected in this

[12] *L'Infall. et le Council Gen.*, c. viii.

work all that has been written on the spiritual life by ancient and modern authors, which you would have to seek in a multitude of books. It is moreover an abridgment of what the pious author has written at greater length in other works. It is well also to note that the greater part of this work is not less useful to seculars than religious.

A novice master said that he found in the *True Spouse*, in a comparatively small compass, the best of the best authors. Some passages, however, will have to be considered in the light of the times in which the saint lived, and in that light his language is not too strong.

C. *Instructions.*—These have been noted already under *Theologia Moralis*. It only remains to direct attention to what the Holy Doctor says to missionaries with regard to Exhortations, Acts for Communion, Catechism, Sermons for Children, etc., for although a priest may not be called to exercise the function of a missionary, he will learn from the saint with how much care he should prepare for even the lesser offices of the sacred ministry.

It will not be out of place to mention here an excellent commentary on the Letter of the late Holy Father, Leo XIII., on Preaching, which confirms all that St. Alphonsus has written on this most important subject: *In Litteras Encyclicas S. Cong. Ep. et Reg. super Sacra Praedicatione datas jussu Leonis XIII., P. M. Commentarius e S. Francisco Salesio et S. Alphonso depromptus.* Auctore Francesco Ter Haar, C.SS.R. Romae: Typographia de Propaganda Fide, 1896.

III.—OPERA DOGMATICA

The long list of the Dogmatic works will be a surprise to many. The Most Rev. Dr. Mullock translated into English the *History of the Heresies and their Refutation*, to which he added the *Unhappy End of the Persecutors of the Church*, taken from another work of the Holy Doctor. A second edition (Duffy, Dublin) bears the date 1857. St. Alphonsus explains in his Introduction the end he had in view in writing this work. He considered it important to show forth the beauty and splendour of our faith in

times when the most holy maxims and most essential dogmas were called into question. His *Defence of the Truths defined by the Holy Council of Trent* was also translated into English and published by Duffy more than thirty years ago, but at present it is difficult to get a copy. The saint was eighty when he published his *Moral Dissertations on the Last Things*, to safeguard the people, as he tells us, from doctrines which were being taught denying eternal life, and treating judgment and hell, etc., as fables. He gives in comparatively few pages what is of faith and what of opinion on the important subjects of the Particular Judgment, Purgatory, Anti-Christ, Signs that precede the End of the World, the General Judgment, State of the World after the General Judgment, of the Damned and of the Blessed. He finishes with a prayer, welling up from his charitable heart, in which he begs mercy for all inside and outside the one true Church. No other of St. Alphonsus' Dogmatic works have been translated into English.

In Italian the *Opere Dommatiche* may all be found in the eighth volume of Marietti's stereotyped edition. There are 1,100 two-column pages of small but clear type. These have been translated into French and set in very perfect order (Casterman, Tournai). The translation is admitted to be clear and correct. We, however, wish to turn the attention of the readers of the I. E. RECORD especially to the *Latin* translation, which has just appeared : *S. Alphonsi Mariae de Liguorio Ecclesiae Doctoris opera Dogmatica ex Italico Sermone in Latinum, Transtulit ad antiquas Editiones castigavit notisque auxit Aloysius Walter, Congr. SS. Redemptoris.*[13] On the title pages of the two volumes the translator gives the entire matter, namely :—Tomus Primus : I. 'Contra Atheos et Deistas ;' II. 'Contra Sectas dissidentes ;' III. 'De Fidei veritate contra Incredulos et Haeriticos ;' IV. 'Vindiciae contra Febronium ;' V. 'Doctrina Catholicae juxta Concilii Tridentini Decreta expositio.' Tomus Secundus : VI. 'Haeresum Historia et Confutatio ;' VII. 'De Divina Revelatione Considerationes ;' VIII. 'De

[13] T. Pustet, Romae ; Duffy & Co., Dublin.

Novissimis ; ' IX. ' De Magno Orationis Medio.' To these are added two Appendices. one on Christian Hope, the other a Dissertation on the Predestination of Jesus Christ ; neither was published during the life-time of St. Alphonsus.

Father Walter, in his *Proemium*, gives us the order at once logical and chronological of these works,[14] the encomiums of the Sovereign Pontiffs and others,[15] and the reason why this Latin edition has been published.[16] We can only find place for a few words, and first those of the late Holy Father Leo XIII. :—

Firmissimis argumentis divinam revelationem munivit (S. Alphonsus) contra Deistas ; veritatem fidei nostrae strenue defendit ; nervosissime propugnavit Romani Pontificis primatum et infallibile magisterium ; editis historia haeresum et opere dogmatico acriter perstringit haereses omnes.

Referring to the petitions presented to the Sovereign Pontiffs for the Doctorate of St. Alphonsus he cites, amongst other, the words of the Superior-General of the Society of Jesus, who affirms :—

Ingentem sacrae eruditionis suppellectilem propugnandae Catholicae veritati, refutandis haereticorum erroribus, pietati apud Christianum populum et Sanctae Sedis juribus ac privilegiis contra ecclesiae hostes asserendis et propugnandis a S Alphonso fuisse adhibitam.

To these he adds : ' Nullam veritatem non invicte ab eo demonstratam (Minister-Generalis Ord. Min.), nullam errorem non radicitus evulsum esse (Magister Gen. Ordin. Praedicat.).'

As to the use of Latin, it was evidently fitting that the Dogmatic works of a Doctor of the Church should be in a language universal as the Church, since according to the Decree of his Doctorate :-

Opera omnia, non modo privatim, sed publice in gymnasiis scholis, collegiis, lectionibus, disputationibus, interpretationibus concionibus, sermonibus, omnibus aliis ecclesiasticis studiis, chris-

[14] Page ix [15] *Ib. passim.* [16] *Ib.* xi.

tianis exercitationibus citari, proferri atque, quum res postulaverit adhiberi debent.

Rev. Father Walter has put St. Alphonsus' treatise on Prayer amongst the Dogmatic works of the Holy Doctor. That on Divine Providence—*Condotta ammirable della Divina Providenza in Salvar l'uomo per mezzo di G. C.*—he has eliminated, considering it historical and ascetical rather than dogmatic. It is, however, found amongst the Dogmatic works, both in the original Italian and in the French translation. It is from this work Dr. Mullock took *The Unhappy End of the Persecutors of the Church*, to which we referred above.

An excellent table of contents, marginal notes to each paragraph, and a very full *Index Rerum*, together with the perfect typography of this edition, make reference easy and reading pleasant.

IV.—OPERA ASCETICA

In the decree of the saint's Doctorate we read : *Scripturarm aenigmata reseravit tum in asceticis lucubrationibus coelesti quodam suavitate refertis, tum in saluberrimo quodam commentario, quo Psalmos et Cantica in Divino Officio a cleris recitanda adeorum pietatem fovendam et mentem erudiendam, explanavit.* We have thought that the following will serve as a convenient division of the Ascetical works, many of which are well known and highly appreciated. Ascetical works :—(i.) For All ; (ii.) For Religious ; (iii.) For Ecclesiastics.

(i.) For All.[17]—(1°) *The great Means of Salvation and Perfection* (vol. iii.). In this volume we have Prayer of Petition, Mental Prayer, Retreat. In the division, Prayer of Petition, we have two parts, one popular on the necessity, power and conditions of prayer, which the saint wished to put into the hands of everyone ; the other Dogmatic, in which he proves that God wishes all to be saved, that He

[17] To avoid encumbering our pages with references, we will refer the reader generally to the centenary edition, published by Benziger Bros., 1887 ; where necessary we will mention other editions.

gives to all the graces that are necessary, that the system of Jansenius is false, and, in fine, that God gives to all the grace to pray. We have referred to this work above. Holding as he does the moral necessity of meditation he supplies us with ample matter. The first place amongst his meditations must be given to (2°) his *Preparation for Death, or Considerations on the Eternal Truths* (vol. ii.). Next comes (3°) *The Way of Salvation and Perfection* (vol. ii.). *The Way of Salvation* contains ninety-seven meditations which give the pith of the *Preparation for Death.* To these are added forty-five pious reflections for persons tending to perfection. (4°) In Section II. we referred to St. Alphonsus' sermon for Christmas time. These, together with his meditations on the *Incarnation* from the first Sunday in Advent to the Octave of the Epiphany, are found in vol. iv. (5°) All that the saint has written on the *Passion* has been collected and makes the fifth volume. (6°) The sixth is entitled *The Holy Eucharist,* but it has in reality two distinct parts. The first contains explanation of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, Preparation for and Thanksgiving after Holy Communion, Visits to the Blessed Sacrament, Meditations for the Octave of Corpus Christi, and a Novena to the Sacred Heart ; the second treats of the *Practice of the Love of Our Lord Jesus Christ.* This is, perhaps, one of the most perfect works of St. Alphonsus. It is based on chap. xiii. 4-7 of the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians. At the end he resumes in a few pages the virtues which Christians who really love Jesus Christ should practice. There is also a novena of meditations on the Holy Ghost. (7°) *The Glories of Mary.* We have already referred to the Holy Doctor's sermons on our Blessed Mother. To these we must add his wonderful paraphrase on the *Salve Regina,* the Virtues of the Blessed Virgin, the principal Devotions by which she is honoured, and his Defence of her Privileges. These, together with Devotion to St. Joseph, St. Teresa, and to the Holy Souls, fill volumes vii. and viii. Cardinal Villecourt, Professor Candido M. Romano, Father Vinc. Stocchi, S.J., and many others are loud in their praise of this work, which has been so misquoted, and its author

so calumniated by a certain class of non-Catholics. One says it is a mosaic composed of all that is most beautiful in the Doctors and Fathers and elaborated in the loving heart of Alphonsus, who, while he changes not his materials gives them a form all his own. 'Alphonsus,' says Father Stocchi, 'did not simply burn with love for Mary—his soul liquified, it was consumed . . . read his *Glories of Mary;* in that book it is not words you find, no, you find flames.' But we have, above all, to remember that it preaches the mercy of Mary, and thus sanctifies souls. We see in our own days and in every country how the prayer of this restorer of true devotion to our Blessed Mother has been heard. 'Most loving Redeemer,' he prays in his Dedication, 'take this book under Thy protection, and rain down on all who read it Thy grace, give them confidence in and set them on fire with love of this Immaculate Virgin, whom Thou has made the refuge of all whom Thou hast redeemed.' (8°.) *The Victory of the Martyrs.* This contains the lives of the most celebrated Martyrs of the Church of the first ages and of more recent times. The selections are admirable and of a nature to revive a spirit of faith and generosity in Christians and this was the object the saint had in view (vol. ix.).

Many of the Ascetical works which we have catalogued thus far have appeared in popular form in Dublin (Duffy and Co.), in London (Burns and Oates), and elsewhere. The shorter treatises or tracts—golden, as they are with reason called—are now appearing (Duffy) in penny numbers, that they may find their way into every home, as our late Holy Father, Leo XIII., so much desired.

Two other books belong to this division—(9°) *Sacred Poetry*, and (10°) *Subjects that are faithful to God are also faithful to their King.* In Italian the Hymns and Verses of the saint are scattered through the volumes. It is the same in the centenary edition. Nearly all have been edited in one small volume in English by the late Bishop Coffin, C.SS.R. (Burns and Oates). Father Francis Xavier Reuss has made a most complete collection and has given side by side the original Italian and his own most beautiful Latin

translation (Cuiggiani, Rome). The other work, *Subjects that are faithful*, etc., may be found, and as far as we know, found only in the Italian (vol. ii.)

(ii.) For Religious.—*The True Spouse of Christ*, to which we have also already referred, is St. Alphonsus' greatest work. In writing to his publisher, Remondini, he says: 'Of all my spiritual works this is the most excellent and has cost me most labour, for it is a compendium of all that others have written for the sanctification of religious.' The whole of volume x. and the greater part of volume xi. is taken up by this work. We have to go to volume xii. for the following: Advice about Vocation; Advice to Novices; Considerations for those called to the Religious State; Rules for Religious who wish to become Perfect; Circulars and Exhortations to Religious; Rules and Constitutions of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer; and some Lives written by the saint.

(iii.) For Ecclesiastics.—(*a*) In General. Under this heading we have Vocation to the Ecclesiastical State, Advice to Students, Necessity of Mental Prayer; these together with the Dignity and Duties of a Priest will be found in the *Selva* noted above, of which we read in the Process: 'Sublimia et poene divina ea sunt quae S. Scriptor de dignitate sacerdotii exaravit' (vol. xiii.). Volumes xiv. and xv. are given to Holy Mass and Divine Office. He treats of the Sacrifice and the Ceremonies, the Preparation and Thanksgiving, and on hurrying through the Mass and Office. Then follow the translation of the Psalms and Canticles, which was made by the late Rev. Father Livius, and has been highly praised.

(*b*) For Bishops in Particular: *Useful Reflections for Bishops*. There are two chapters. The first is on the principal cares of a bishop, namely, of 1°. his Seminary; 2°. the *Ordinandi*; 3°. Priests (*simplices sacerdotes*); 4°. Parish Priests; 5°. Vicar-General and Officials; 6°. Nuns. The second treats of the most efficacious means to promote the good of his subjects, namely, by 1°. Prayer; 2°. Good Example; 3°. Residence; 4°. Visitation; 5°. Missions;[18]

[18] We may note here a *Letter on Missions*, written to a bishop, and which is found in vol. xv.

6°. Synods; 7°. Counsel; 8°. Giving Audience; 9°. Correction (vol. xviii). In the eighteenth volume will also be found Rules for Seminaries, Ordinances, and some Letters.

Had space permitted, we should have given some idea of St. Alphonsus' correspondence. All the letters that had come down to us were published in the original Italian in 1890. Since then they have been translated into French and English. The work of Professor Candido M. Romano is almost exclusively based on the letters of the saint. This alone shows what treasures they contain.

But we must end. We proposed to ourselves to show that the works of St. Alphonsus form in themselves a library. We have divided them into four sections, *Theologia Moralis*, *Eloquentia Sacra*, *Opera Dogmatica*, and *Opera Ascetica*. It will be for the reader to judge how far we have succeeded. Anyhow it seems to us that such a review is interesting, and may well be of permanent use to those who possess the writings of him who wrote of some of his lesser works, what is certainly true of all: 'These books . . . have all cost me much labour; they are full of substance, for I am no friend of mere words, and to compose them I had to read hundreds of books and cull from them their flowers.' [19]

J. MAGNIER, C.SS.R.

[19] *Lit.* 2 Jul. 1757.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

JUBILEE OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION—PRIVILEGES OF THE JUBILEE

THE privileges of the Jubilee are granted in part directly to the faithful and in part directly to confessors. The choice of a confessor is given directly to the faithful. The power of commuting the prescribed works, of commuting vows, of absolving from reserved sins and censures, and of dispensing from an irregularity is granted directly to confessors. We have already spoken of the power of commuting the prescribed works. Before we speak of the other privileges granted to the faithful and to confessors some general observations about these privileges will be useful.

1. Confessors can use these privileges only in the Confessional and in favour of those who *bona fide* intend to perform the prescribed works of the Jubilee. If a penitent had a serious intention of gaining the Jubilee at the time of Confession the favours of the Jubilee which were granted to him were given in an absolute manner. Hence if he afterwards fails for any reason to gain the Jubilee he still retains the privileges which he received.

2. Confessors can use their special powers only once in favour of the same penitent. Hence if the penitent, having received these special favours, again fall into the same reserved sins and censures, he cannot be again absolved by virtue of the Jubilee powers. If he fall, however, into any of these reserved sins and censures for the first time while he is performing the prescribed works and after his Jubilee Confession has been made, the confessor can now exercise his special Jubilee powers in his favour. If a person make a good Confession but involuntarily omits a reserved sin or

---

[1] I. E. RECORD, April.

censure, he receives absolution from the reservation so that any confessor can afterwards absolve from the sin.[2] Many theologians (Lugo, Ferraris) say that if a person *bona fide* make an invalid Confession he receives, nevertheless, absolution from the reservation. St. Liguori[3] rejects this view. A person who *mala fide* makes an invalid Confession does not receive any Jubilee privileges from that Confession. If a confessor find it necessary to defer absolution in the case of a penitent who has fallen into reserved sins or censures, the penitent can afterwards, even when the time of Jubilee has ceased, receive absolution from the same or from any other approved confessor. Travellers by land and sea can obtain the privileges of the Jubilee from an actually approved confessor immediately on their return home, even though the time of Jubilee has ceased for the ordinary inhabitants of the place.

3. Though a penitent can receive the privileges of the Jubilee only once, he can receive different privileges in different confessions and from different confessors.[4] This is certainly true in the case of those who have not already finished the works prescribed for gaining the Jubilee. In the case of those who have already performed all the prescribed works of the Jubilee it seems that the privileges of the Jubilee cannot be exercised in their favour even if these privileges were not already used. The Encyclical speaks of the power of confessors to grant these privileges once in favour of people who wish to gain the Jubilee and who intend to perform the remaining prescribed works. This seems to imply that the privileges of the Jubilee are given for those only who have not yet gained the Jubilee. In this sense the S. Poen., 1st Jan., 1873, in reply to a question of the Bishop of Como, stated that the privileges of the Jubilee could be gained only once by those who intended to perform again the prescribed works if the Jubilee had been already gained. The indulgence of the present Jubilee can be gained only once. So it is reasonable to conclude

[2] S. Poen., 10th June, 1826.
[3] L. 6., n. 537.
[4] Bastien, p. 213.

that a person who has already gained the Jubilee cannot obtain any of the privileges of the Jubilee.

4. *Choice of a Confessor*:—Seculars, both clergy and laity, can make their Jubilee Confession to any confessor actually approved for them by the bishop of the place where the Confession is made. Penitents can make their Jubilee Confession anywhere to their own Parish Priests. Regulars can, without the permission of their own Ordinaries, make their Jubilee Confession to confessors actually approved by the bishop of the place where the Confession is made. They can also make their Jubilee Confession to a Regular who has been approved by his own Ordinary, even though he be not approved by the Ordinary of the place.[5] Nuns with solemn vows, their novices, and other women living within the papal enclosure, can make their Jubilee Confession only to confessors approved by the Ordinary of the place for *some* nuns with solemn vows. It is not necessary that these confessors be approved by the Ordinary for this particular convent or Order. They can, moreover, select a confessor at any time approved by the Ordinary for nuns with solemn vows, 'nisi constet eundem confessarium fuisse postea ob demerita, quae ipsas confessiones concernant, ab eodem Ordinario positive reprobatum.'[6] Nuns with simple vows, though restricted at other times, can make their Jubilee Confession to any confessors actually approved for women by the Ordinary of the place where the Confession is made.[7]

5. *Absolution from reserved sins and censures*:—Jubilee confessors cannot absolve from any reserved sins or censures *in foro externo*. They can absolve *in foro interno* from all reserved sins and censures, even from those reserved *modo speciali* to the Pope, with the exceptions laid down by Benedict XIV. in 'Sacramentum Poenitentiae.' He excepts 'peccatum complicis, falsa accusatio sollicitationis,' and 'attentata absolutio complicis.' In all cases in which confessors use their special Jubilee powers of absolution they are bound to observe the ordinary rules laid down for the treatment

[5] S. Poen., 30th January, 1886.
[6] S. Poen., 10th March, 1750.
[7] I. E. Record, May, 1901.

of penitents by Moral Theologians. The Encyclical mentions specially the obligations of retractation of errors in the case of excommunication incurred for heresy, and of satisfaction to parties concerned in the case of those who have been censured or denounced as such by name.

6. *Commutation of vows*:—Confessors cannot dispense from vows. Their power extends only to commutation. This power of commutation extends to all vows, even those confirmed by oath and even those ordinarily reserved to the Holy See, with three exceptions which are mentioned. This power of commutation does not so far extend as to remove the vow itself.[1] It merely enables a confessor to substitute other works of equal moral value under the same obligation as a vow. The exceptions are:—(*a*) A vow of chastity. This vow of chastity, to be excluded from the special Jubilee faculties, must be perfect both as to act and as to object. Hence if the act be not completely voluntary, or if it be elicited before the age of puberty, or if it be conditional, it can be commuted by the Jubilee confessor. Hence, too, if it be not a vow of *complete and perpetual* chastity but merely a vow of temporal chastity, or a vow not to marry, or a vow of matrimonial fidelity, it is not excluded from the power of a Jubilee confessor. (*b*) The vows of religion are also excepted. These vows are the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience which constitute the religious state. They also include the special vows which some Orders add to the three solemn vows, *v.g.*, the vow not to eat meat which some religious orders make. Finally they include a vow to enter a strict religious order. This latter vow, however, is not excluded as to its circumstances of time and place. Only its substance is excluded from Jubilee privileges. The substance of this vow is not excluded unless it be perfect as to its act as has been said with reference to the vow of chastity. (*c*) Those vows which contain an accepted obligation towards another are also excluded from the power of commutation. The vows of a Congregation which is not a strict religious order

[1] *Canoniste Contemporain*, March, 1904.

are of this nature. They bind a person to the Society and to the superior of the Society.

Finally in connection with the commutation of vows it must be borne in mind that any vows which are made for the purpose of preserving a person from sin cannot be commuted unless the confessor substitute other works which equally preserve a person from sin.

7. *Dispensation from an irregularity* :—Only one irregularity is subject to the power of a Jubilee confessor, viz., an irregularity incurred by the violation of censures. Dispensation from this irregularity can be given only when the irregularity is occult. Hence it avails only for the *forum internum*. All other irregularities, even though occult, are excluded from Jubilee privileges.

J. M. HARTY.

LITURGY

THE OLD ROMAN STATIONAL MASS

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the Roman Missal, immediately before the Introit of the Masses assigned to the Sundays and Ferials of Lent, the Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays of Advent, and the principal vigils and festivals throughout the year, there occur some words such as *statio ad S. Mariam majorem*, *statio ad Sanctum Petrum*, etc. May I ask you to kindly explain their significance? I have been for a long time perplexed as to the meaning of these words, and failed to obtain any satisfactory explanation of them, though I proposed my difficulty to several brother priests. A few lines in reply, in the pages of your esteemed periodical, would be appreciated by many who, perhaps, like subscriber, are sitting in the shadow of ignorance as to the import and origin of these mysterious phrases.— Yours, etc.,

IGNORANS.

The word *statio* in the context alluded to by our respected correspondent signifies some kind of assembly convened for religious observances, and the proper name following the preposition in the phrase quoted designates

manifestly the church where such a gathering was to be held. The whole phrase, consequently, reads like an announcement intimating the particular church or basilica in Rome where the liturgical function known as the *statio* was to be performed on a certain day. Thus the words, *statio ad Sanctum Petrum*, which we find at the head of the Mass assigned to the Feast of the Ascension of our Divine Lord in the Roman Missal, indicate that in olden times the Stational Mass would be celebrated in Rome on this particular festival in the Basilica of St. Peter.

The question of these Stational Masses, which formed so prominent a feature of primitive Roman liturgy from the sixth to the fourteenth century, is exceedingly interesting. Its adequate discussion, however, would make undue inroads on the space at our disposal, and, perhaps, demand a much wider acquaintance with the details of early Roman ceremonial than we can lay claim to at present. Hence we must be content with merely touching the fringe of a very extensive subject, and giving, in a few words, a brief answer to the query of our correspondent. We shall, then, try to gather what were the chief characteristics of the Roman Stational Mass, how it arose, and when it disappeared.

At a very early date—probably between the time of Pope Leo and St. Gregory—the custom arose in Rome of celebrating certain festivals with a solemn public office at which the Holy Father and his Curia attended. These solemnities came to be known as *stations*.[1] There were two kinds—the diurnal, which comprised nothing more than the Mass of the station, and the nocturnal which, in addition to the morning Mass, included the solemn recitation of the Divine office on the previous evening. This latter kind belonged only to the greatest festivals. It is with the former that we are principally concerned. What, then, was this Stational Mass? It was a Liturgical function of the first importance. Generally held in some one of the principal or regional churches it was usually celebrated by the Pope

[1] *Cf.* Battifol, *History of Roman Breviary*, p. 160.

himself, attended by the chief officials of his court, and in the presence of the entire concourse of clergy and people from all parts of the city. It was, it seems, the very full character of the congregation not less than the greater solemnity of the ceremonial, that helped to differentiate the stational, or *public*, from the *private* Mass, which was generally celebrated by priests in their titulary churches, in cemeteries or in private oratories. Speaking of these stations Gihr[2] says :—'La solemnité de la station dans son entier comprenait trois parties : la réunion dans une église convenue, la procession vers la station, et la célébration du saint Sacrifice dans cette église.' First a *rendevous* was selected, which was either a church or a cemetery, or some other place. Hither the people converged, and here the preparations were made for the procession. The word *statio* would seem to be very applicable to this initial gathering, but *collecta* was the term used to designate it—a word subsequently transferred to the prayers in the beginning of the Mass, perhaps from the fact that they were originally recited over the assembled multitude previous to setting out for the station. Everything being ready, the procession started and wended its way slowly to the chanting of psalms and the Litany of the Saints. Close to the stational church the Pontiff was met by the local clergy and conducted to the *secretarium* or sacristy where he vested. Then, arrayed in full pontificals, he made his solemn entry into the church, preceeded by the seven regional acolytes with lighted candles, and by the other ministers. The choir, in the meantime, during the progress to the altar, sang the Antiphon of the Introit. At the altar he prostrates himself for a little, and when he rises, Mass is commenced.[3] In wealth of ceremonial pomp and display the function of the Stational Mass seemed to be a really grand affair. In it took part 'the different classes of the clergy, arranged according to their orders and to their

[2] *La sainte Messe*, vol. ii., p. 62.

[3] *Cf.* Thurston, *Catholic Observance and Ritual*, pp. 150 *et seq.*: *Ord Romanus, apud* Mabillon.

regions, the corporation of cantors, the crucifers of the quarter, and the military and civil rulers.' In fact everybody in these days seemed to have had some part in these beautiful ceremonies of public Christian worship.

Of the origin of the stational ceremonial comparatively little is known. Its history is involved in much obscurity. In the time of Gregory the Great the system was in full vigour, having received from him its complete and crowning perfection. We read in the lessons for the office of this Pontiff in the Breviary that, among the other reforms of his remarkable reign, 'Litanias, Stationes et officium Ecclesiasticum auxit.'[5] Some authorities ascribe the initiation of the stations to a period very much anterior to the sixth century, and attribute their origin to an idea introduced from the East where, we are informed, the stations existed as early as the fourth century.[6] With the exile of the Papal See to Avignon (1309) an end came to the elaborate and gorgeous celebration of the Church's services that had now obtained for some seven centuries. At this crisis in the Church's history the solemn ceremonial of early days was rudely interrupted and never recovered its original and striking splendour. The memory, however, of these ancient religious functions is still preserved in the records found at the heads of the Masses in our Roman Missals the general arrangement of which—especially in regard to the Ritual of Lent—and the more important annual festivals, is based upon the Gregorian Sacramentary.

It is not easy to see the peculiar aptness of the word *statio* to designate the liturgical function just described. If we are to take the word in its usual signification as meaning a 'military outpost' then, as we said, it would it seems to us have been more appropriately applied to the preliminary meeting which was called a *collecta*.[7] Probably the word was not used in its strictly classical sense. Hence there

[4] Duchesne, *La Culte Chretienne*, p. 164.
[5] *Breviarum Romanum*, 12th March.
[6] *S. Silviae Peregrinatio ad Loca Sancta*, pp. 78, *et seq.*
[7] 'Feria IV. *Statio* ad S. Mariam Maj. Fit *collecta* ad S. Petrum,' etc., *Ord. Rom. IX.*

may be much truth in the explanation offered by Rock,[8] who says, 'the ceremony was denominated "station" because it was at the second church the procession stopped to hear Mass.' The days on which the stations were held were generally fasting days. This may account for the further usage of the word in the sense of *jejunium* in some of the early Christian writers.[9]

P. MORRISROE.

[8] *Hierurgia*, p. 62, *note*.

[9] Gihr, *La Messe*, *loc. cit.*

DOCUMENTS

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. ON THE THIRTEENTH CENTENARY OF ST. GREGORY THE GREAT

PIUS X., NACTA OCCASIONE ANNI 1300 AB OBITU S. GREGORII MAGNI, PRODIGIOSAM ILLIUS DICENDI ET AGENDI RATIONEM ILLUSTRAT, ILLAMQUE SIBI NOBISQUE ADMIRANDAM IMITANDAMQUE OPPORTUNE PROPONIT.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PII PAPAE X. LITTERAE ENCYCLICAE AD PATRIARCHAS, PRIMATES, ARCHIEPISCOPOS, EPISCOPOS ALIOSQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIOS PACEM ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTES.

PIVS PP. X.

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS, PRIMATIBUS, ARCHIEPISCOPIS, EPISCOPIS ALIISQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIIS PACEM ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS.

Venerabiles Fratres, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Iucunda sane accidit recordatio, Venerabiles Fratres, magni et *incomparabilis viri*,[1] Gregorii Pontificis huius nominis primi cuius, vertente anno millesimo tercentesimo ab eius obitu, saecularia solemnia celebraturi sumus. Nec absque singulari Dei providentia, qui *mortificat et vivificat . . . humiliat et sublevat*,[2] factum esse arbitramur, ut inter apostolici ministerii Nostrii pene innumerables curas, inter tot animi anxietates ob plurima eaque gravissima, quae universae Ecclesiae per Nos regendae debemus, inter sollicitudines queis premimur, ut et vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, in apostolatus Nostri partem vocatis, et fidelibus omnibus curae Nostrae commissis quam optime satisfiat, vel a Nostri summi Pontificatus exordiis in sanctissimum hunc et illustrem Decessorem, Ecclesiae decus atque ornamentum, oculorum aciem converteremus. Erigitur quippe animus ad magnam fiduciam in eius patrocinio penes Deum validissimo, et eorum sive quae sublimi magisterio praecepit, sive quae sancte ges sit,memoria recreatur. Quod si ipse et praeceptorum

---

[1] Martyrol Rom., 3 Sept. [2] 1 Regum, ii., 6, 7.

vi et fecunditate virtutum in Ecclesia Dei tam ampla, tam alta, tam firma vestigia signavit, ut iure ab aequalibus et a posteris *Magni* nomen sit consequutus, apteturque illi vel hodie, tot saeculorum intervallo, ipsius inscripta sepulchro laudatio: *innumeris semper vivit ubique bonis*,[3] fieri profecto non potest, ut admiranda illius exempla sectantibus, divina opitulante gratia, non liceat, quantum humana sinit infirmitas, sua officia tueri.

Ea persequi vix opus est quae ex historiae monumentis nota sunt omnibus. Summa erat publicarum rerum perturbatio, quo tempore supremum inivit pontificatum Gregorius; exstincta prope vetus humanitas, romani ruentis imperii dominatus omnes barbaries invaserat. Italia vero, a Byzantinis imperatoribus derelicta, facta fere Longobardorum praeda fuerat, qui, suis nondum compositis rebus, huc illuc excurrebant, omnia ferro flammâque vastantes, luctu omnia caedibusque complentes. Haec ipsa Urbs, minis hostium exterius perculsa, interius afflicta pestilentia, eluvionibus fame, eo miseriae devenerta, ut iam procurandae incolumi, tatis, non modo civium sed confertae multitudinis se intus proripientis, ratio nulla suppeteret. Cernere namque erat sexus omnis et conditionis homines, episcopos, sacerdotes sacra vasa rapinis erepta portantes, religiosos viros, intemeratas Christi sponsas, fuga se, vel ab inimicorum gladiis, vel a perditorum hominum turpi violentia subducere. Romae autem Ecclesiam ipse Gregorius appellat: *vetustam navim vehementerque confractam . . . undique enim fluctus intrant, et quotidiana ac valida tempestate quassatae putridae naufragium tabulae sonant.*[4] At quem Deus suscitaverat nauta manu pollebat, et clavo tractando praepositus, non modo inter aestuantes procellas ad portum appellere, sed navim a futuris tempestatibus praestare tutam valuit.

Ac mirum quidem quantum ipse perfecit spatio regiminis annorum vix supra tredecim. Exstitit enim christianae vitae instaurator universae, excitans pietatem fidelium, observantiam monachoram, cleri disciplinam, sacrorum antistitum pastoralem sollicitudinem. *Prudentissimus paterfamilias Christi*[5] Ecclesiae patrimonia custodivit, adauxit, egenti populo, christianae societati et singulis ecclesiis, pro sua cuique necessitate, large copioseque suppeditans. Vere *Dei consul factus*,[6] actuosae voluntatis

[3] Apud Ioann. Diac., Vita Greg., iv. 68.
[4] Registrum i. 4 ad Ioann., Episcop. Constantinop.
[5] Ioann. Diac., Vita Gregg., ii. 51. [6] Inscr. sepulcr.

fecunditatem ultra Urbis moenia porrexit, totamque in bonum consortii civilis impendit. Byzantinorum imperatorum iniustis postulationibus restitit fortiter; exarcharum et imperialium administrorum fregit audaciam, sordidamque avaritiam coërcuit, publicus iustitiae socialis adsertor. Longobardorum ferociam mitigavit, minime veritus ad portas Urbis obviam ire Agilulfo, ut ipsum ab ea obsidione dimoveret, quod idem cum Attila Leo Magnus pontifex egerat; nec a precibus blandisque suasionibus, aut ab agendo sagaciter ante destitit, quam formidatam eam gentem tandem aliquando pacatam vidit, aequiore reipublicae forma constituta, eandemque catholicae fidei additam, opera in primis piae reginae Theodolindae, in Christo filiae suae. Quae Gregorius iure sibi vindicat nomen servatoris et liberatoris Italiae, huius nempe *terrae*, quam ipse suaviter vocat *suam*.[7] Pastoralibus eius nunquam intermissis curis, in Italia, in Africa errorem reliquiae exstinguuntur, Ecclesiae res ordinantur in Galliis, Visigoti in Hispaniis inchoatae conversionis incrementa suscipiunt, Britannorum inclyta gens, quae, *dum in mundi angulo posita in cultu lignorum ac lapidum perfida nunc usque remaneret*,[8] et ipsa ad veracem Christi fidem accedit. Cuius tam pretiosae acquisitionis accepto nuntio Gregorius eo gaudio perfunditur, quo carissimi filii complexu pater, Iesu Servatori accepta referens omnia, *cuius amore*, inquit ipse, *in Britannia fratres quaerimus, quos ignorabamus; cuius munere, quos nescientes quaerebamus, invenimus*.[9] Ea vero gens adeo se memorem Pontifici sancto probavit, ut ipsum usque appellarit: *magistrum nostrum, Apostolicum nostrum, Papam nostrum, Gregorium nostrum*, seque tamquam sigillum apostolatus eius existimarit. Denique tanta in ipso fuit operae vis, tanta salubritas, ut rerum ab eo gestarum memoria alte insederit in animis posterorum, media aetate potissimum, quae spiritum quodammodo ab eodem infusum ducebat, eius verbo quasi alimentum trahebat, eius ad exempla vitam moresque conformabat, succedente feliciter in orbe terrarum chris-

moresque conformabat, succedence feliciter in orbe terrarum christianae societatis humanitate adversus romanam, quae saeculorum emensa cursum, esse emnino desierat.

Haec mutatio dexterae excelsi! Ac vere quidem affirmare licet, sic persuasum fuisse Gregorio, non aliam nisi Dei manum

[7] Registr. v. 36 (40) ad Mauricium Aug.
[8] Ibid. viii. 29 (30) ad Eulog. episcop. Alexandr.
[9] Ibid. xi. 36 (28) ad Augustin. Anglorum episcop.

talia patrasse. His enim verbis de Britanniae conversione sanctissimum monachum Augustinum affatur, quae sane de caeteris omnibus in ministerio apostolico ab ipso gestis intelligi possunt. *Cuius opus hoc est*, inquit, *nisi eius qui ait : Pater meus usque nunc operatur et ego operor ?* [10] *Qui ut mundum ostenderet, non sapientia hominum, sed sua se virtute convertere, praedicatores suos, quos in mundum misit, sine litteris elegit ; hoc etiam modo faciens, quia in Anglorum gente fortia dignatus est per infirmos operari.*[11] Equidem Nos minime latent, quae sancti Pontificis oculis, de se abiecte sentientis, omnino fugiebant, et rerum gerendarum peritia, et in coeptis ad exitum perducendis ingenium sagax, et in rebus disponendis mira prudentia, et sedula vigilantia et non intermissa sollicitudo. At compertum pariter est, ipsum, non qua huius mundi principes, vi et potentia fuisse progressum, qui in altissimo illo pontificiae dignitatis fastigio primus voluerit appellari : *Servus servorum Dei*, non profana tantum scientia aut *persuasibilibus humanae sapientiae verbis*[12] viam sibi munivisse, non prudentiae tantum civilis consiliis, non instaurandae societatis rationibus diuturno studio praeparatis ac deinde in rem deductis, non denique, quod admirationem habet, mente concepto sibique proposito vasto aliquo tramite, in apostolico ministerio sensim percurrendo ; quum contra, ut notum est, in ea esset cogitatione defixus, qua putaret imminere mundi finem, adeoque modicum tempus reliquum esse ad grandia facinora. Gracili admodum et infirmo corpore, diuturnis afflictatus morbis, ad extremum saepe vitae discrimen, incredibili tamen pollebat animi, vi cui nova semper alimenta suppeditabat vivida fides in Christi verbo certissimo, in eiusque divinis promissis. Maximam quoque fiduciam collocabat in collata divinitus Ecclesiae vi, qua ipse rite posset suo in terris fungi ministerio.

Quare hoc illi propositum in omni vita fuit, quale singula dicta eius factaque comprobant, ut eandem fidem ac fiduciam et in se ipse foveret et in aliis vehementer excitaret, dumque supremus sibi dies adveniret, quantum hic et nunc liceret, optima quaeque sectaretur.

Inde sancti viri firma voluntas in communem solutem derivandi uberrimam illam caelestium donorum copiam, qua Deus Ecclesiam ditavit, cuiusmodi sunt et revelatae doctrinae certis-

[10] Ioann. v. 17. [11] Registr. xi. 36 (28). [12] 1 Cor. ii. 4.

sima veritas, et eiusdem, qua patet orbis, efficax praedicatio, et sacramenta, quae vim habent sive infundendi sive augendi animae vitam, ac denique, superni praesidii auspex, gratia precum in Christi nomine.

Harum rerum recordatio, Venerabiles Fratres, mire Nos recreat. Qui si ex hoc Vaticanorum vertice moenium circumspicimus, eodem quo Gregorius, ac maiore fortasse metu vacare non possumus; tot undique coactae tempestates incumbunt, tot premunt hostium instructae phalanges; adeoque sumus humano quovis praesidio destituti, ut nec illas propulsandi nec horum impetum sustinendi ratio suppetat. Verum reputantes Nostri ubi sistant pedes, quo loco sit pontificia haec Sedes constituta, in arce Ecclesiae sanctae tutos Nos esse sentimus. *Quis enim nesciat*, ita Gregorius ad Eulogium patriarcham Alexandrinum, *sanctam Ecclesiam in Apostolorum principis soliditate firmatam, qui firmitatem mentis traxit in nomine, ut Petrus a petra vocaretur?*[13] Divina Ecclesiae vis nullo temporis decursu excidit, neque Christi promissa expectationem fefellerunt; ea sic perseverant, quemadmodum Gregorii animum erexere; quin etiam ex tot saeculorum comprobatione, ex tanta rerum vicissitudine multo Nobis validius roborantur.

Regna, imperia dilapsa; sui fama nominis et humanitatis ladue florentissimae gentes occiderunt; saepe, quasi senio confectae, ipsae se nationes diremerunt. At Ecclesia, suapte natura non deficiens, nexu nunquam dissolvendo cum caelesti Sponso coniuncta, heic non caduco flore viget iuventutis, eodem instructa robore quo prodiit e transfosso Christi corde in cruce iam mortui. Potentes in terris adversus eam sese extulerunt. Evanuere hi, sed illa superfuit. Philosophandi vias pene infinita varietate excogitarunt magistri de se gloriose praedicantes, quasi Ecclesiae doctrinam tandem aliquando expugnassent, fidei capita refellissent eius magisterium omne absurdum demonstrassent. Eas tamen historia, singulas obliteratas recenset funditusque deletas; quum interea lux veritatis ex arce Petri eodem fulgore coruscet, quem Iesus ortu suo excitavit aluitque divina sententia: *caelum et terra transibunt, verba autem mea non praeteribunt.*[14]

Hac Nos fide alti, hac petra solidati, dum sacri principatus munia omnia gravissima, simulque manantem, divinitus vigorem

[13] Registr. vii. 37 (40). [14] Matth. xxiv. 33.

animo sensuque percipimus, tranquilli expectamus quoad voces conticescant tot obstrepentium, actum esse de catholica Ecclesia, eius doctrinas aeternum cecidisse ; brevi eo deventuram, ut cogatur aut scientiae atque humanitatis Deum reiicientis placita excipere, aut ab hominum consortio demigrare. Inter haec tamen facere non possumus, quin, cum ipso Gregorio in mentem omnium, sive procerum sive inferiorum, revocemus, quanta cogat necessitas ad Ecclesiam confugere, per quam detur et sempiternae saluti, et paci atque ipsi terrestris huius prosperitati consulere.

Quamobrem, ut sancti Pontificis utamur verbis, *mentis gressus in eius petrae soliditate, sicut, coepistis, dirigite, in qua Redemptorem nostrum per totum mundum fundasse nostis Ecclesiam, quatenus recta sinceri cordis vestigia in devio itinere non offendant.*[16] Sola Ecclesiae charitas et cum ipsa coniunctio *divisa unit, confusa ordinat, inaequalia sociat, imperfecta consummat.*[16] Retinendum firmiter, *neminem recte posse terrena regere nisi, noverit divina tractare, pacemque reipublicae ex universalis Ecclesiae pace pendere.*[17] Hinc summa necessitas perfectae concordiae inter ecclesiasticam et civilem potestatem, quam utramque Dei providentia voluit mutua sese ope iuvare. *Ad hoc enim potestas . . super omnes homines caelitus data est, et qui bona appetunt adiuventur, ut caelorum via largius pateat, ut terrestre regnum caelesti regno famuletur.*[18]

Ex hisce principiis invicta illa Gregorii fortitudo manabat, quam, opitulante Deo, imitari curabimus, Nobis proponentes modis omnibus, sarta tectaque iura et privilegia tueri, quorum Pontificatus romanus custos ac vindex est, coram Deo et coram hominibus. Quare idem Gregorius ad patriarchas Alexandriae atque Antiochiae, quum de iuribus agatur Ecclesiae universae, *etiam moriendo*, scribit, *debemus ostendere, quia in damno generalitatis nostrum specialiter aliquid non amamus.*[19] Ad Mauricium autem Augustem : *Qui contra omnipotentem Dominum per inanis gloriae timorem atque contra statuta Patrum suam cervicem erigit, in omnipotenti Domino confido, quia meam sibi nec cum gladiis flectit.*[20] Atque ad Sabinianum diaconum : *Ante paratior sum mori, quam beati Petri apostoli Ecclesiam meis diebus degenerare.*

[15] Registr. viii. 24 ad Sabinian. episcop.
[16] Ibid. v. 58 (53) ad Virgil. episcop.
[17] Ibid. v. 37 (20) ad Mauric. Aug.
[18] Ibid. iii. 61 (65) ad Mauric. Aug.
[19] Registr. v. 41 (43). [20] Ibid. v. 37 (20).

Mores autem meos bene cognitos habes, quia diu porto; sed si semel deliberavero non portare, contra omnia pericula laetus vado.[21]

Eiusmodi edebat Gregorius pontifex potissima monita, erantque dicto audientes ii quibus ea nuntiabantur. Ita, dociles aures praebentibus quum principibus tum populis, mundus verae salutis repetebat iter, et ad humanitatem grassabatur eo nobiliorem ac fecundiorem quo firmioribus innixam fundamentis ad rectum usum rationis et ad morum disciplinam, vim hauriens omnem a divinitus revelata doctrina et ab evangelii praeceptis.

Sed eo tempore populi, etsi rudes, inculti atque omnis humanitatis expertes, erant vitae appetentes; hac autem donari a nemine poterant nisi a Christo per Ecclesiam: *Ego veni ut vitam habeant et abundantius habeant.*[22] Habuerunt quidem vitam, eamque affluentem. Nam, quum ab Ecclesia non alia possit nisi supernaturalis vita procedere, haec vitales etiam naturalis ordinis vires in se includit ipsa fovetque. *Si radix sancta, et rami*, sic Paulus ethnicae genti; . . *tu autem cum oleaster esses, insertus es in illis et socius radicis et pinguedinis olivae factus es.*[23]

At nostra aetas, etsi tanta christianae humanitatis luce fruatur, ut nulla ratione possit cum aveo Gregoriano comparari, videtur tamen eam vitam fastidire, a qua praecipue, saepe unice, quasi a fonte, tot nedum praeterita, sed etiam praesentia bona sunt repetenda. Nec modo, ut quondam subortis erroribus ac dissidiis, se ipsa detruncat quasi ramum inutilem, sed vel imam arboris radicem petit, id est Ecclesiam, conaturque vitalem exsiccare succum, quo certius illa corruat nullum in posterum emissura germen.

Hodiernus hic error idemque maximus, unde caeteri fluunt, causa est cur tantam aeternae hominum salutis iacturam ac tam multa religionis detrimenta doleamus, plura etiam, nisi medica adhibeatur manus, impendentia extimescentes. Negant enim quidquam esse supra naturam; esse Deum rerum conditorem, cuius providentia cuncta regantur; fieri posse miracula; quibus de medio sublatis necesse est christianae religionis fundamenta convelli. Impetuntur ipsa argumenta, quibus Deum esse demonstrantur, atque incredibili temeritate, contra prima rationis iudicia, repudiatur invicta illa argumentandi vis, qua ex effectibus causa colligitur, id est Deus eiusque attributa,

[21] Ibid. v. 6 (iv. 47). [22] Ioann. x. 10. [23] Ad Rom. xi. 16, 17

nullis circumscripta limitibus. *Invisibilia enim ipsius a creatura mundi, per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur ; sempiterna quoque eius virtus, et divinitas.*[24] Facilis inde aditus patet ad alia errorum portenta, rectae rationi repugnantia aeque ac bonis moribus perniciosa.

Enimvero gratuita supernaturalis principii negatio, quae propria est *falsi nominis scientiae*,[25] fit postulatam critices historicae pariter falsae. Quae ordinem rerum supra naturam ratione quavis attingunt, sive quod illum constituant, sive quod cum illo coniuncta, sive quod ipsum praesumant, sive denique quod nisi per ipsum explicari multa non queant, ea omnia, nulla investigatione instituta historiae paginis eraduntur. Eiusmodi sunt Iesu Christi divinitas, mortalis ab eodem assumpta caro Sancti Spiritus opera, sua Ipse virtute a mortuis excitatus, omnia nenique fidei nostrae caetera capita. Qua falsa semel inita via, nulla iam lege critica scientia cohibetur, suoque marte quidquid non arridet aut rei suae demonstrandae adversari putatur, id omne sacris libris adimitur. Sublato enim supernaturali ordine, longe alio fundamento exstrui necesse est historiam de Ecclesiae originibus, ideoque suo lubitu novarum rerum molitores monumenta versant, ea non ad sensum auctorum, sed ad suam ipsorum voluntatem trahentes.

Magno istorum doctrinae apparatu et argumentorum speciosa vi multi sic decipiuntur, ut, vel a fide desciscant, vel in ea valde infirmentur. Sunt etiam qui, sua in fide constantes, critices disciplinae, quasi demolienti, succensent, qua quidem ipsa per se culpa vacat, legitimeque adhibita conducit ad investigandum felicissime. Neutri tamen animum advertunt ad ea quae perperam ponunt ac praesumunt, hoc est ad falsi nominis scientiam. a qua profecti, necessario ad falsa concludenda ducuntur. Falso nempe philosophiae principio corrumpi omnia necesse est. Hi, autem errores satis refelli poterunt nunquam, nisi acie mutata, hoc est, deductis errantibus a suae critices praesidiis, ubi se munitos existimant, ad legitimum philosophiae campum, quo relicto, errores hauserunt.

Taedet interim ad subtili mente viros eosdemque solertes Pauli verba convertere, increpantis illos, qui a terrenis hisce ad ea quae oculorum aciem fugiunt non assurgerent : *Evanuerunt in cogitationibus suis et obscuratum est insipiens cor eorem ; dicentes enim se esse sapientes, stulti facti sunt.*[26] Stultus enim

[24] Ad Rom. i. 20. [25] Tim. vi. 20. [26] Ad Rom. i. 21, 22.

omnino dicendus quicumque vires mentis insumit ut fabricet in arena.

Nec minus dolendae ruinae quae moribus hominum vitaeque societatis civilis ex ea negatione proveniunt. Etenim opinione sublata, praeter adspectabilem hanc rerum naturam esse divinum aliquid, nihil plane superest, quo excitatae cupiditates vel turpissimae coerceantur, quibus mancipati animi ad pessima quaque rapiuntur. Itaque *tradidit illos Deus in desideria cordis eorum, in immunditiam ; ut contumeliis afficiant corpora sua in semetipsis.*[27] Ac vos quidem, Venerabiles Fratres, minime latet, quam undique perditorum morum exundet lues, cui continendae impar erit civilis potestas, nisi ad altioris, quem diximus, ordinis praesidia confugiat. Sed neque ad sanandos caeteros morbos humana quidquam valebit auctoritas, si memoria excidat aut negetur omnem potestatem a Deo esse. Tunc enim, unico freno, vi cuncta gerentur, quae vis neque adhibetur constanter nec in manu semper est ; quo fit ut populus occulto quasi morbo laboret, omnia fastidiat, ius praedicet arbitrio suo agendi, seditiones conflet, reipublicae conversiones interdum turbulentissimas paret, divina omnia et humana iura permisceat. Amoto Deo, nulla civitatis legibus, nulla vel necessariis institutis constat reverentia, iustitia contemnitur, ipsa opprimitur quae iuris est naturalis libertas ; eo usque devenitur, ut domesticae societatis compages, civilis coniunctionis primum fundamentum atque firmissimum dissolvatur. Quo fit ut, infensis hisce Christo temporibus, difficilius aptentur efficacia remedia, quae ad populos in officio continendos Ecclesiae suae ipse comparavit.

Non aliunde tamen quam in Christo salus : *Nec enim aliud nomen est sub caelo datum hominibus, in quo opporteat nos salvos fieri.*[28] Ad Ipsum ergo redire necesse est, eius advolvi pedibus, ex ore illo divino verba vitae aeternae haurire ; solus quippe potest instaurandae salutis indicare viam, solus vera docere, solus ad vitam revocare, qui de se dixit : *Ego sum via et veritas et vita.*[29] Tentata denuo est mortalium gestio rerum seorsim a Christo ; aedificari coepit reprobato angulari lapide, quod Petrus iis exprobrabat, qui Iesum cruci affixerant. Ecce autem rursus extructa moles ruit aedificantium cervices infringens. Iesus interim superest, humanae societatis angularis lapis, iterum

[27] Ibid. i. 24. [28] Act. iv. 12. [29] Ioann. xiv. 6.

comprabata sententia non esse nisi in ipso salutem: *Hic est lapis qui reprobatus est a vobis aedificantibus, qui factus est in caput anguli, et non est in alio aliquo salus.*[30]

Ex his facile intelligitis, Venerabiles Fratres, quanta unumquemque nostrum urgeat necessitatis, animi vi qua possumus maxima quibusque pollemus opibus, huiusmodi supernaturalem vitam in omni ordine humanae societatis excitandi, ab infimae sortis opifice, cui panis apponitur diuturno sudore comparatus, ad arbitros terrarum potentes. In primisque privata prece ac publica exoranda Dei misericordia, ut potenti auxilio suo adsit qua voce olim tempestate iactati clamabant Apostoli: *Domine, salva nos, perimus.*[31]

Quamquam nec ista satis. Gregorius enim vitio tribuit episcopo, quod, sacri amore secessus et orandi studio, in aciem non prodeat, pro Domini causa strenue dimicaturus, inquiens: *Vacuum episcopi nomen tenet.*[32] Ac iure quidem; lux enim est afferenda mentibus iugi praedicatione veritatis et valida refutatione pravarum opinionum per veram solidamque philosophiae ac theologiae scientiam et per auxilia omnia, quae ex genuino historicae investigationis incremento provenerunt. Oportet insuper omnibus apte inculcentur tradita a Christo morum documenta, ut discant sui imperium exercere, motus animi appetentes regere, tumentem superbiam deprimere, parere auctoritati, iustitiam colere, omnes charitate complecti, dispari in civili convictu fortunae acerbitatem christiana dilectione temperare, a terrenis bonis avocare mentem, quam Providentia dederit sortem ea esse contentos, suisque tuendis officiis benigniorem efficere, ad futuram vitam contendere spe sempiternae mercedis. Illud autem praecipue curandum, ut haec se insinuent animisque penitus insideant, quo vera et solida pietas altiores radices agat, sua quisque et hominis et christiani officia, non ore tenus, sed re, profiteatur, et fiducia filii ad Ecclesiam confugiat ad eiusque ministros, quorum ministerio impetrent admissorum veniam, Sacramentorum gratia roborentur, vitam ad christianae legis praecepta componant.

Sacri muneris praecipuas has partes comitetur oportet Christi charitas, cuius instinctu nemo sit quem iacentem non erigamus, quem lugentem non consolemur, necessitas nulla cui non occurramus. Huiusmodi nos charitati totos devoveamus, huic res

[30] Act. iv. 11, 12. [31] Matt. viii. 25.
[32] Registr. vi, 63 (30). Cfr. Regul. past. i. 5.

nostrae cedant omnes, huic propriae utilitates posthabeantur et commoda, ut *omnibus omnia facti*,[33] salutem omnium quaeramus vel ipso vitae pretio, ad Christi exemplum ab Ecclesiae pastoribus id postulantis: *Bonus pastor animam suam dat pro ovibus suis*.[34] Insignibus his documentis referta sunt quae Gregorius scripta reliquit, multiplici exemplo vitae admirandae multo expressa potentius.

Quia vero ista, quum e principiorum christianae revelationis natura, tum ex intimis nostri apostolatus proprietatibus necessario fluunt, iam videtis, Venerabiles Fratres, quanto in errore versentur qui existimant bene se de Ecclesia mereri ac frugiferam operam in aeternam hominum salutem conferre, si profana quadam prudentia, falsi nominis scientiae multa largiantur, vana spe ducti, posse ita facilius errantium sibi gratiam conciliare, re autem vera ipsi se perditionis periculo committentes. Sed veritas una est, nec dividi potest; eadem aeterna perdurat, nullis obnoxia temporibus: *Iesus Christus heri, et hodie: ipse et in saecula*.[35]

Illi etiam valde falluntur qui in collocandis publice beneficiis, praesertim popularium causam agentes, quae ad corporis victum cultumque pertinent ea maxime curant, animorum salutem et christianae professionis officia gravissima silentio praeterunt. Nec eos pudet interdum summa quaedam evangelii praecepta quasi velis obtegere, veriti ne forte minus audiantur aut prorsus deserantur. Alienum quidem a prudentia non erit, etiam in proponenda veritate, sensim procedere, ubi res agatur cum iis, qui a nostris institutis abhorrent a Deoque sunt omnino seiuncti. *Resecanda vulnera*, ita Gregorius, *leni prius manu palpanda sunt*.[36] Verum haec ipsa industria speciem prudentiae carnis assumet, si ad agendi normam assurgat constantem atque communem; eoque magis quod per eam divina gratia parvi haberi videatur, quae non sacerdotio tantum conceditur eiusque ministris, sed Christi fidelibus omnibus, ut ipsorum animos dicta nostra et facta percellant. Fuit autem eiusmodi prudentia ignota Gregorio, quum in praedicatione evangelii, tum in caeteris ab eo mire gestis ad proximos relevandos miseriis. Is Apostolorum vestigia constanter est persequutus, quorum, cum primum peragrandum terrarum orbem susceperunt nuntiaturi Christum, fuit ista vox: *Praedicamus Christum crucifixum, Iudaeis quidem*

[33] 1 Cor. ix. 22. [34] Ioann. x. 11. [35] Ad Hebr. xiii. 8.
[36] Registr. v. 44 (18) ad Ioannem episcop.

scandalum, gentibus autem stultitiam.[37] Atqui si tempus ullum extitit, quo humanae praesidia prudentiae maxima opportuna viderentur, illud profecto fuit, quum ad excipiendam tam novam doctrinam, communibus cupiditatibus tam repugnantem, tam oppositam graecorum et romanorum florentissimae humanitati, nulla esset animorum praeparatio. Nihilominus id genus prudentiam Apostoli a se alienam duxerunt quibus divina erant comperta decreta : *Placuit Deo per stultitiam praedicationis salvos facere credentes.*[38] Ea stultitia quemadmodum semper, sic adhuc *iis . . . qui salvi fiunt, id est nobis, Dei virtus est.*[39] In *scandalo* crucis, uti antea, sic in posterum arma suppetent omnium potentissima ; ut olim, sic deinceps nobis erit in eo signo victoria.

Haec tamen arma, Venerabiles Fratres, vim exuent omnem nec erunt profutura quidquam si tractentur ab iis, qui interiorem vitam cum Christo non agant, qui non sint vera firmaque pietate instituti, qui Dei gloriae eiusque regni amplificandi studio non flagrent. Quae omnia Gregorius adeo esse necessaria putabat, ut maximam curam impenderet in Episcopos et sacerdotes creandos, qui divini honoris hominumque verae salutis magno desiderio tenerentur. Idque sibi proposuit in libro qui *Regula pastoralis* inscribitur, ubi, ad cleri salubrem institutionem et ad sacrorum antistitum regimen normae traduntur, non iis modo temporibus sed etiam nostris aptissimae. Idem prout eius enarrator vitae describit, *velut Argus quidam luminosissimus per totius mundi latitudinem suae pastoralis sollicitudinis oculos*[40] circumferebat, ut si quid in clero vitii aut negligentiae deprehenderet, in ad statim animadverteret. Quin etiam vel ipsa periculi cogitatio, ne forte illuvies et corruptelae in mores clericorum irreperent, trepido metu eum afficiebat. Si quid vero contra Ecclesiae disciplinam actum comperisset, ea re vehementer angebatur, nec ullo poterat pacto quiescere. Tunc cerneres admonere, corrigere, canonicus poenas minitari violatoribus, has interdum ipsemet irrogare, indignos, nulla interiecta mora, nulla rerum hominumve habita ratione, ab officio identidem prohibere.

Multa praeterea monebat, quae his verbis in scriptis eius frequentur expressa leguntur : *Qua mente apud Deum intercessionis locum pro populo arripit, qui familiarem se eius gratiae esse per vitae meritum nescit ?*[41]—*Si ergo in eius opere passiones*

[37] 1 Cor. i. 23. [38] Ibid. i. 21. [39] Ibid. i. 18
[40] Ioan. Diac., lib. ii. c. 65. [41] Reg. Past., i. 10.

vicunt, qua praesumptione percussum mederi properat, qui in facie vulnus portat?[42]—Quinam poterunt in Christi fidelibus expectari fructus, si veritatis praecones *quod verbis praedicant, moribus impugnant?*[43]—*Profecto diluere aliena delicta non* valet *is, quem propria devastant.*[44]

Veri sacerdotis exemplar huiusmodi censet atque ita describit: *Qui cunctis carnis passionibus moriens iam spiritualiter vivit; qui prospera mundi postposuit; qui nulla ad versa pertimescit, qui sola interna desiderat . . .; qui ad aliena cupienda non ducitur, sed propria largitur; qui per pietatis viscera citius ad ignoscendum flectitur, sed nunquam plus quam deceat ignoscens, ab arce rectitudinis inclinatur; qui nulla illicita perpetrat, sed perpetrata ab aliis ut propria deplorat; qui ex affectu cordis alienae infirmitati compatitur; sicque in bonis proximi sicut in suis provectibus laetatur; qui ita se imitabilem caeteris in cunctis quae agit insinuat, ut inter eos non habeat quod saltem de transactibus erubescat; qui sic studet vivere ut proximorum quoque corda arentia doctrinae valeat fluentis irrigare; qui orationis usu et experimento iam didicit, quod obtinere a Domino quae poposcerit possit.*[45]

Quam serio igitur, Venerabiles Fratres, Episcopo secum et coram Deo est reputandum, antequam novis levitis manus imponat! *Neque gratia alicuius*, inquit Gregorius, *neque supplicatione, aliquos ad sacros ordines audeat promovere nisi eum, quem vitae et actionis qualitas ad hoc dignum esse monstraverit.*[46] Quanta eidem opus est maturitate consilii, antequam recens inunctis sacerdotibus apostolatus munia committat! Qui, nisi iusto fuerint experimento probati sub vigili custodia prudentiorum sacerdotum, nisi habeant unde plane constet et honeste acta vita, de prono in pietatem ingenio, de animo ad obediendum parato iis omnibus quae vel Ecclesiae consuetudo induxerit vel diuturna experientia comprobarit vel quos *Spiritus Sanctus posuit episcopos regere ecclesiam Dei*[47] ipsi praeceperint, sacerdotio fungentur, non in plebis christianae salutem, sed in perniciem. Nam et iurgia serent, et plus minus latentes ciebunt rebelliones, triste sane spectaculum populo exhibentes quasi discrepantium in coetu nostro voluntatum, quum deploranda haec paucorum superbiae et contumaciae sint adscribenda. Procul, oh procul ab omni officio sunto excitatores discordiarum; nec enim his

[42] Reg. Past., i. 9. [43] Ibid. i. 2.
[44] Ibid. i. 11. [45] Ibid. i. 10.
[46] Registr. v. 63 (58) ad universos episcopos per Hellad. [47] Act. xx. 28.

apostolis eget Ecclesia, neque hi pro Christo cruci adfixo apostolatum gerunt, sed ipsi sibi apostoli sunt.

Adhuc ante oculos versari nostros imago Gregorii videtur, in Lateranensi pontificio Concilio coactorum undique antistitum corona septi, adstante clero Urbis universo. Quam fecunda ex eius ore fluit adhortatio de officiis clericorum! Quanto ardoris aestu consumitur! Illius oratio, instar fulminis, pravos homines percellit; sunt eius verba quasi totidem flagella, queis excutiuntur inertes; divini amoris flammae sunt, quibus vel ferventissimi animi suaviter corripiuntur. Perlegite, Venerabiles Fratres, et clero vestro legendam, considerandam, in sacro potissimum annuo recessu, proponite admirabilem istam sancti pontificis homiliam.[48]

Idem, non sine animi magna tristitia, haec inter caetera queritur: *Ecce, mundus sacerdotibus plenus est, sed tamen in messe Dei rarus valde invenitur operator; quia officium quidem sacerdotale suscepimus, sed opus officii non implemus.*[49] Ac vere quidem, quantum hodie virium Ecclesia colligeret, si operatores tot numeraret quot sacerdotes? Quam uberes fructus ex divina Ecclesiae vita hominibus provenirent, si eidem explicandae vacarent singuli? Huiusmodi in agendo alacritatem naviter excitavit Gregorius, dum vixit, suoque impulsu effecit ut posterioribus eadem vigeret. Quare, quae media intercessit, aetas, Gregoriana quasi nota distinguitur, quod ei hontifici accepta omnia fere essent referenda, sive regulae cleri regendi, sive charitatis et beneficentiae publice exercendae multiplex ratio, sive perfectioris sanctimoniae magisterium et vitae religiosae instituta, sive denique caeremoniarum et sacri ordinatio concentus.

Verum longe alia temporum ratio successit. Quod saepe diximus, in vita Ecclesiae immutatum est nihil. Ipsa enim haereditate acceptam a divino Institutore eiusmodi vim possidet, qua aetatibus omnibus, quamvis inter se dissimillimis, valeat, non animis tantum, quod sui muneris est, providere, sed plurimum etiam ad verae humanitatis incrementa conferre, quod quidem ex ipsa ministerii sui natura consequitur.

Nec sane fieri potest ut quae revelata divinitus Ecclesiae custodienda commissa sunt, eadem quidquid verum, bonum, pulchrum in terrestri rerum natura conspicitur, non maxime provehant, eoque efficacius, quo magis haec ad summum totius

[48] Hom. in Evang. i. 17 [49] Ibid. n. 3.

veritatis, bonitatis, pulchritudinis, principium, Deum, referantur.

Magnus ex divina doctrina humanae scientiae proventus, sive quod per illam latior pateflat campus novis rebus etiam naturalis ordinis expedite cognoscendis, sive quod per eandem rectum investigationi sternatur iter, erroresque circa disciplinae rationem viamque eam adipiscendi amoveantur. Sic in portu emicans ignis e turri, dum nocturno itinere navigantibus multa pandit, quae tenebris involuta laterent, simul de vitandis scopulis admonet, ad quos allisa navis naufragium pateretur.

Quae autem de moribus disciplinae sunt, quandoquidem Servator Dominus supremum nobis perfectionis exemplar divinam ipsam bonitatem proponat, Patrem suum,[50] eccui non patet, quanta inde incitamenta illis addantur, ut insculpta in omnium animis naturae lex altius et perfectius retineatur, adeoque tum singuli, tum domestica societas, tum denique hominum universa communitas prosperiore vita fruantur? Fuit ista profecto vis quae barbaros homines ex ferocitate ad humanitatem transtulit, muliebris proiectam dignitatem vindicavit, servitutis iugum excussit, ordinem, remissis cum aequitate vinculis, quiqus variae civium conditiones invicem continentur, instauravit, iura restituit, veram animi libertatem promulgavit, domesticae ac publicae tranquillitati tuto prospexit.

Denique artes ad aeternum exemplar omnis pulchritudinis, Deum, assurgentes, unde species et formae singulae, quae sunt in rerum natura, dimanant, facilius a vulgari sensu recedunt, conceptamque animo rem, in quo artis vita consistit, exprimunt multo potentius. Ac vix quidem dici potest quantum attulerit boni ratio adhibendarum artium in famulatum religionis, quo Numini offertur quidquid ipso dignius ubertate et copia, venustate atque elegantia formae praeseferant. Hinc artis origo sacrae, quo fundamento nixa est profana quaevis ars, et nititur adhuc. Rem nuperrime attigimus peculiari *Motu proprio*,[51] de romano cantu ad maiorum instituta revocando, ac de sacris concentibus. Atqui caeterae artes, pro sua quaeque materia, iisdem legibus continentur, ita ut, quae dicuntur de cantu, eadem et pingendi et sculpendi et exstruendi artibus conveniant, quas humani ingenii nobilissimas faces Ecclesia semper excitavit et aluit. Hac specie sublimi universum hominum genus

[50] Matth. v. 48. [51] Cfr. *Anal. Eccl.* in praes. vol. xii. p. 3. (*N. D.*)

enutritum templorum erigit moles, ubi, in domo Dei, tamquam in propria sede, inter artium omnium splendidissimam copiam, inter augustas caeremonias, inter suavissimos concentus, mentes ad caelestia revocantur.

Haec, uti diximus, beneficia potuit aetati suae ac posteroribus afferre Gregorius. Eadem, his quoque temporibus, qua fundamenti soliditate consistimus et quibus mediis instructi sumus, consequi licebit, si, quae adhuc bona, Dei gratia supersunt, omni studio retineantur, quae vero instituta a recto tramite deflexerint *instaurentur in Christo.*[52]

Placet Nostris hisce Litteris finem imponere iisdem verbis, quibus ipse Gregorius memorabilem illam in Lateranensi pontificio Consilio habitam orationem absolvit: *Haec, Fratres, vobiscum sollicite cogitate, haec et proximis vestris impendite; omnipotenti Deo fructum vos reddere de negotio, quod accepistis, parate. Sed ista quae dicimus melius apud vos orando quam loquendo obtinebimus.* Oremus: *Deus, qui nos pastores in populo vocare voluisti, praesta quaesumus, ut hoc quod humano ore dicimur, in tuis oculis esse valeamus.*[53]

Dum vero confidimus, deprecatore pontifice sancto Gregorio, Deum supplicibus his votis benignas aures admoturum, caelestium donorum auspicem ac paternae Nostrae benevolentiae testem, Apostolicam Benedictionem vobis omnibus, Venerabiles Fratres, clero ac populo vestro peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum IV Idus Martias an. MDCCCCIV, die festo S. Gregorii I Papae et Ecclesiae Doctoris, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

PIVS PP. X.

PIUS X. PRAISES THE APOSTOLIC UNION OF SECULAR PRIESTS

PIUS X. PIAM UNIONEM APOST. SAECULARIUM SACERDOTUM CONDIGNA LAUDE EXTOLLIT, INDULGENTIISQUE ET PRIVILEGIIS IN PERPETUUM CUMULAT

PIVS PP. X.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam

Cum Nobis nihil antiquius sit quam ut viri in sortem Domini vocati constanti christianarum virtutum laude florescant, ac

[52] Ad Ephes. i. 10. [53] Hom. cit. n. 18.

veluti lucernae super candelabrum positae exemplo populi praefulgeant, quae in Cleri Catholici bonum, aedificationem et spirituale emolumentum cedant, Decessorum Nostrorum vestigiis insistentes, Apostolica quidem Auctoritate interposita, paterno studio provehere satagimus. Quare non sine magna animi Nostri consolatione compertum habemus, pium opus ab Unione Apostolica saecularium Sacerdotum appelatum, iam inde ab anno MDCCCLXII in Gallia erectum, nunc, annuentibus Episcopis, plurimas totius christiani orbis dioeceses pervasisse, et modo in Gallia, Belgio, Anglia, Scotia, Hibernia, Germania, Helvetia, Italia, foederatis Americae Septentrionalis statibus, Canadensi ditione, America Meridionali, Australasia, et in nonnullis etiam Asiae regionibus florere, atque uberes edere in Dominico agro pietatis et sanctimoniae fructus. Hoc enim institutum, cuius et Nosmet Ipsi olim fuimus Alumni, cuiusque utilitatem atque excellentiam experti, vel in Episcopali dignitate constituti participes esse voluimus, proposita universis sociis uniformi vitae ratione, menstruis conventibus, spiritualibus conloquiis, gestorum propriorum nota Praepositis suo tempore reddita, aliisque aptis charitatis officiis Cleri unitatem tuetur, firmat, sparsosque Levitas spiritualis fraternae dilectionis vinculo devincit. Inde mira sodalium concordia, mutua aedificatio, sanctius servatus vocationis spiritus, et, amoto solitudinis periculo coalescentibus in unum multorum viribus, quisque sacerdos in communem utilitatem ac perfectionem animum intendit, et, licet variis ministerii sui curis distractus, communi conturbernio non utatur, tamen nec se a familia desertum sentit nec fratrum auxilio consilioque caret. Idcirco Decessor Noster ve : me : Leo PP. XIII, Episcoporum plausu et commendationibus adductus, datis Apostolicis Litteris die XXXI Maii anno MDCCCLXXX, frugiferum hoc institutum probavit atque amplissimo laudis praeconio prosequutus est, eique postea, anno MDCCCLXXXVII, cla : me : Lucidum Mariam S.R.E. Episcopum Cardinalem Parocchi Protectorem adsignavit. Nos vero animo repetentes, hoc potissimum tam gravi tempore, quam utile ac salutare sit Ecclesiae Dei institutum huiusmodi, probe noscentes Sacerdotes qui ad illud pertinent, prae omnibus optimos esse, votis dilecti filii victoris Lebeurier canonici ornamentarii Aurelianensis et praelati Nostri Domestici, fundatoris benemeriti et quadraginta duobus iam inde ab annis Apostolicae Unionis Moderatoris Generalis, ultro libenterque annuimus, atque in

ipsius instituti bonum atque incrementum haec quae infrascripta sunt decernimus.

Et primo ut cunctis pateat quae sit Nostra erga memoratam Unionem voluntas, in singulare paternae Nostrae dilectionis testimonium, eiusdem Instituti Patrocinium Nos Ipsi assumimus Nobisque reservamus. Praeterea, quo Sacerdotes in Apostolicam Unionem adlecti opportuno spiritualium gratiarum praesidio firmentur, atque eadem singularia Indulgentiarum munera moveant alios, ut, sibi reique sacrae efficacius prospecturi, saluberrimae huic consociationi dent nomen, de omnipotentis Dei misericordia, ac BB. Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius auctoritate confisi, Apostolica Nostra Auctoritate, praesentium vi perpetuumque in modum, omnibus ac singulis Sacerdotibus ubique terrarum degentibus, qui nunc et in posterum sese huic Apostolicae Unioni, emissa rite prius professionis formula, mancipaverint donec in ea perseverent, si quotannis, Natalis, Circumcisionis, Epiphaniae, Paschatis Resurrectionis, Ascensionis et SS. Corporis Domini Nostri Iesu Christi, item Conceptionis, Nativitatis, Annunciationis, Purificationis, et Assumptionis B. Mariae Virginis Immaculatae festivitatibus, nec non quolibet festo die sanctorum duodecim Apostolorum, admissorum confessione prius expiati, vel Missam celebrent vel ad sacram Synaxim accedant, simulque quamlibet Ecclesiam sive publicum Sacellum visitent, et ibi pro Christianorum Principum concordia, haeresum extirpatione, peccatorum conversione ac S. Matris Ecclesiae exaltatione pias ad Deum preces effundant, quo praefatorum die ad agant, plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum Indulgentiam et remissionem misericorditer in Domino concedimus. Insuper dictis nunc et in posterum eamdem in Unionem adiectis Sacerdotibus, quoties menstruam vitae rationis notam ad respectivum Superiorem Dioecesanum iuxta instituti tabulas mittant, et contrito saltem corde, semel ad Romani Pontificis mentem, Orationem Dominicam et Salutationem Angelicam et Trisagium recitent ; vel pariter, contrito saltem corde, menstruo communi recessui intersint, in forma Ecclesiae consueta, de numero poenalium dierum centum expungimus. Item concedimus ut partiali hac Indulgentia fruantur etiam Presbyteri, qui, licet Apostolicae Unioni non sint inscripti, menstruum tamen secessum una cum sociis celebrent ; tandem largimur, ut, si malint, singulis ac universis liceat plenariis hisce ac partialibus Indulgentiis vita functorum labes poenasque expiare. Facul-

tatem quoque praesentibus ac futuris Apostolicae Unionis sodalibus, auctoritate Nostra, facimus peragendi gravibus de causis Missae Sacrificium vel una ante auroram hora ; iisdemque Apostolicum Missarum privilegium ita tribuimus, ut quandocumque quisque e praefatis sociis Missam pro anima cuiuscumque christifidelis, quae Deo in charitate coniuncta ab hac luce migraverit, ad quodvis cuiusque Ecclesiae altare rite celebraverit, idem Sacrum, ter dumtaxat qualibet hebdomada, animae pro qua celebratum fuerit perinde suffragetur ac si foret ad privilegiatum altare peractum.

Tandem sodalibus ipsis Apostolicae Unionis nunc etin posterum ubique terrarum exsistentibus facultatem per praesentes largimur, ex qua, extra Urbem, de consensu Ordinarii loci in quo hanc exercuerint facultatem, cruces, Crucifixos, sacra numismata, coronas precatorias et parvas Domini Nostri Iesu Christi, B. Mariae Virginis Immaculatae et omnium et singularum Indulgentiarum, quae in elencho edito typis S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, die XXVIII Augusti mensis, anno MCMIII, numerantur, et quoad coronas precatorias non excepta Indulgentiarum applicatione S. Birgittae nuncupatarum, in forma Ecclesiae conseuta, tempore Missionum et Spiritualium Exercitiorum publice, aliis vero temporibus privatim benedicere possint : itemque sodalibus dictis, servatis servandis, facultatem facimus, cuius vi, dummodo sint ad sacras conciones habendas approbati, novissimo die sacrarum concionum Quadragesimae, Adventus, Missionum et Spiritualium Exercitiorum, Christiano populo cum Crucifixo ac sub unico signo Crucis, iuxta ritum formulamque praescriptam, cum plenaria addita Indulgentia ita benedicere queant, ut fideles ex utroque sexu, qui saltem ultra medietatem dierum, quibus eaedem conciones respective perduraverint, interfuerint, et vere poenitentes et confessi ac S. Communione refecti, Ecclesiam seu Sacellum in quo respectivae conciones habitae fuerint, eodem die devote visitent, ibique pro S. Matris Ecclesiae exaltatione, Principum Christianorum unione, peccatorum conversione ac haeresum extirpatione oraverint, plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum Indulgentiam et remissionem lucrari valeant. Non obstantibus Nostra ac Cancellariae Apostolicae regula de non concedendis Indulgentiis ad instar, aliisque Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apostolicis caeterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Volumus autem ut praesentium litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu

alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis, et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constituae praemunitis, eadem prorsus adhibeatur fides quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die XXVIII Decembris MCMIII, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Primo.

L ✠ S. ALOYS. Card. MACCHI.

PRIVILEGES OF PRIESTS WHO ATTENDED THE CONCLAVE

GRATIAE ET PRIVILEGIA A SANCTISSIMO DOMINO NOSTRO

PIO

DIVINA PROVIDENTIA

PAPA X.

CLERICIS CONCLAVISTIS POSTREMI CONCLAVIS CONCESSA;

PIUS PP. X.

MOTU PROPRIO

Peculiaria quaedam benevolentiae Nostrae argumenta dilectis filiis, ecclesiasticis viris daturi, qui Nobis et Venerabilibus Fratribus Nostris Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalibus in Conclavi, quo divina favente clementia ad Summum Pontificatum assumpti fuimus, operam adhibuere, aut variis ibidem muneribus sunt perfuncti, traditam a Decessoribus Nostris consuetudinem sic sane tenuimus, quemadmodum per conditionem temporum licuit. Quapropter id maxime gratiarum privilegiorumque genus animo spectantes, quod esset cum eorumdem Conclavistarum praesenti utilitate coniunctum, haec auctoritate Nostra Nostroque Motu proprio decrevimus :

I. Clericis Conclavistis S. R. E. Cardinalium in Urbe commorantium aut Italiae dioecesibus praesidentium libellae centum et quinquaginta singulos in annos, pensionis nomine, erunt.

II. Gratiae, provisiones aut commendae quorumvis beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum, Litteraeque Apostolicae de hisce conficiendae, gratis iisdem semel tantum impertientur.

III. Si quando infirma valetudine utantur, Sacrum per se facere, servatis servandis, in suo cuiusque Oratorio quod ipsorum Ordinarius probaverit, ius eisdem erit. Ceteris vero Clericis Conclavistis, qui Venerabiles Fratres Nostros S. R. E. Cardinales

dioecesibus extra Italiam regendis praepositos sunt secuti, memoratae expers conditionis, servatisque ut supra servandis, Oratorii privati ius erit.

IV. Expediendae de his privilegiis ac iuribus Litterae gratis omni ex causa concedantur.

V. Declaratae modo gratiae aliis gratiis quovis ex capite habitis vel assequendis detrimento ne sint : omnis tamen efficacitas praescriptis maneat, quae a Leone XIII fel. rec. Decessore Nostro, die XXIV Maii a. MDCCCIC sunt edita.

Non obstantibus Constitutionibus, Ordinationibus, Nostris ac Cancellariae Apostolicae Regulis, aliisque licet speciali et individua mentione dignis ; quibus omnibus et singulis, etiamsi de illis specialis et individua habenda mentio, eorumque tenores inserendi forent, illis alias in suo robore permansuris, hac vice dumtaxat specialiter et expresse Motu proprio derogamus, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque, cum clausulis opportunis.

Fiat motu proprio J.

Et cum absolutione a censuris ad effectum etc. Et cum declaratione quod reliqua privilegia et indulta contenta in similibus Motus proprii schedulis a nonnullis Romanis Pontificibus Praedecessoribus Nostris favore Conclavistarum alias editis, ob hodiernas rerum ac temporum circumstantias pro nunc in suspenso remaneant. Et quod praesentis Nostri Motus proprii schedulae signatura sufficiat et ubique fidem faciat in iudicio et extra illud, Regula quacumque contraria non obstante ; et quod praemissorum omnium et singulorum maior et verior specificatio et expressio fieri possit in Litteris, si videbitur, expediendis, in quibus singulorum Conclavistarum nomina et cognomina exprimi et describi, seu pro expressis et descriptis haberi possint, inter quos Sacrista et Magistri Caeremoniarum Cappellae Nostrae, nec non Secretarius Collegii eorumdem Cardinalium. Volumus autem quod Litterarum super praesentibus conficiendarum ac etiam praesentis Nostri Motus proprii transumptis impressis ac manu alicuius personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae subscriptis et sigillo munitis, eadem fides, tam in iudicio quam extra illud adhibeatur, quae originalibus Litteris vel praesenti Motui proprio originali adhiberetur, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae, aut exhibitus vel ostensus foret.—*Fiat J.*

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum decimo nono Calendas Ianuarii anno primo.

ANGELUS Card. DI PIETRO, *Pro-Datarius.*

INDEX CONCLAVISTARUM

DE QUIBUS AGITUR IN MOTU-PROPRIO

Fr. Guilelmus Pifferi ex Ordine Eremitarum S. Augustini, Episcopus tit. Porphyrien. Sacrarii Apostolici Praefectus.

Raphael Merry del Val Archiepiscopus tit. Nicaenus, S. Collegii Secretarius.

Franciscus Riggi Protonotarius Apostolicus, Apostolicis Caeremoniis Praefectus.

Caesar Togni
Nazarenus Marzolini
Franciscus Ciocci
Robertus Marcucci
} Magistri Caeremoniarum.

Ioannes Bressan Presbyter; conclavista NOSTER dum Cardinalatus honore fungebamur.

Pius Canonicus Mingoli Presbyter; ALOYSII Episcopi Ostien. et Veliternen. S. R. E. Camerarii OREGLIA DI S. STEFANO.

Marcus Martini Presbyter; SERAPHINI Episcopi Portuen. et S. Ruphinae VANNUTELLI.

Vincentius Botti Presbyter; MARII Episcopi Sabinen. MOCENNI.

Isidorus Möderl Presbyter; ANTONII Episcopi Albanen. AGLIARDI.

Franciscus Parrillo Presbyter; VINCENTII Episcopi Praenestin. VANNUTELLI.

Rainaldus Angeli Presbyter; FRANCISCI Episcopi Tusculan. SATOLLI.

Emmanuel Canonicus Auaquim Presbyter; IOSEPHI SEBASTIANI Card. Tituli SS. XII. Apostolorum NETTO.

Dominicus Canonicus De Angelis Presbyter; ALPHONSI Card. Tituli S. Mariae de Populo CAPECELATRO.

Rev. Landrieux Presbyter et Vicarius Generalis Rhemen.; BENEDICTI MARIAE Card. Tituli S. Ioannis ante Portam Latinam LANGÉNIEUX.

Patritius Carolus Gavan Presbyter; IACOBI Card. Tituli S. Mariae trans Tiberim GIBBONS.

Philippus Rocchi Presbyter; MARIANI Card. Tituli S. Caeciliae RAMPOLLA DEL TINDARO.

Eduardus Thomas Presbyter; FRANCISCI MARIAE Card. Tituli S. Mariae in Via RICHARD.

Canonicus Van Olmen Presbyter; PETRI LAMBERTI Card. Tituli S. Crucis in Ierusalem GOOSSENS.

Franciscus Kamprath Presbyter ; Antonii Iosephi Card. Tituli S. Mariae Angelorum in Thermis Gruscha.

Ioseph Canonicus Guerri Presbyter ; Angeli Card. Tituli S. Laurentii in Lucina Di Pietro.

I. Canonicus Quinn et I. Ryan. Presbyteri ; Michaelis Card. Tituli S. Mariae de Pace Logue.

Georgius Andor Presbyter ; Claudii Card. Tituli S. Martini in Montibus Vaszary.

Leo Gautier Presbyter et Vicarius Generalis Augustodunen. ; Adulphi Ludovici Alberti Card. Tituli S. Petri ad Vincula Perraud.

Ioannes Steinmann Presbyter ; Georgii Card. Tituli S. Agnetis extra moenia Kopp.

Rev. Giraudin Presbyter ; Victoris Luciani Card. Tituli S. Pudentianae Lecot.

Beniaminus Miñana Presbyter ; Cyriaci Mariae Card. Tituli S. Petri in Monte Aureo Sancha y Hervas.

Petrus Canonicus Saccomandi Presbyter ; Dominici Card. Tituli S. Honuphrii in Ianiculo Svampa.

Antonius Merisio et Ioseph Polvara Presbyteri ; Andreae Card. Tituli S. Anastasiae Ferrari.

Aloisius Canonicus Haver Presbyter ; Hieronymi Card. Tituli S. Mariae Scalaris Gotti.

Isidorus Casañas et Ioachim Valls, Presbyteri ; Salvatoris Card. Tituli SS. Quirici et Iulittae Casanas y Pages.

Adulphus Moracci Subdiaconus : Achillis Card. Tituli S. Pancrati Manara.

Ioseph Giovannelli Presbyter ; Dominici Card. Tituli S. Priscae Ferrata.

Nicolaus Santopaolo Presbyter ; Seraphini Card. Tituli S. Mariae supra Minervam Cretoni.

Aloysius d' Aquino Presbyter ; Iosephi Card. Tituli S. Sixti Prisco.

Emmanuel Caciro Presbyter ; Iosephi Mariae Card. Tituli S Mariae Transpontinae Martin de Herrera y de la Iglesia.

Emmanuel Béchetoille Presbyter ; Petri Herculis Card. Tituli SS. Trinitatis in Monte Pincio Coullié.

Canonicus Charost Presbyter ; Iosephi Guilelmi Card. Tituli S. Mariae Novae Labouré.

Aloysius Biondi Presbyter ; Ioannis Baptistae Card. Tituli S. Mariae de Victoria Casali del Drago.

Carolus Ingami Clericus ; Francisci de Paula Card. Tituli S. Chrysogoni Cassetta.

Antonius Marinucci Presbyter ; Alexandri Card. Tituli SS. Petri et Marcellini Sanminiatelli.

Paschalis Ragosta Presbyter ; Ianuarii Card. Tituli S. Clementis Portanova.

Ioannes Licitri Presbyter ; Iosephi Card. Tituli SS. Ioannis et Pauli Francica Nava.

Franciscus Xaverius Hertzog Presbyter Sulpitianus ; Francisci Desiderati Card. Tituli S. Sabinae Mathieu.

Caelestinus Nadalini Presbyter ; Petri Card. Tituli SS. Quatuor Coronatorum Respighi.

Aetius Canonicus Gastaldi Presbyter ; Augustini Card. Tituli S. Eusebii Richelmy.

Petrus Fumasoni Presbyter ; Sebastiani Card. Tituli S. Augustini Martinelli.

Paschalis Antonelli Presbyter ; Casimiri Card. Tituli S. Marcelli Gennari.

Mauritius Picha Presbyter ; Leonis Card. Tituli S. Stephani in Coelio Monte de Skrbensky.

Camillus Battaglia Presbyter ; Iulii Card. Tituli S. Laurentii in Panisperna Boschi.

Ladislaus Bandurski et Paulus Frelek, Presbyteri ; Ioannis Card. Tituli S. Vitalis Puzyna.

Sylvinus Tomba Presbyter ; Bartholomaei Card. Tituli S. Bartholomaei in Insula Bacilieri.

Henricus Ponti Presbyter; Caroli Card. Tituli S. Callixti Nocella.

Henricus Salvadori Presbyter ; Beniamini Card. Tituli S. Mariae in Ara Caeli Cavicchioni.

Aloysius Campa Presbyter ; Andreae Card. Tituli S. Hieronymi Illyricorum Aiuti.

Archangelus Rossi Brunoni Presbyter ; Aemygdii Card. Tituli S. Bernardi ad Thermas Taliani.

Martialis Lopez Presbyter ; Sebastiani Card. Tituli SS. Bonifaci et Alexii Herrero y Espinosa.

Ioannes Filzer Presbyter ; Ioannis Card. Tituli S. Thomae in Parione Katschthaler.

Ioannes Jansen Presbyter ; Antonii Card. Tituli SS. Nerei et Achillei Fischer.

Ioseph Lombardi Presbyter ; Aloysii Card. Diac. S. Mariae in Via Lata Macchi.

Guilelmus Huber Presbyter; ANDREAE Card. Diac. S. Agathae STEINHUBER.

Henricus Felici Presbyter; FRANCISCI Card. Diac. S. Mariae in Porticu SEGNA.

Ioannes Rossi Presbyter; RAPHAELIS Card. Diac. SS. Cosmae et Damiani PIEROTTI.

Ioseph Tellarini Presbyter; FRANCISCI SALESII Card. Diac. S. Mariae in Aquiro DELLA VOLPE.

Vincentius Rosetti Presbyter; IOSEPHI CALASANCTII Card. Diac. S. Adriani VIVES Y TUTO.

Ioseph Falco Presbyter; ALOYSII Card. Diac. S. Mariae in Domnica TRIPEPI.

Ioannes Biasiotti Presbyter; FELICIS Card. Diac. S. Mariae S. Martyres CAVAGNIS.

Fr. Augustinus Pifferi ex Ordine Eremitarum S. Augustini, Sub-Sacrista.

Fridericus Tedeschini, adiutor Secretario S. Collegii.

[It will be seen from this document that the priests who attended the various Cardinals at the recent Conclave become entitled to certain favours and privileges. The Italian priests get a small yearly pension in addition to other favours. The foreign priests are entitled to the use of a private oratory. The two Irish priests who attended His Eminence Cardinal Logue are the Very Rev. Canon Quinn, P.P., Magherafelt, and the Very Rev. James J. Ryan, President of St. Patrick's College, Thurles.—ED. I. E. RECORD.]

THE LITTLE OFFICE OF THE SACRED HEART

ALIAE CONCEDUNTUR INDULG. RECITANTIBUS PARVUM OFFICIUM SS. CORDIS IESU

PIUS PP. X.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Curavit exponendum Nobis Venerabilis Frater Josephus Episcopus Andegavensis, quamplures fideles illis in regionibus Parvum Officium SSmi. Cordis Jesu a Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione recognitum et adprobatum devote quovis die recitare solitos esse, eamque constantem

in precibus perseverantiam fidem excitare, ac potissimum sincerae charitatis ardorem fovere ac provehere. Quo vero tam laudabile studium erga SSmum. Jesu Cor in dies magis provehatur, enixas Nobis idem Antistes preces adhibuit, ut coelestes Ecclesiae thesauros reserantes, fidelibus parvum idem Officium recitantibus nonnullas alias indulgentias largiri dignaremur; Nosque id rati in spirituale christiani gregis bonum quam maxime cessurum, votis hisce piis annuendum, quantum in Domino possumus, existimavimus. Quae cum ita sint, de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia, ac BB. Petri et Pauli Aplorum Eius auctoritate confisi, praeter indulgentiam partialem biscentum dierum iis concessam per similes Aplicas. Litteras die XII mensis Decembris anno MDCCCCI datas, qui dictum parvum Officium, vel latina vel vernacula lingua, dummodo versio sit fidelis et rite probata, devoto et contrito corde, quovis anni die recitaverint, atque ad mentem Romani Pontificis oraverint, omnibus pariter et singulis fidelibus ex utroque sexu, qui per solidum mensem ipsum officium integrum singulis diebus recitaverint, ac vere poenitentes et confessi ac S. Communione refecti, uno ad cuiusque eorum lubitum eligendo intra mensis ipsius spatium die publicum quodvis templum visitent, ibique pro Christianorum Principum concordia, haeresum extirpatione, peccatorum conversione ac S. Matris Ecclesiae exaltatione pias ab Deum preces effundant, Plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum Indulgentiam et remissionem, quam etiam animabus christifidelium quae Deo in charitate coniunctae ab hac luce migraverint, per modum suffragii applicare possint, misericorditer in Domino concedimus et largimur. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Volumus vero ut praesentes nullae sint nisi earumdem exemplar transmittatur ad Congregationem Sacris Reliquiis atque Indulgentiis praepositam; utque praesentium Litterarum transsumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicuius notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis, eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur, quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus si forent exhibitae vel ostensae. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris de 1 Martii MDCCCCIV. Pontificatus Nostri Anno primo.

Pro Dno. Card. Macchi.

Nicolaus Marini, *Substitutus.*

L ✠ S.

Praesentium Litterarum exemplar transmissum fuit ad hanc

S. Congregationem Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositam.

In quorum fidem etc.

Datum Romae, ex Secria. eiusdem S. Congnis., die 8 Martii 1904.

Iosephus M. Can. Coselli, *Substitutus.*

PRIVILEGES OF APOSTOLIC PROTONOTARIES

DECLARATIONES CIRCA PRIVILEGIA PROTONOTARIIS APOSTOLICIS AD INSTAR PARTICIPANTIUM CONCESSA [1]

Cum nonnullae obortae fuerint difficultates super aequa interpretatione Constitutionis Pii fe. re. Papae IX, quae incipit 'Apostolicae Sedis officium' datae IV Kal. Septembris MDCCCLXXII, et ad Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum Pium Papam X delatae, occasione praesertim privilegiorum, quibus Capitulum Tarvisinum decoratum nuper fuit; eadem Sanctitas Sua, quo unica ab Apostolicis Protonotariis ad instar ubique norma servetur, per Sacrorum Rituum Congregationem sequentia declaranda statuit:

I. Quoad § II praefatae Constitutionis: Biretum, quo Protonotarii Apostolici ad instar Participantium in sacris functionibus utuntur, nigrum profecto esse debet; nihilo tamen minus ornari poterit, iuxta usum quasdam in regiones iam invectum, lemnisco eiusdem coloris ac vitta seu cordula qua pileum circumcingere solent.

II. Quoad § XV: Protonotarius Missam pontificaliter celebrans, omnia quae vel legenda sunt vel canenda, nunquam ad scamnum sed semper ad Altare leget vel cantabit. In fine autem Missae, simplicem benedictionem, non trinam, imperitens, non audeat, more Episcoporum, praemittere: Sit Nomen Domini . . . et Adiutorium nostrum . . ., sed, mitra coopertus, tantummodo canat: Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus . . .

III. Quoad § XVI: Cum petit Ecclesiam, pontificaliter celebraturus, Crucem pectoralem super mantelletum et annulum in digito gestare poterit.

IV. Quoad § XVII: Protonotarius item poterit Mitra, Cruce pectorali et annulo ornatus, ad scamnum celebrare Vesperas more presbyterorum, illius festi, cuius Missam ipse pontificaliter

[1] Hoc documentum poni debuisset sub Rubrica S. C. Rituum, p. 122. (*N. D.*)

acturus est, vel peregit. Iisdem quoque ornamentis uti poterit, de speciali tamen commissione Ordinarii loci, in Vesperis festi, cuius Missa in pontificalibus ab alio quolibet Praelato celebratur ; in benedictione cum SSmo. Sacramento solemniter impertienda, atque etiam in processionibus, necnon in una ex quinque absolutionibus in solemnioribus exsequiis de quibus in Pontificali Romano.

V. Quoad § XVIII : Protonotarius lectam Missam facere, etiam extra Urbem, poterit, iuxta modum et formam in § XIX praescripta, quando id numeris, in aliqua solemnitate adimplendum, eidem commiserit loci Ordinarius.

Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque, firmisque in reliquo manentibus, quae in praedicta Constitutione Protonotariis Apostolicis ad instar vel permittuntur vel inhibentur. Die 9 Martii 1904.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

EDITIO SOLESMENSIS

LIBER USUALIS Missae et Officii pro Dominicis et festis duplicibus. Cum Cantu Gregoriano [No. 567]. Desclée, Lefebvre et Cie, Rome et Tournai. 1903. 7 x 4½ in., xxii + 9 + 1242 pp. Paper covers, 3*s.* 8*d.*; bound, from 4*s.* 5*d.* to 7*s.* 8*d.*

MANUALE MISSAE ET OFFICIORUM ex Libris Solesmensibus excerptum [No. 563]. Desclée, etc. 1902. 7 x 4½ in., xxii + 9 + 314 pp. Paper covers, 1*s.* 3*d.*; bound, 1*s.* 9*d.* and 2*s.*

A MANUAL OF GREGORIAN CHANT. Compiled from the Solesmes Books and from Ancient Manuscripts [No. 581]. Desclée, etc. 1903. 7 x 4½ in., xxii + 22 + 394 pp. Cloth, 2*s.* 6*d.*

MANUALE MISSAE ET OFFICIORUM ex Libris Solesmensibus excerptum [No. 573]. Desclée, etc. 1903. 8 x 5 in., xxii + 8 + 352 pp. Paper covers, 1*s.* 10*d.*; bound, 2*s.* 5*d.* and 3*s.*

MISSAE IN PRAECIPUIS FESTIS. Appendix Missae et Officiorum Solesmensis Manualis [No. 563A]. Desclée, etc. 1903. 7 x 4½ in., 39 pp. Paper covers, 4*d.*

MISSAE IN PRAECIPUIS FESTIS. Appendix Missae et Officiorum Solesmensis Manualis in recentioris musicae notulas translatae [No. 573A]. Desclée, etc. 1903. 8 x 5 in., 54 pp. Paper covers, 5*d.*

KYRIALE ou Chants Ordinaires de la Messe. Notation Gregorienne [No. 591]. Desclée, etc. 1903. 7 x 4½ in., xxxiii + 58 pp. Paper covers, 6*d.*

KYRIALE seu Ordinarium Missarum in recentioris musicae notulas translatum [No. 576]. Desclée, etc. 1903. 8 x 5 in., xii + 67 pp. Paper covers, 6*d.*

PSALMI IN NOTIS pro Vesperis et Officio in omnibus Dominicis et Festis Duplicibus juxta ritum Romanum

simul ac monasticum. Cantus Gregorianus. Desclée, etc. 1903 [No. 590]. 7 x 4½ in., 167 pp. Paper covers, 8*d*.

OFFICIUM ET MISSAE NATIVITATIS D.N.I.C juxta Missale et Breviarium Romanum. Cantus Gregorianus [No. 571]. Desclée, etc. 1903. 7 x 4½ in., 47 pp. Paper covers, 5*d*.

OFFICIUM MAJORIS HEBDOMADAE juxta Missale et Breviarium Romanum. Cantus Gregorianus [No. 578]. Desclée, etc. 1903. 7 x 4½ in., 9 + 171 pp. Paper covers, 1*s*.

OFFICIUM PRO DEFUNCTIS cum Missa et Absolutione nec non Exsequiarum Ordine juxta Ritum Romanum [Nos. 593 and 593B]. Desclée, etc. 1903. 8½ x 5½ in., 95 pp. Paper covers, 8*d*.; cloth, 1*s*. 8*d*.

OFFICIUM PRO DEFUNCTIS, etc., juxta Ritum Monasticum [Nos. 594 and 594B]. Desclée, etc. 1903. 8½ x 5½ in., 92 pp. Paper covers, 8*d*.; cloth, 1*s*. 8*d*.

REQUIEM MASS. Modern Notation [No. 2287]. Desclée, etc. 1904. 8 x 5½ in., 11 pp. 2*d*.

VARIAE PRECES ex Liturgia tum hodierna tum antiqua collectae aut usu receptae. Editio quinta. Solesmis e Typographia Sancti Petri. 1901. 8½ x 5½ in., 281 pp. Paper covers, 2*s*. 5*d*.

IN his Instruction on Church Music Pope Pius X. says that 'the ancient traditional Gregorian Chant must be largely restored to the function of public worship'; and the Congregation of Rites, in their decree of 8th January last, state that the Pope 'has happily restored the venerable Gregorian Chant according to the authority of the Codices, and the ancient usuage of the Churches' and that 'while revoking the privileges or recommendations with which other more recent forms of the liturgical chant have been introduced by the Apostolic See or this Sacred Congregation, his Holiness has kindly granted that these more recent forms may be retained and sung in those churches where they have already been adopted, with the injunction that as soon as possible the venerable Gregorian Chant, in accordance with the Codices, be put in their place.' Thus, then, the Medicean edition of the Gradual has come to the end of its career. Issued from the Medicean printing press in Rome in the years 1614 and 1615, bearing on its title-page the proud words 'Cum Cantu Pauli V.

Pont. Max. Iussu Reformato,' it lay dormant for over two centuries, until in 1808 the Congregation of Rites took it up again, and for upwards of thirty years recommended it to all the churches as the authentic edition of the Roman chant.

Now the Medicea is dead, and we need not say anything hard about it. We have suffered it, as we still suffer the Renaissance disfigurement of the liturgical hymns. Let us be satisfied to rejoice that we are allowed to return to the true tradition of the Gregorian melodies, which is best represented in the Codices of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Neither the Pope nor the Congregation of Rites have prescribed any particular edition of the Plain Chant. But, practically, the publications of the Benedictine monks, recently expelled by the freedom-loving French Government from their monastery at Solesmes, are the only ones in the field. Nor is it likely that for many years to come, if ever, a more perfect edition will be published. It was in 1860 that Dom Guéranger, the great restorer of the Roman Liturgy, charged Dom Pothier to edit a Gradual, and after serious and patient research the latter brought out, in 1880, the Roman Gradual according to the version of the Codices. Since that time the Benedictines have continued their studies, and the new editions now before us, which were made necessary by the French Government seizing their printing plant and printed books, embody slight improvements suggested by these recent studies.

These books, then, represent a critical reconstruction of the Gregorian Chant based upon a careful examination of practically all the manuscripts existing. They represent the version of the manuscripts both as regards the notes and their arrangement in neums and groups of neums. There is only one thing that makes us a little suspicious with regard to the latter point. In the Preface to the *Liber Usualis*, page xxi., the editors state that they have slightly changed the notation of some neums in accordance with some supposed rhythmical laws. It would appear, then, that in these cases the authority of the Codices has been set aside. But as far as we can see, this has happened only in a few instances, so that generally we may take it for granted that the form of the neums, too, represents the best tradition.

There are, in the publications with 'Gregorian' notation, a few additional marks, not found in former editions. These

are, first, dots placed after some notes, indicating the prolongation of these notes required by their forming cadences. Secondly, there are horizontal strokes placed over or under some neums to indicate that these neums should be taken somewhat broadly. These strokes are in accordance with the so-called *Romanian signs*, and are very useful additions. Finally, there are short perpendicular strokes placed before certain notes within a neum to indicate a kind of accent on these notes. These strokes, called by the editors *episema*, are put in partly in accordance with the Romanian signs, partly in accordance with rhythmical theories. Of the first class a remarkable case occurs in the *Alleluja* Verse of the third Mass of Christmas—a melody frequently met with in the Gradual—where in the *climacus resupinus* (*g f e c d*) on *nobis* and *magna*, the *f* has the *episema*, suggesting a rendering that nobody could otherwise infer from the printed notation. We think it a pity, however, that a means has not been found to distinguish the two classes of *episemata*; for, while we have great confidence in the Romanian notation, we regard with the utmost diffidence the rhythmical theories of the men that are at present in charge of editing these books.

The editions with modern notation are sprinkled with dots placed over notes. What the practical import of these dots is, we do not know. We have made honest efforts to understand the meaning of the editors, but we have failed. They are intended to indicate the '*thesis*,' and by *thesis* the editors understand the second part, the end, of a rhythmical unit, a 'rhythm,' as they call it. In a word like *Deus*, for instance, the first syllable forms the *arsis*, the second the *thesis*; in a word like *redemptor*, the first two syllables form the *arsis*, the last the *thesis*. So far, so good. But we grow a little suspicious when we see the *thesis* also called *ictus*, and we get completely upset when we learn that the *thesis* is identical with the 'strong beat' in modern music. It looks, then, as if, according to the editors, the unaccented syllables were really the accented syllables. The strangest thing in these books with modern notation is that some melodies are preceded by a rest marked with the *thesis* dot. It is funny enough to begin a piece of Gregorian Chant with the negation of sound, but the thing is still more absurd when we take the underlying theory into account. For we may

imagine the editor soliloquising thus: –'This piece begins with an *arsis*, which means a beginning. But it is a bad thing for a melody to begin with a beginning. Therefore we shall put a rest before it. This means nothing objectively. But on paper, at least, it will make the melody begin with a *thesis*, an end, which is the proper way for a melody to begin.' We can only advise our readers to disregard these dots altogether, or, better still, to keep to the editions with 'Gregorian' notation.

We shall now proceed to say a few words on the contents of the various publications, so as to help intending purchasers in making their selection.

The most comprehensive book is the *Liber Usualis*. It contains everything required for Solemn Mass and Vespers on Sundays, Holidays of obligation, and some Ferias on which the Liturgy is commonly celebrated with solemnity, such as Ash-Wednesday and the last three days of Holy Week. It also contains Matins and Lauds of a few feasts, such as Christmas, the last three days in Holy Week, and Easter Sunday. There is, further, the whole *Officium Defunctorum*, the *Requiem Mass*, and the *Exsequiarum Ordo*, and an Appendix with chants for Benediction, etc. The only thing that might be desired are the Commemorations of the *Feriae* on Feasts falling in Lent. All these contents in a volume of pocket-size, and at the low price quoted, make a wonderful book. Necessarily, the print is somewhat small, but being very clear, it will present no difficulty to persons with average eye-sight.

The *Manuale Missae et Officiorum* is a book intended primarily for congregational singing. It contains the *Ordo Missae*, the *Ordinarium Missae*, the *Toni Communes* (Psalm tones, *Benedicamus Domino*, *Te Deum*, etc), the Psalms and ordinary chants of Vespers and Compline, all the Vesper Hymns, and the Antiphons of the principal Feasts and of the Common of Saints, the Vespers and Mass for the Dead, and the chants for the Exequies, and an Appendix with chants for Benediction. Bound together with the 'Masses for the Principal Feasts' (Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, *Corpus Christi*, SS. Peter and Paul, Assumption, All Saints, Dedication of a Church, Mass of B.V.M., *Pro Pace*, and Votive Mass of the Blessed Sacrament), this Manual would form an admirable book for country choirs that have High Mass but rarely. If Vespers are to be sung, the *Psalmi in Notis* would also be advisable;

but this had better be bound separately. This *Psalmi in Notis* gives all the Vesper Psalms adapted to all the Tones in the most correct manner, and very clearly.

The English edition, *A Manual of Gregorian Chant*, gives the Rubrics in English, omits the Vesper Psalms, the Antiphons of the Common of Saints, and a few things like the Procession Chants on Palm Sunday and the Purification, and the chants of the Exequies; but it embodies the Masses of the principal Feasts (with the exception of the last three enumerated above) and a large number of Benediction pieces. For the latter, with a few exceptions, extracted mainly from late mediæval sources, we personally do not care very much; but we know that many people prefer them even to the true Gregorian melodies, and where there is a large demand for Benediction pieces they will be welcome.

No. 573 is the same as No. 563, but in modern notation.

The other books are sufficiently explained by their titles. We need only add that the *Officium pro Defunctis* and the *Variae Preces* are printed in large clear type, and that Nos. 593 and 594 differ from 593B and 594B, by having the additional rhythmical signs mentioned above, which are not found in the latter editions.

REPERTORIO DI MELODIE GREGORIANE trascritte ed accompagnate Con Organo Od Armonium da Giulio Bas. Serie I.N.I. In Epiphania Domini. Roma: Desclée, Lefebvre e Ci. Price Lire 0.50.

ORDINARIUM MISSAE Organo concinente juxta editionem Solesmensem, editum per R. P. D. Michaelem Horn. Monachum Congregationis Beuronensis. Breitkopt & Haertel, Leipzig. Price 5 sh.

SOME slight difficulty in the way of the introduction of the Solesmes chant will be, for a little while, the want of organ accompaniments. M. Gevaert, indeed, in his *La Mélopée Antique dans le Chant de l'Eglise Latine*, expresses his firm conviction (p. 125 n. 1.) that 'any reform in the execution of Plain Chant ought to begin with the suppression of harmonic accompaniment,' and that 'the best accompaniment of Plain Chant is no good;' but practically we may take it for granted that Plain Chant will not be introduced without an accompaniment. There is no complete accompaniment of the Gradual extant, but G. Bas is

bringing out one in parts. The first of these is before us. It shows that the editor has given a great deal of thought to the subject, but on several points we cannot agree with him. First, we do not like the method of leaving a few notes here and there unaccompanied. It is a most important principle that an accompaniment of Gregorian Chant should be unobtrusive. But every time a thing begins after a moment of cessation it impresses itself on the attention. Hence the introduction of rests into the accompaniment is against the principle enunciated. Secondly, we have some objection from the harmonic point of view. Thus the cadence of the Psalm Tone of the Introit before us, *g a g*, is harmonised by giving the first *g* the chord of E♭ major, the second *g* the chord of G minor, the *a* being treated as 'auxiliary' note. Now the jarring of this *a* against the E♭ major chord is, to our ears, very disagreeable. The Phrygian mode (Communion) is treated as E minor, the cadence *f e* being harmonised by D minor—E minor. We have used this method ourselves for a long time, subordinating the judgment of our ear to theoretical considerations. It gave us immense relief when it dawned upon us that the Phrygian mode might lawfully be considered as an A minor ending on the upper interval of the fifth *a-e*. The Phrygian may have been a kind of E minor sometime, but in its present form it does not suggest the E minor harmony. Anyhow, the cadence D minor—E minor is unbearable. Thirdly, there are some peculiarities rhythmically. Perhaps the most striking example of these is the beginning of the Communio, where the first two harmonies enter on the final syllables of *stellam* and *ejus*. This method is quite in accordance with the 'Solesmes' theory of rhythm, which makes the *thesis* correspond to the modern strong beat. Certainly the normal place for the change of harmony is on the strong beat. G. Bas, therefore, acts quite consistently when he makes the harmonies change on the final syllables of words. But is it not truly wonderful what queer things men can do out of theoretical considerations? With all these objections we still think that these accompaniments will be a great help to organists. Notwithstanding their faults, they are better than the accompaniments that were provided for in the Ratisbon Gradual.

Father Horn's accompaniment to the *Ordinarium Missae* is written with great skill and taste. He, too, sometimes at least, ends the Phrygian mode on E minor (or its transpositions); but

he avoids the juxtaposition of D minor and E minor. The melody is written in 'Gregorian' notation, which has the drawback that the notes of the accompaniment have sometimes to be printed exceedingly close, so that now and again it takes some reflection to find out how they combine to chords.

The book contains much more than its title indicates. There are, in a second part, accompaniments to the Psalm tones, the Antiphons of B.V.M., the *Te Deum*, and Benediction pieces, and, in a third part, the Vespers and Masses of Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and the Assumption. We should be glad if the author would bring out a complete accompaniment to the Gradual.

H. B.

SERMON PLANS, OR OUTLINES OF SERMONS, CHIEFLY ON THE EPISTLES AND GOSPELS OF THE YEAR. By Rev. George Edward Howe, author of 'The Catechist.' London: St. Anselm's Society. 1904.

THIS is a very useful book, giving in compact form a great number of skeletons of sermons which can easily be filled in. The headings are clear, suggestive, and practical. To missionary priests who have to preach often and do not want merely to reproduce the thoughts of others, it will prove a real treasure. To young priests particularly it will facilitate the work of sermon-writing. It is not elaborate, nor intricate, nor pretentious, but it is practical, varied, and comprehensive. It gives in all 248 outlines of sermons.



A MARTYR FOR THE FAITH IN INISHOWEN

THE MURDER OF FATHER JAMES O'HEGARTY, DEAN OF THE DIOCESE OF DERRY, AND PARISH PRIEST OF FAHAN AND DESERTEGNEY IN INISHOWEN, IN OR ABOUT THE YEAR 1711

IN no time during the Penal days did the fire of persecution burn more fiercely than in the reign of Queen Anne, and the beginning of the reign of King George the First. No weapon that bigotry could invent was then left untried. The *Papists*, as they were termed, were subjected to every kind of civil disability ; but it was on the heads of the clergy, in an especial manner, that the full vials of heretical wrath were mercilessly poured. Nero did not gloat with more inhuman pleasure over the agonies of the early Christians converted into living torches to light the darkness of Rome, than did our English rulers over the hanging, drawing, and quartering of Catholic bishops and priests both in this country and in England. The laws passed at that period, and preserved in the statute books, published by the Government itself, bear ample testimony to the horrors of the time. Even the eloquence of Burke failed to designate these enactments properly, for they seemed to be the product, not of 'the perverted ingenuity of man,' as he mildly termed them, but the fierce onslaught of fiends upon the Church of God. As

a sample of these laws we may take that passed in 1703, entitled 'An Act to prevent the further growth of Popery,' and followed immediately by another called, 'An Act for registering the Popish clergy.' It is with the latter we have principally to deal, as well as with another Act passed in 1709.

This Registration Act begins as follows :—

Whereas two Acts lately made for banishing all Regulars of the Popish clergy out of this Kingdom, and to prevent Popish priests from coming into the same, may be wholly eluded, unless the Government be truly informed of the number of such dangerous persons as still reside among us : for remedy whereof, be it enacted by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That all and every Popish priest or priests, who are now in this Kingdom, shall, at the next general quarter-sessions of the Peace to be held in all the several counties, or counties of cities or towns, throughout this Kingdom, next after the feast of St. John the Baptist, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and four, return his or their names and places of abode to the respective clerks of the peace in the several counties, or counties of cities or towns, in this Kingdom, where the said Popish priests shall dwell or reside, together with his or their age, the parish of which he pretends to be Popish priest, the time and place of his or their receiving Popish orders, and from whom he or they received the same ; etc., etc.

The second section of this Act provides that if any priest apostatize, 'he is to receive a pension of twenty pounds sterling yearly and every year, during their residence in such county, for their maintenance, till they are otherwise provided for ;' this sum was to be levied off the county or district in which the said priest last officiated or resided, but the particular cruelty in this was, that the money was to be levied off Catholics only.

The third section ran thus :—

And it is further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no Popish parish priest shall keep or have any Popish curate, assistant, or coadjutor. And that all and every Popish priest that shall neglect to register himself pursuant to this Act, shal depart out of this Kingdom before the twentieth day of July

which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and four, on pain of being prosecuted as a Popish Regular clergyman: and that such Popish priest and priests that shall neglect to register him or themselves as aforesaid, and remain in this Kingdom after the said twentieth day of July, shall be esteemed a Popish Regular clergyman, and prosecuted as such.

The priests regarded this law of registration as a kind of toleration if not of protection, and believed that by complying with it they would secure peace to follow their sacred calling, and to minister to the spiritual necessities of their flocks. Little they dreamed it was a deep-laid plan to effect their ruin by giving them the choice of death or apostacy. Yet this was the dilemma in which an Act passed in 1709 placed them.

In obedience to the Government edict most, if not all, of the parish priests got themselves registered. Among the number we find the name of Father Hegarty, or O'Hegarty, the subject of this sketch. The list of those registered was 'Printed by Andrew Crook, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, on the Blind-Key, 1705. Dublin.' It has been reprinted more than once since as a literary and historical curiosity. We believe the last reprint of it was in the twelfth volume of the first series of the I. E. RECORD, under the auspices of its then Editor, the present Archbishop of Dublin. We there find: 'Registered at a General Sessions of the Peace held for the said County of Donegall, at Raphoe, the Eleventh day of July, 1704, James Hegarty, aged 55, residing at Gortergan, Parish Priest of Fawn, etc., ordained at Dundalk, in May, 1672, by Oliver Plunket, Titr. Primate of Ireland.' The *Fawn*, etc., of which he was parish priest was the united parish of Fahan and Desertegney; the Fahan being spelt in the registry as it is still pronounced, *Fawn*. Of his life and labours, as of those of his contemporaries, we know but little save what tradition has preserved for us. Even the names of those apostolical men are, for the most part, forgotten; all that remains of them is the fruit of their labours—the living faith which they transmitted to us in spite of every persecution.

Fortunately, however, tradition in the case of Father

Hegarty has been both clear and abundant, owing to the fact that many of his collateral relatives still reside in the locality, and have treasured up every item of information regarding him. Some of these, now far advanced in years, learned from their grand-parents, who were almost contemporaries of Father Hegarty, all the particulars of his birthplace, life, and cruel death. These traditions, given by persons in widely separate parts of the locality, agree most wonderfully, even in minute details. From these we learn that Father Hegarty was born in the very townland in which he was afterwards murdered; that he had a sister named Mary, to whom, on the occasion of her marriage with Thomas Doherty (the subsequent betrayer of the priest), her father gave a portion of his own farm as a dowry, and that of this marriage there were three sons born. The family resided on this small farm until they got a larger one adjoining from Colonel Vaughan, as a reward for betraying the priest. This Vaughan came to Buncrana in command of the troops in 1707. No sooner had he taken up his residence than he began his work of priest-hunting, and of endeavouring to Protestantize the inhabitants of the locality. Owing to a variety of circumstances, but especially owing to the fact that the peninsula had never recovered from the desolation spread over it in the preceding years by Chichester and his agents, poverty something akin to famine prevailed in Inishowen, and materially assisted Vaughan in his missionary campaign. Like modern zealots, he believed the way to the souls of the people was to be found through their empty stomachs, he at once had recourse to the method of establishing soup-kitchens for the starving poor; not by any means as an act of charity for the famishing people, but as a means of perverting them from their faith.

None, however, were permitted to partake of this soup till they had publicly attended the Protestant church for three Sundays, and then they must take the broth or soup *publicly* on Friday—the only day it was ladled out to them. Those who consented to these terms were rewarded with money or lands, or both. Among the first to avail themselves of this offer were the brother-in-law of Father Hegarty—Thomas

Doherty—and his friends, and ever after they and their descendants were known as the *Friday Doherties*. From their readiness in giving up the faith Doherty and his sons became favourites of Colonel Vaughan, and as the sons were stout, burly fellows, they became a kind of body-guard to him when he went into possession of the *Castle of Buncrana*, which, according to some, was built in 1713, or, according to others, a few years later. The result of this unhallowed friendship we shall see later on. When Colonel Vaughan made it known that, in addition to the Government reward, he himself would give both lands and money to anyone who would betray Father Hegarty to him, the offer was too tempting to be resisted by Thomas Doherty and his sons. On their return home to Ballynary, they talked freely over the matter, said as the reward was now so great there would be plenty to look for it, and the priest could not long escape. Such being the case, they said they might as well have it as some other, and they determined to secure it. The poor wife and mother, having heard their diabolical conspiracy, fell on her knees, and with streaming eyes begged of them not to imbrue their hands in innocent blood—in the blood of their own relative and God's anointed—but all in vain. She succeeded, however, in having word conveyed to her brother, who at once changed his hiding-place, and betook himself to that cave where he was afterwards betrayed, and where he met his doom.

We said above that the Act of registration of the parish priests had an object in view that the priests never anticipated. This became manifest in 1709, when the period of registration expired. An Act was passed in that year to the following effect :—

> And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all and every Popish priest and priests, who have been registered in pursuance of the said former Act for registering the Popish clergy, shall take the oath of Abjuration before the twenty-fifth day of March, one thousand seven hundred and ten, in one of the Four Courts, at Dublin, or at some quarter-sessions to be held for the respective counties, cities, or towns where such Popish priest or priests have been registered ; and upon neglect or refusal, and after the said twenty-fifth day of March cele-

brating Mass, or officiating as a Popish priest, such Popish priest shall incur and suffer such pains, penalties, and forfeitures, as a Popish Regular clergyman convict by the laws and statutes of this realm is liable unto.

By this Act we come to see clearly the object of the registration of the clergy. It was not for the purpose of protecting them, or of giving them freedom in the exercise of their ministry, but of knowing for certain their whereabouts, that they might be at any moment seized and obliged to deny their faith, or to go to exile or death. It seemed a certain means of getting the country cleared of priests of every rank, for as the parish priests were forbidden to have curates or assistants of any kind, when they would go there would be no successors to take up their work, and the faith would then die out of sheer inanition. The seeming protection given by the Registration Act was merely 'the protection that vultures give to lambs—covering and devouring them.' All the priests who had been registered in 1704 were now called upon to take the oath of Abjuration, or abide the penalties. That oath was similar in its tenor to the Accession Oath still taken by the Sovereign of these realms on coming to the throne. The person taking it had to solemnly declare :—

> That I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof, by any person whatsoever ; and that the invocation and adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the Sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous, etc.

And this was what the priests were called on to swear if they wished to be allowed to live in the land. If they refused to take this oath, they were at once to be treated as Regulars, *i.e.*, to be transported, and, in the event of their returning, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. Moreover, the same penalties attached to a priest who dared to marry a Catholic and a Protestant together.

In this same year had been passed an Act offering a bribe of £50 to anyone who discovered and betrayed an

archbishop, bishop, vicar-general, or other person exercising foreign ecclesiastical authority in this kingdom ; and what rendered this law particularly odious was, that the bribe or reward thus offered was to be levied off the Catholic people alone. Now since the Commons had declared 'that the prosecuting and informing against Papists was an honourable service,' it is not strange that spies, informers, and priest-hunters became at once numerous.

The priest-hunter had an infamous corps under his command [says Dean Cogan] designated *priest-hounds*, whose duty was to track, with the untiring and unrelenting scent of the blood-hound, the fissures of the rock and the caverns of the earth where the poor humble priest took refuge. Religion was now in a lamentable condition. The wretched mud-wall, thatched chapels of which the Irish Catholics were then glad to have the use, were levelled or closed over the whole kingdom. In cities and towns the Catholic clergy were concealed in garrets or cellars, and in the country districts they were hid in the unfrequented caves, in the lonely woods, and the ever welcome homes of the poor Irish peasant. During these storms of persecution the Sacraments were dispensed in the dead of night, and during the week-days word would be sent round the people where to meet their pastor on the following Sunday morning. The place of sacrifice was constantly being changed in order to baffle pursuit, and many a time, while the stars were twinkling, Mass was celebrated on the lone mountain or by the side of a ditch, while a few of the most active of the congregation kept vigil, lest the bark of the blood-hound, or the stealthy steps of a more remorseless enemy, the priest-hunter, would break in on the sacred ceremonies and subject the unfortunate priest to the dread penalties of the law.[1]

Such was the life of Father Hegarty, and of his contemporaries.

In his letters to Lord Stanley, the illustrious Dr. Maginn, Bishop of Derry, thus expressed himself regarding this victim of persecution. Showing the immunity from crime, particularly the crime of murder, which characterized Inishowen, the Bishop says :—

The only one that tradition hands down to us is the murder of a parish priest of this union, and Dean of the diocese of Derry,

[1] *Diocese of Meath*, vol. i., pp. 266-7.

Dr. O'Hegarty. He was dragged from a mountain cavern—his hiding-place by day (by night only could he appear in those times, commune with his flock, instruct the living, console the dying, and bury the dead)—and was butchered on a rock on the banks of the Swilly, which shall be ever memorable from this bloody tragedy. The perpetrator of this murder was a Captain Vaughan, the son of an English colonel who served in the army of Oliver Cromwell (as Carlyle would say) 'of blessed memory.' The good captain believed he was doing the work of God, when imbruing his hands in the blood of Popish priests, as many now believe they are doing the same holy work in calumniating them.[2]

Dr. Maginn had exceptional opportunities of learning all the traditions about Father Hegarty's murder. He came in 1806, when only four years old, to reside in Buncrana, where he afterwards became parish priest, and which, even when appointed Bishop, he held as his mensal parish till the time of his death in 1849. His uncle, Father John Maginn, had been parish priest of Fahan and Desertegney before him for a considerable period, so that the pastorate of the latter must have gone back to a time not far distant from Hegarty's murder, and when all the details were still fresh in the minds of the people. From his uncle and family, then, he could have learned the rank and character of the murdered man, the name and status of the murderer, and the circumstances that led to the barbarous tragedy.

It is not easy at this date to know whether there was any specific charge preferred against Father Hegarty, but it was enough that he had declined to take the oath of Abjuration, as happily the other priests had also done, and this made him liable, as we have seen, to transportation in the first instance, and to death if he dared to return again to the country. Besides, he was a dignitary, being Dean of the diocese, and we know that £50 was the reward for apprehending such as he. We are also to take into account that £50 at that period represented a much larger sum than at present.

In an interesting little book, compiled by the late Mr.

[2] 'First Letter to Lord Stanley on the Confessional.'

Michael Harkin, of Carndonagh, published in Derry, in 1867, and entitled *Inishowen, its History, Traditions, and Antiquities*, an account is given of the scene and circumstances of the murder, which we have reason to believe is accurate, and which therefore we have pleasure in transcribing :—

In the village of Ballynary, about two miles north-west of Buncrana, on the banks of the Swilly, is a sea-cave which served as a hiding-place for a humble and zealous priest of the name of O'Hegarty. From this wild seclusion he was accustomed to steal, under the shadow of night, to carry the ministrations of his religion to the hearths of the faithful fishermen around the coast, and the hardy mountaineer further inland. His retreat was unknown to all save his sister, who lived with her husband and family in the above-named village. None of her family ever questioned her on the object of her journey when she departed from her cottage in the gray dawn each morning to carry him the provisions for the day. At last, her husband suspecting her mission, was led by curiosity to watch her unseen, and so became acquainted with the hiding-place of her fugitive brother. This, once known, he had not the fidelity to keep secret, for, tempted by the reward held out for such a discovery, he led a guard of soldiers from the garrison at Buncrana to apprehend the priest, his own brother-in-law, in that lonely dwelling. Often did the poor woman return that morning from the entrance of the rude domicile charging her brother to be wary, and endeavouring to cheer him with the hope that these ruthless times would pass away and be succeeded by others, when he could live in the habitations of men, and go abroad in daylight in the service of his Divine Master. But the dawn was brightening, she might, if she remained longer, be discovered, and her object at least suspected. She received the usual parting benediction, and commenced her toilsome ascent, when, horror of horrors, there, full before her, were the soldiers descending by the same path to terminate that life which she had so long and so anxiously laboured to preserve. She called frantically to her brother that the guard was upon him. He rushed from the cave; above him were the soldiers, beneath the whole breadth of the deep-flowing Swilly, but deeming it the friendlier of the two, and putting his trust in God, he plunged into its depths with the bold, almost reckless resolve of swimming to the opposite shore. The guard, seeing they were in danger of losing the object of their pursuit, or fearing that if they fired and killed him in the water, they should have no evidence of the fact, called to him to return and they would spare his life, but no sooner had he gained the top of the precipice than they seized him, cut off his head, and

buried his body on the spot where they had committed the deed. His poor sister, the informer's wife, seeing all that had been done, became a raving maniac. Though fear of the soldiers' vengeance prevented the peasantry from marking his grave, yet was the memory of the place so engraven on their hearts, and carefully transmitted from father to son, that the villagers' children could at any time point out to the curious stranger that sad memento of the horrors of bygone days, under the name of *Hegarty's Rock*. Long afterwards, when civilization had made a proper impression on the governing classes, and when the disabilities imposed on the professors of the Catholic faith had been removed, two gentlemen, the Right Rev. Edward Maginn, D.D., and Hugh O'Donnell, Esq., M.D., visited the spot, and, with the view of testing the accuracy of the account, dug up the clay, and brought a portion of it for analysation to the College of Surgeons, Edinburgh, where Mr. O'Donnell was then studying. They afterwards raised a green mound on the spot, which now marks the place where the priest was interred.

We may add that the result of the analysis proved that human remains had been buried in the spot.

One statement in the foregoing narrative seems incorrect, viz., that the priest's sister, when she beheld the murder of her brother, became a raving maniac. All the traditions in the locality testify the contrary. When she beheld the atrocious murder committed before her eyes, and saw that the band of soldiers was led by her own degenerate husband, she is said to have fallen on her bare knees and prayed to God that she might not die till she had seen vengeance fall on that husband and his sons. That prayer or imprecation, coming as it did from her broken heart, did not go unheard. She separated from the family at once, and went to live with a family named M'Donald, in Buncrana. These M'Donalds were probably relatives, and they occupied the only two-storied and slated house in the town. Here she remained, spending her time in prayer, and in lamenting the fate of her murdered brother.

After the betrayal of the priest Tom Doherty and his sons became the henchmen of Colonel Vaughan, and the recipients of his favours. A gentleman at this time came from the neighbourhood of Maghera, in County Derry, on a visit to Buncrana Castle. When there he mentioned to

Sir John—for it seems he was a knight as well as a colonel—that he was harassed incessantly by an outlaw known by the sobriquet of *Stumpy*, that all his efforts to capture him were fruitless, and that he was willing to give a large sum to anyone who would bring him to him either dead or alive. Colonel Vaughan at once offered to send him his servitors, the two young Doherties, guaranteeing that if anyone on earth could capture him, they would. Dazzled by the prospect of so great a recompense, they set out with their new employer, and after a few days waiting, they learned that their intended victim might now be caught poaching on the side of a neighbouring mountain. They started in pursuit of him, and as he threatend to outrun them, one of them fired, wounding Stumpy in the leg. Finding it impossible to continue the race, the wounded man threw himself between two ridges of potatoes, where one of the pursuers rushed up to seize him, but as he approached, Stumpy presented his pistol and shot him through the heart. The second brother, stunned by what had occurred, came forward to aid his brother, only to share a similar fate. News was brought to Buncrana of the sad death of the brothers, and the father started on horseback to meet their remains. There were no county-roads then as now, and the father had to pursue a kind of bridle-path that went up hill and down vale. Going down a declivity towards a rivulet, the horse suddenly stopped to drink, throwing his rider forward on his head, and breaking his neck in the fall. When the cart containing the bodies of his sons came to the spot, that of the father was placed along with them, and from the second-storey window of M'Donald's house, the sister of Father Hegarty beheld the sad realisation of her prayer, for the vengeance of Heaven had fallen on the heartless betrayers of the outlawed priest—her brother. She lived for some years wholly devoted to prayer, and she obtained in the end, what her husband and sons did not—the grace of a holy death.

What a life of toil, of misery, and of danger did Father Hegarty lead! Wandering through the deep glens and rugged hills of the extensive district of which he had charge;

lighted by the moonbeams, or groping his way beneath a starless sky, he went from cabin to cabin in sleet and storm to administer the Last Sacraments to the poor but faithful people, to baptize the little ones, to console the suffering and afflicted, or to offer up on a bare rock or bleak mountain-side the Holy Sacrifice for the living and the dead. Well might he say with Saul of Tarsus that he was

> In journeying often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils from his own nation, in perils from the gentiles, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils from false brethren ; in labour and painfulness, in much watchings, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness.[3]

A hundred years before, this fair and romantic region had been over-run by the sleuth-hounds of Chichester who lacerated the entire peasantry ; but now the blood-hounds of Anne sprang at the throats of the priests in particular. They were to be exterminated, and the method adopted for their extermination seemed, according to human calculation, absolutely certain of success. No curates were permitted, nor assistants of any kind, therefore there would be no successors to the present parish priests. The parish priests had been registered and were consequently known, and by the Act of 1709 they were called on to take the oath of Abjuration; in other words, to deny their faith or else go into exile or suffer death. Under all these fiendish devices of our legislators nothing but a special mercy of God could have preserved the faith, and with St. John we may say, 'This is the victory that overcometh the world, our faith.' Between this Scylla and Charybdis was Father Hegarty placed. Had he taken the oath of Abjuration, had he been recreant to his God, and sworn that to be blasphemous and idolatrous which he knew to be sacred and divine, then he might have lived at ease, and enjoyed the pension that was wrung from the poverty of his down-trodden fellow-Catholics. But he nobly spurned the bribe, preferring to be ranked amongst the white-robed band

[3] 2 Cor. xi. 26, 27.

described by St. John, and of whom the angel said to him: 'These are they who are come out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and have made them white in the blood of the Lamb.'[1]

That Father Hegarty died for his faith and for his fidelity to the duties of his sacred calling, there is not the shadow of a doubt; and it was the death of martyrs such as he that strengthened the faith of the people, and encouraged them to cling the closer to the Rock of Ages.

No long procession or funeral pomp accompanied him to the grave; no solemn dirge nor swinging censer consecrated his last dwelling-place; but the waters of the Swilly for nigh two centuries have chanted their *Miserere* around his lonely habitation; and the breezes of that Lake of Shadows, round which for years he ministered, have ceaselessly sung their *Benedictus* over the ashes of him whom the *vox populi* has long since canonized as the Martyr of Inishowen.

✠ JOHN K. O'DOHERTY.

[1] Apoc. vii. 14.

THE DEFINITION OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

PIUS IX., during his exile at Gaeta, issued an Encyclical letter dated 2nd of February, 1849, to the bishops of the Catholic world, inviting them, after pouring forth their prayers to Almighty God, to report to him in writing what was the belief of their respective clergy and flocks concerning the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God, and also what were their own opinions regarding the dogmatic definition of the doctrine. Alluding in the Bull of the Definition, *Ineffabilis*, to the replies which he received, the Pope used these words :—

> It is with no ordinary consolation we felt Ourselves moved when the replies from Our venerable brethren arrived. For, with an incredible degree of gladness, delight, and earnestness, they, in penning their replies, confirmed anew not only their own singular devotion and settled sentiments, but those also of their respective clergy and of the faithful committed to their charge, towards the Immaculate Conception of the most Blessed Virgin ; and united as if in the same object of petition, they of one accord earnestly entreated Us, that the Immaculate Conception of the Glorious Virgin should be pronounced, by Our supreme decision and authority, a dogma of faith. Nor surely has Our heart with less joy been filled the while when Our own venerable brethren, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, members of the special Congregation of which mention has just above been made—and with them the consulting theologians chosen by Ourselves—demanded of Us with the same earnest desire, and the same zeal, after a full examen made with all diligence, the final settling the question of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God.

Father Perrone, the great Jesuit theologian, who was intimately acquainted with all the proceedings in connection with the definition, in a thesis appended to his treatise on Original Sin, which he wrote after the definition, tells us that

> Of six hundred and twenty archbishops and bishops who sent in their answers to the Encyclical of His Holiness, Pius IX.,

four only were against the definition. And even these four bear testimony to the devotion and deeply-rooted belief of clergy and laity. And of these four out of the whole Catholic world, three in a short time changed their opinions.

These few, it is said, were not so much opposed to the doctrine itself as to the expediency of the definition. Seeing this universal, almost unanimous, concensus of prelates and people in favour of the definition, one need not wonder at the marvellous unanimity and gladness with which the promulgation of the dogma was hailed throughout the Catholic world. The definition did not take place until the 8th of December, 1854. Bishops from all parts of the world assembled at Rome for that great event. Ireland was represented by three archbishops, viz., Dr. MacHale of Tuam, Dr. Cullen of Dublin, and Dr. Dixon of Armagh; and three bishops, Dr. M'Nally of Clogher, Dr. Derry of Clonfert, and Dr. Murphy of Cloyne. In addition to these six there were four Irish bishops ruling dioceses in America, namely, Dr. Hughes of New York, Dr. Kenrick of Baltimore, Dr. Walsh of Halifax, and Dr. O'Connor of Pittsburg. On his arrival at Rome, each bishop was furnished with a copy of the answers which the Pope had received from the bishops of the world in reply to his Encyclical letter. These replies, together with various dissertations on the subject, filled ten octavo volumes.

About the middle of November a printed circular containing a detailed account of the steps taken by the Pope up to that time was given to each bishop, likewise a rough draft of the Bull of Definition, which, in certain matters of form and detail, was to be submitted to their consideration. A meeting of the patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops then in Rome was held on the 20th of November, in the ducal hall of the Vatican Palace, under the presidency of the Pope's delegates, Cardinals Brunelli, Caterini, and Santucci. Minute instructions were given regarding the dress to be worn, the order of precedence and other details to be observed during their deliberations. Meetings were held during four days of that week—each meeting lasting about four or five hours. Besides the cardinals, patriarchs, arch-

bishops, and bishops, there were present theologians who had assisted in preparing the Bull. This assemblage was not a general council. Its purpose was not to define the dogma, but to discuss some of the preparatory parts and arrangement of the rough draft of the Bull. The Holy Father, after consulting by his Encyclical letter all the bishops of the world, and considering their replies, had already concluded that the Immaculate Conception not only could be defined as a dogma of faith but also that the time had arrived for the definition. Dr. Dixon, Archbishop of Armagh, who took part in the proceedings, wrote a detailed and interesting account of what took place at these preparatory meetings, and on the day of the definition. At these meetings, he tells us, each bishop expressed his views very freely, and when a change in the draft of the Bull was suggested, the theologians who had assisted in drafting it were consulted so that every opportunity of discussion for and against was granted before any alteration was made. All the bishops did not speak, we are informed, but many did—and some more than once. Amongst the latter of those in whom Irish people take an interest, being the Archbishops of Dublin, Tuam, and Baltimore, and the Bishop of Pittsburg. Most probably Dr. Dixon himself was among the speakers, but for obvious reasons he is silent on the point.

All through [he says] the most delightful spirit of harmony pervaded the assembly, and when at the end of Friday's sitting, Cardinal Brunelli was about to dissolve the assembly, he was moved even to tears by the strong and universal expression, on the part of the bishops, of attachment to the Holy See, and of love for its present Pontiff, and applause for the great act which he was soon to consummate. After this, His Holiness signified his wish that the bishops and all should pray for the benediction of heaven on the great work of the 8th of December, that so it might be the occasion of more abundant blessings to the world.

To render these prayers more efficacious he ordered the great relics of Rome to be exposed to the veneration of the faithful, viz. :—in St. Peter's, a portion of the true cross, a portion of the lance, and the veil of St. Veronica with the impression of the Holy Face ; in St. Mary Major's,

the crib of the Infant Redeemer; in Santa Croce of Jerusalem the portion of the true cross which is there preserved; and in St. Peter ad Vincula, the chains by which St. Peter was bound in prison in Jerusalem and Rome, and which when brought in contact united, and are now preserved in that church. His Holiness further ordained that the day preceding the definition, which happened to be Thursday, should be kept as a strict fast day, but he allowed meat on the day itself, the 8th, which fell on Friday. Rain had been falling almost without ceasing for days before, and on the 7th there was a regular downpour.

I still felt assured [writes Dr. Dixon] that the rain would cease at the approach of a day on which so much joy was to be given to God—so much honour to Mary—and so much joy and gladness to angels and men. I could not admit the thought that on that day, when Rome, the Mother and Mistress of Truth, was to perform an act which might almost excite the envy of the angels in heaven, the sun would not shine out upon her, and give to her streets and people the festive appearance of great joy, instead of the gloomy aspect of a city in mourning which she had worn for some days previous. And hence on retiring to bed on the night of the 7th of December, it was rather an ardent desire which I felt for the coming of a fine day on the morrow, than any anxiety about the matter. On account of this desire, I got up repeatedly during the night, to look at the appearance of the sky; and when about four o'clock in the morning, I saw that my hopeful anticipations for the great day were to be fully realized, it delights me now to remember with what joy and thankfulness I repeated the *Ave Maris Stella*.

His Grace then gives a graphic description of the morning's proceedings. The multitudes hurrying to St. Peter's from the early dawn of morning; the assembling of the cardinals and bishops in the Sistine Chapel, the procession thence by the grand staircase; the Pope on the Sedia Gestatoria, preceded by a long procession of cardinals and bishops—about two hundred in number—wearing their mitres; the penitentiaries of St. Peter's wearing chasubles; members of the secular clergy, and of the various religious orders living in Rome, in their distinctive habits; the files of soldiers—Swiss and Noble Guards—and the countless

multitudes of lay people, foreigners and Romans, who filled St. Peter's. Those who have had the privilege of being in Rome during the Vatican Council, or at any of the solemn functions of canonization, can easily realise the scene of that morning. 'Never,' writes Dr. Dixon, 'had St. Peter's witnessed such a number within its walls, and, perhaps, a thousand years will pass before so large an assemblage shall be congregated there again.' Little did he imagine that on that day fifteen years, on the 8th of December, 1869, more than three times a larger assemblage of mitred heads would pass through the nave of St. Peter's, followed by the same great Pope in his chair of state wearing his tiara, for the solemn opening of the Vatican Council; and once again on the 18th July, 1870 —the memorable day of the definition of the Infallibility of the Pope—the day preceding that of the declaration of the Franco-Prussian War, the rapid and decisive result of which led to the bombardment and capture of Rome on the 20th of September following, and the consequent imprisonment in the Vatican palace until his death in February, 1878, of this remarkable and saintly Pontiff, Pius IX.

Dr. Dixon thus describes what followed :—

The Pope being seated, received the homage of the cardinals and bishops, and of the penitentiaries of St. Peter's, a long ceremony by reason of the great numbers who were present. Then, after the chanting of Terce, High Mass commenced; and when the Pope after reading the *Introit* saying the *Kyrie*, and intoning the *Gloria in Excelsis*, took his seat on the throne prepared for him, it was delightful to behold the rays of an unclouded sun greeting him through the lofty windows of St. Peter's. For, let it be ever remembered—and if I had only recorded this fact, I should not have written this book in vain—that although the rain fell in torrents for days before the 8th of December, and for days after it, yet, on the day itself from the earliest dawn of morning until twelve o'clock at night, not one drop of rain fell in Rome. After the *Gospel* had been sung in Latin and in Greek, His Holiness stood up at the throne, to perform one of the most solemn and important acts which a chief Pontiff can ever be called upon to perform. Amidst the profound attention of the vast assembly present, he began to read, in a clear voice, the decree of the Immaculate Conception. Having read

the prefatory parts, and arrived at the decree itself, His Holiness, who was ever remarkable for his tender devotion to the Holy Virgin, overpowered as if by the sense of the favour which God was conferring on him, in vouchsafing that he should be the instrument of rendering such an honour to His most beloved Mother, burst into tears. He went on to read with a faltering voice, which betrayed the deepest emotion, the word *declaramus* but for some minutes could proceed no further. The effect on the vast auditory may be more easily conceived than expressed. It may be safely said, there were but few present who were not profoundly moved, and many wept like children. The Pope having recovered from his emotion, finished the reading of the decree, and almost immediately after, the booming of the cannon of Fort St. Angelo began to echo through the vast dome of St. Peter's, and the bells of the churches through Rome rang a merry peal. The great act was consummated.

He next describes the illuminations and festivities that night in Rome in honour of the great event. Amongst other things he tells us that there was a solemn meeting that evening of the Arcadian Academy, one of the most distinguished of the academies in Rome, in one of the great halls of the public buildings on the Capitol. Cardinal Wiseman presided, and delivered a most beautiful address in Italian before a brilliant audience. 'The applause from all parts of the room which followed the conclusion of this address was kept up for several minutes. Indeed, I was never before present in any assembly at such an outburst of applause.'

Next morning a secret consistory was held, at which all the cardinals and bishops who were in Rome attended. His Holiness read for them a touching allocution, and had presented to each of these present :—

1. A gold medal in a handsome case—the medal having on one side an image of the Blessed Virgin with the words *Honorificentia populi Nostri*, and on the other side an inscription stating that it was struck on the 8th December, in honour of Mary conceived without sin, by order of Pius IX., from the first fruits of a present which had been made to him of Australian gold. 2. A beautiful print of the Blessed Virgin. 3. A beautifully printed list of the cardinals with their titles and the order of their creation, and of the bishops with their sees and order of promotion, who had been present at the definition of the Immaculate Conception.

On Sunday, the 10th, another important event occurred, that was, the solemn consecration of St. Paul's outside the walls, which had been burned years before, and was now rebuilt in a style surpassing its former grandeur. In this long and solemn ceremony, His Holiness was assisted by the cardinals and archbishops of some of the principal Sees of the Catholic world. The names of all the cardinals, archbishops, and bishops who were present on that occasion are inscribed on a slab in the Basilica. In the year 1900, the last occasion that the writer was in Rome, looking over the names in that list, there was only one surviving, and that was Cardinal Joachim Pecci, of the title of St. Chrysogonus, Bishop of Perugia, afterwards the great Leo XIII. His name is the last of the cardinals of the order of priests in that list. If any credit is to be given to newspaper gossip, it is said that when appointing a commission last year to make preparations for the due celebration of the golden jubilee of the definition of the Immaculate Conception on the 8th of December next, His Holiness expressed a hope that he would live to celebrate it. He lived to celebrate many jubilees—the diamond jubilee of his priesthood, the golden jubilee of his episcopacy, the silver jubilee of his popedom—but God ordained, let us hope, that he should celebrate the golden jubilee of the definition of the Immaculate Conception, not on earth but in heaven together with his illustrious predecessor.

On Monday, the 11th, there was a meeting of the Academy of the Immaculate Conception in the church of the Santi Apostoli. This spacious church, situated in the piazza of the same name off the Corso, was brilliantly illuminated and inconveniently packed with people. A rare treat was prepared for them, consisting of the execution, by the best performers in Rome, of special pieces of music composed for the occasion; and the recitation, in various languages, of compositions in prose and verse bearing on this grand event. Amongst others the great Archbishop of the West, Dr. MacHale, recited, in Irish and English, a poem composed by himself for the occasion. This poem, consisting of eleven verses, may be of interest now, when

the language of the Gael which the great prelate loved so well, is being, thank God, gradually but securely revived.

Dán a punneaḋ 'ra Roinn, mí-meáḋain an Geimpe 1854, le linn teagaip ċaiṫ-ġeineamuinte na Maiġdine beannuiġṫe a ċpaoḃpgaolaḋ go h-uġdaṁáraċ le Seaġan Árd-Easpoġ Tuama.

I.

Go oiłt'peaċ ó naoṁ Innip-páil
  Aip ap lap, láp pionta teann,
"Bealc na Mapa" 'pcap gaċ pgáil,
  Sup cáṁouiġ 'n cpeideaṁ árpa ann;
Ní ouał beiṫ poptaċ ċóad 'p tá pgeul
Na h-oiġ' gan peaċaḋ ann gaċ beul.

II.

Ní ouał do ċlápriġ éipeann binn
  Aip filleoġ ċpoiḋe, beiṫ paoi pgaċ
Go n-deunpaḃ ceolta ouiṫċuip 'p punn
  Ap gcpoiḋḋe lán le cuṁa 'p cpáḋ:
Óip páiltuiġeann Roinn na Tibpe buiḋe
Gaċ aon, gan déaluġaḋ guṫ no cpíċ.

III.

Tpiḋ ciaṁta, páltuiġiḋ leup an peul,
  Sgapap lóiṫean ċpiḋ gaċ tpá
Po'puiġe p ap b-péilḃiḋ ċpío an neul
  Map an ċ-aodin, puagpeap lá
Bán-oiṁap, pacap ċpío an ceo
Le'p bpeaṫuiġ paiġiḋ, leup píop-beo.

IV.

Tóġaiḋ puap go h-ápd bup ngué
'Sup peiṁḋe 'mac ó ċpoiḋe bup n-oíṁ,
'Sup bṁeaḋ bup g-coipip aṁail pṁúd
  Le mópán ceolta binne lán,
Taḃaipt aip báp na o-taiḃte cpuinn
Bpiġ pean-pannta b'ann ġṫe, binn.

V.

Bannta 'ċiġ, anuaṙ ó ċṙá
Na maiṫne 'ṙ cumaḋ talaṁ 'ṙ neaṁ
'S raiḃ cinn aṙ ṙliocḋ raoi aṁġaṙ 'ṙ ṙġáċ
Maṙ ġéil do ġlóṙ na peiṙt', go leaṁ:
Nuaiṙ do ċuġ ṙolás Dia d'a g-croiḋe,
'Sgeiṫ leuṙ na doiġe, oṙ cionn a ṙliġe.

VI.

Ó Ḃṙoinn na neulta doiṁin', dub,
'Ċuiṙ aiṙ ḃṙeiṫ-ṙioṙ an Ḃṙiaṫaṙ, ṙġaṫ
D'ḟollṙuiġ 'maċ go tṙócaiṙeaċ, ġuṫ
A ḃṙeiṫ ó ṁnaoi, ann am, le ráṫ
Go ngaḃṙaḋ aiṙ a naṁaiḋ teann
Buaiḋ, 'ṙ go m-bṙiṙeaḋ ṙóṙ a ċeann.

VII.

Saṁail an tuim do ċonaiṙc Maoiṙ,
Tṙá bí ṙoḃal eaḃṙa cṙom,
Raoi 'n ċuinġ ġeuṙ, a d'ḟáġaiḋ baoiṙ
An droċ-ṙiġ teannta oṙċu tṙom.
D' ḟan an tom gan doṫuġaḋ o'n teaṙ
Cí naċ n'oeaċaiḋ an laraṙ aṙ.

VIII.

An ṁaġ raoi ḟál, gaċ am'ṙ gaċ tṙá
Gan aiṙ ḃeiṫ cantuġaḋ beul no guṫ
Na ṙóṙa aonṁaṙ' uil' raoi ḃláṫ
'S raoi glara ṡúnta ruaṙ gaċ ṙruṫ:
Saṁail iaḋ ro na h-Oiġe raoiṙ',
Naċ raiḃ a riaṁ le peacaḋ daoṙ.

IX.

Ó'n am tá aṙṙa 'g-ceiṁ, le linn
Caṫṙéim glóṙṁaṙ maṫaṙ Dé
Ḃeiṫ 'g-cill n'Eṙeiṙ' 'g a gaḃail go binn
Ní 'ṙ cluiṙeaḋ aoiḃneaṙ ceoil maṙ é,
Ó ċloiġ ċill ṗeaḋaiṙ teaċt do bí
'S go flaiṫeaṙ tosḃail ruaṙ gaċ croiḋe.

X.

Oiġe! a d'ṫaimic neaċ de ḋroinġ
Na n-aingeal 'nuaṙ ó Dia na ṙluaġ
Ṙuaġraḋ tuiṙlinṫ' raoi do bṙoinn
D'a ṁaċ aon-geinte ṙóṙ ċo luaṫ
'Gur béaṙṙa toil: iṙ ṫaṙ na mná
Do bí tú beannuiġṫe ann gaċ tṙá.

XI.

'N uair beidear ar laeċe caite, fann,
N-dear ar n-airtir ċuid an t-sliġe
'Sur bealaiġe buaiḋe, tsearna gleann
Na n-deor; ráġ duinn a Máiḋin, sgiṫ
Ar néit do mhic,—ó gáu a'r baoġal,
'Sur flaiṫeas Dé, le faoġal na faoġal.

LINES WRITTEN AT ROME,

In December, 1854,

On the occasion of the dogmatic promulgation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, by His Grace JOHN MACHALE, Archbishop of Tuam.

I.

A pilgrim from the sainted isle,
On which, amidst the darkest storm,
The 'Ocean's Star' ne'er ceased to smile,
And guard its ancient faith from harm;
'Twould ill become no voice to raise,
To sound the sinless Virgin's praise.

II.

Nor need our harp be here unstrung
On willows hanging, from sad fears
That, should it breathe our native tongue
Its tones should melt us into tears.
On Tiber's banks no tongue is strange
Rome's faith and tongue embrace earth's range.

III.

Let's hail, through distant time, the star,
Whose feeble, yet auspicious ray,
Announced our recent feast afar,
Like morning kindling into day;
Of which the heaven-taught seers of old
Have in prophetic glimpses told.

IV.

Let each one raise his choral voice,
Gushing from the heart's deep well,
And whilst in concord we rejoice,
Let that concord be the swell
Of mingling streams, that bear along
The precious faith of sacred song.

V.

That sacred song, whose spring we trace
Back to the dawning of the world,
When, ere the parents of our race
Were from their blissful Eden hurled,
Th' Almighty Father cheered the gloom
Which sin cast o'er their future doom.

VI.

From out the darkness of the shroud
Which veiled the Word's eternal birth
Came forth a voice that pierced the cloud,
Shadowing His descent on earth,
Of woman born, doomed to tread
And crush the wily serpent's head.

VII.

The bush that fixed the prophet's gaze
When in Egypt Israel groaned,
Remained intact amid the blaze,
Nor its fierceness felt or owned.
Bright types of her, whose spotless soul
Had never known the fiend's control.

VIII.

The garden closed, the secret bowers,
Impervious all to mortal eye,
The fountain sealed, the lonely flowers
Of richest fragrance, fairest dye—
All but emblems, yet how faint!
Of her whom sin could never taint.

IX.

Since th' Ephesian trumpets roll'd
God's mother's glories through each clime,
No bells from church's roof e'er toll'd,
To waft o'er earth a sweeter chime,
Than that to hear on this day given,
Lifting up the soul to heaven.

X.

Hail thou, to whom God's angel bright
Brought down the tidings from the skies,
That, full of grace and heavenly light,
Thou wert all lovely in His eyes!
Hail thou, of all God made, the best!
His virgin mother, ever bless'd.

XI.

When in this darksome vale of tears
Our weary pilgrim days are run ;
When death's approach awakes our fears,
Do thou, sweet Virgin, with thy Son,
Plead and show forth thy gracious power
And light our passage at that hour.

To still further extend Mary's glory here on earth, a learned and holy French priest, the Abbé Sire, Superior of St. Sulpice, Paris, conceived the happy thought of getting the Bull *Ineffabilis* translated by competent persons into every known language, and offering to the Holy Father the entire collection of versions as an act of homage and expression of the gratitude of the Catholic world for the definition of Our Lady's privilege. When this great project was submitted to His Holiness, he heartily approved of and blessed it, consented to have the work dedicated to himself and to assign a special place in the Vatican library to this linguistic monument. The project was made public to the world in a French journal, *Le Monde*, in the year 1863, and was received with much favour, and with promises of hearty co-operation. Rules were laid down for the execution of this stupenduous work. The translations were to be made by the scholars in each country best acquainted with the Latin language and their own vernacular. Each version should get the seal of approbation from the ecclesiastical superior of the place for literary accuracy as well as orthodoxy. The translations were to be executed on vellum of an uniform size, decorated and illuminated in the highest style of art peculiar to each country. The zealous Abbé conceived that twenty large volumes, five hundred pages each, would contain all the versions. When, however, the work was completed, he found that the three hundred languages and dialects into which the Bull was translated filled eighty volumes. On the 19th March, 1865, the Abbé Sire wrote to the Very Rev. T. Bennett, President of All Hallows College, asking him to get some person competent to produce the translation in Irish. The latter enclosed the letter to the Very Rev. Canon Ulick J. Bourke

Tuam, who freely undertook the work, for which there were few, if any, in Ireland better qualified. He completed his manuscript translation in modern Irish in November that same year. In passing, I may observe that Dr. Bourke says, that after intimate association with Irish speakers in the four provinces of Ireland, he is convinced there is no such thing as different dialects spoken in the different provinces.

> There is only one language, the language of the Irish race. It is true that there are a few forms of expression, and some peculiar sounds, and a certain manner of pronouncing the language in one locality which are not found in another. But, even in London, the very heart of England, strange and very quaint pronunciation of the English language is every day heard.

When Canon Bourke had completed his translation, he was fortunate in securing the co-operation of two religious of the Mercy Institute in the 'preparation and execution of the vellum manuscript on which the translation was penned.' Sister Mary Joseph (*née* Corr), of the Convent of Mercy, Tuam, 'executed,' he informs us, 'the Gaelic caligraphy with great taste and simple elegance;' whilst Sister Mary C. Augustine (*née* Moore), of St. Vincent's Convent, Golden-bridge, a branch of the Mercy Institute, Baggot-street,

> who is, perhaps, the best in Ireland at illumination, bestowed all the rich tracery of her unrivalled pencil in ornamenting in the grandest style of art the first, second, and third pages, and the initial letter of each paragraph. The style was that of the early Irish period, a style chaste and rich, and quite in harmony with the language and the subject.

It was well that on this historic occasion there were found persons in Ireland not unworthy of the great traditions of the country in the art of transcribing and illuminating. For of St. Columba it is related, on what seems to be reliable authority, that 'he transcribed three hundred copies of the New Testament with his own hand, leaving a copy to each of the churches which he created.' And of the manuscript copy of the Gospels called the *Book of Kells*,

by the same saint, which is now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. Professor Westwood, who is neither Irish nor Catholic, in his *Palæographia Sacra Pictoria*, says, 'Ireland may be justly proud of the *Book of Kells*.' He examined, we are informed, the pages of it for hours together without ever dectecting a false line or an irregular interlacement. And again :—

> In one space of about a quarter of an inch superficial, he counted with a magnifying glass, no less than one hundred and fifty-eight interlacements of a slender ribbon pattern, formed of white lines edged by black ones upon a black ground. No wonder that tradition should allege that these unerring lines should have been traced by angels.

Speaking of this art in general, Professor Westwood writes :—

> There is abundant evidence to prove that in the sixth and seventh centuries, the art of ornamenting manuscripts of the Sacred Scriptures, and especially of the Gospels, had attained a perfection in Ireland almost marvellous, and which in after ages was adopted and imitated by the continental schools visited by the Irish missionaries.

The above may seem an unwarrantable digression, but it has been introduced for the purpose of drawing the attention, in a passing way, of young readers to one aspect of the glories of the ages of faith in Ireland. For, in this supreme crisis of the history of our country, when she is seeking to preserve her soul and individual existence from destruction, it is incumbent on all, especially those who have the training of the rising generations in schools and colleges, to keep before them the grand ideals and traditions of the past. The more they are kept in touch with these, the more securely are they saved from the denationalising and de-Catholicising influences with which they are threatened and surrounded, the more surely are they saved for their country, their Church, and their God.

The response to the Abbé Sire's appeal surpassed his most sanguine expectations in every respect. He little imagined that the number of languages and dialects in which Mary's praises and privileges would be proclaimed

through the translation of the Bull of the definition would amount to three hundred—or that the number of huge volumes containing the various versions would reach eighty. Much less did he expect that in most cases these versions would be executed with a richness of ornamentation and illumination heedless of expense. The fact is, the various nationalities and provinces vied with one another in laying at the feet of Our Lady, and the Pontiff of her predilection, a gift which would outwardly express their love and devotion to one and gratitude to the other. We are told that the imperial princes of Brazil spent £2,000 in the illumination and binding of the copy from that nation. A pious wealthy Polish lady expended £400 on the copy from that Catholic and suffering country. She had a pictorial narrative of the ecclesiastical history executed on the margin in a rich and elaborate style. An Irish lady, the Countess de Maistre (*née* O'Byrne), whose brother had been a Pontifical Zouave, hearing what was being done by the Polish lady, Countess Mary Prezendriecka, proposed to expend a like sum of £400 on a second copy of the Bull in Irish, which, like the Polish one, was to contain in marginal ornamentation a pictorial history of the Catholic Church in Ireland. This was beautifully executed, splendidly bound, and signed by all the Bishops of Ireland. Thus there were two copies of the Bull in Irish laid at the feet of the Holy Father, the one by Canon Ulick Bourke, and the same version, but more richly and elaborately executed, of the Countess de Maistre. Canon Bourke's translation had the following approbation of Dr. MacHale, the Archbishop of Tuam :— 'Hæc versio Bullæ Ineffabilis in Celticam Hiberniæ linguam a Reverendo Ulico Josepho Bourke, elaborata, sensum originalis penitus reddit, nec ei quædam venustas deest et elegantia linguæ.'

The Abbé Sire having brought to completeness this huge undertaking, had the singular happiness of presenting it to Pius IX. on the 29th of June, 1867, when the centenary celebrations in honour of Saints Peter and Paul were being celebrated in Rome with a splendour and solemnity not to be forgotten by those who witnessed them. What the work

really was and what the Pope thought of it are clearly declared in the Brief which His Holiness sent to the Abbé Sire on the 30th November, 1867. After bestowing well merited words of praise on the zeal which inspired him to undertake this gigantic work—the energy, perseverance and prudence he displayed in prosecuting it, and enlisting the co-operation of the hierarchy, clergy, secular and regular, most distinguished laity, and members of royal families—the Pope thus continues :—

Ex quo evenit, ut commemoratæ Nostræ Apostolicæ Litteræ [that is, the Bull *Ineffabilis*] trecentiis fuerunt scriptæ linguis, quas varii Asiæ, Africæ, Europæ, Americæ, et Oceaniæ populi loquuntur. Atque hujusmodi multiplex interpretatio multis voluminibus fuit inserta elegantissimo sane ac miro artificio elaboratis . . . Equidem Delecte Fili, non potuimus non vehementer admirari eximiam elegantiam ac pulchritudinem eorumdem volumnium, quo miniariis ac musivis picturis, affabre expressis, ac pretiosis lapidibus, et aureis argenteis, aliisque nobilissimis ornamentis abunde ditata, bellissime ostendunt quæ sit peculiaris tot populorum in artibus præstantia.

Ac summa certe consolationi affecti fuimus, videntes qua singulari erga beatissimam Virginem Mariam pietate animati sunt Catholici orbis fideles, qui *hoc insigne sane monumentum* in eiusdem Deiparæ honorem erigere tantopere gloriati sunt. Quare tum Tibi, Dilecti Fili, qui plures ab hinc annos nullis curis nullisque consiliis pepercisti, ut *huiusmodi proclarissimum* conficeretur *opus*, tum omnibus et singulis, qui in eodem *pulcherrimo opere* efficiendo eorum omnem industriam, diligentiam ac laborem impenderunt, etiam atque etiam gratulamur, amplissimasque tribuimus laudes.

Denique Pontificio Nostro caritatis pignus Apostolicam Benedictionem toto cordis affectu Tibi ipsi, Dilecti Fili, cunctisque ecclesiasticis viris laicisque fidelibus, qui in prædicto *magnificentissimo opere* perficiendo partem habuerunt ; peramanter impertimus.

A writer in the French journal, *L'Union*, of February, 1867, thus eloquently pourtrays the magnitude of the work :—

We must recognise in it a brilliant manifestation of the power which the Catholic religion gives to men. A priest, without employing the resources of fortune or commerce, in the short space of six years, that is to say, more rapidly than a bold navigator could make the circuit of the globe, has been

able to collect from all countries, from islands the most remote, and from nations the most savage, from the scattered islands of Oceanica, from the burning sands of Africa, from the icy shores of the inhospitable Korea, from the frontiers of Tibet, from the deep forests where, as a last resource, the wandering tribes of North and South America find a refuge, three hundred translations of a very long Bull, all executed with care by men best skilled in their respective languages, signed and approved by the highest ecclesiastical authority of the country, frequently decorated with exquisite taste by artists ready and willing to give their services—most varied in their designs, and forming nearly eighty volumes, containing almost 20,000 pages in quarto. May not one find here an eloquent answer to those who reproach Catholicity with want of ability, and who accuse it of stamping with sterility whatever work she undertakes. What Church, what State even, with its naval and military power, its ambassadors, and its consuls, could, in so short a time, obtain an equal victory, and a similar sign of union among men? Protestantism although having at its service a people the most enterprising in the world, required ages and millions to enable it to procure a translation of the Bible into one hundred and fifty languages.

It is useful to keep historical facts like these before the public gaze. They refute more eloquently than words the old calumnies which the enemies of the Catholic Church have in all ages—and never, perhaps, more insolently than at present even here in Catholic Ireland—been scattering broadcast. It remains only to add, that Canon Bourke published in 1868 the Bull *Ineffabilis* in four languages: in Latin, which is a correct copy of the original; in Irish, that is the version made by himself and approved of by Archbishop MacHale; in English, also his own, made, he informs us, whilst the sheets were going through the press; and in French, which was furnished by the Abbé Sire. Whether Canon Bourke's book is still in print, I do not know. If not, would it not be well to have it republished—or, at least, to have the Irish and English versions of the Bull published in one pamphlet, and at a price which would make it accessible to the ordinary faithful? Would not such a work fit in with the scope and, perhaps, the resources, of the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, or of the Gaelic League?

D. HALLINAN, P.P., V.G.

THE CODE OF PIUS X.

THE ENTERPRISE OF THE PONTIFF

EIGHT months ago, when Cardinal Sarto was raised to the Chair of Peter there was very little difference of opinion as to what was likley to be the character of his pontificate. He was to be a transition Pope, an Apostolic Pope, a Pope who would attempt no very extraordinary enterprises. But Pius X. has failed singularly to carry out this programme so judiciously prepared for him. He is certainly an Apostolic Pope, if ever there was one, but he finds, apparently, that he can be that and at the same time a very enterprising Pontiff. Within a month from his election he told Cardinal Moran that he intended to make sweeping changes in the Roman Congregations which manage all the international business of the Church, and a couple of months later he incorporated the Congregation of Sacred Relics and Indulgences with the Congregation of Rites, he introduced a rigid system of control over the functionaries of all the Congregations, and he abolished sinecures. It is an open secret that he is now studying the best means for promoting the efficiency of Propaganda, and for lightening its work. Almost simultaneously he published what has accurately been described as 'the most important pronouncement on Church Music since the time of St. Gregory.' Then he made a radical change in the method of appointing Italian bishops, when he transferred this grave task from a small Commission of Cardinals to the Congregation of the Holy Office —the most perfect of earthly tribunals. Later on he followed up a *Motu Proprio* instituting a canonical visitation of Rome (an event which has not taken place for the last eighty years) by another Pontifical document in which he announced that he was about to appoint Apostolic Visitors for every diocese in Italy, and at the same time laid down the minutest rules for the guidance of these.

AN EXTRAORDINARY UNDERTAKING

But all these extraordinary proofs of activity and initiative given by this 'transition Pope' seem almost trivial when compared with his great plan for the Codification of the Laws of the Church. To resolve and to act are almost synonymous and simultaneous with Pius X.—it is less than a month since he announced his intention of undertaking this immense work, and already he has his commission in full working order. He has appointed on it sixteen cardinals, every one of whom is known as an authority on Canon Law; with them he has joined forty-five consultors whose names are a guarantee for learning; and he has made that brilliant canonist, Monsignor Gasparri, secretary of the distinguished body. These sixty-two members of the Commission are to be aided in their labours by prelates and canon theologians in all parts of the world, and they are to begin their labours immediately.

The task is a colossal one. It is even absolutely unique in the history of the Papacy, and it is far and away the most comprehensive undertaking ever entered upon by a legislator. Many collections of laws, civil and ecclesiastical, have been made, but very few real codes. Napoleon, it is true, did codify the laws of his empire, and the 'Code Napoléon' remains the most enduring monument of his reign. But, after all, his code affected only a very small portion of the earth and a single nation, while the code of Pius X. is to embrace the whole world in its scope, and is to apply to every individual of the hundreds of millions of Catholics who own the jurisdiction of the Pope.

WHAT HIS PLAN OF CODIFICATION MEANS

A little explanation will be necessary here to make the general reader understand the scope of this work of codification. The Church, as a perfect society, began to make laws for its members immediately it began to live. These laws were of two kinds: the general laws made by the Roman Pontiffs and by general Councils for the whole Church, and the local laws made for single dioceses, or

provinces, or countries. The Codification of Pius X. will concern the first class directly, and the second class only indirectly. For over a thousand years no authentic collection had been made of the general laws, known as the *Jus Commune*, enacted by the Church since the time of the Apostles. Early in the twelfth century a learned monk named Gratian, professor of Canon Law at Bologna, endeavoured to restore something like order into the jungle of legislation with which he had to deal. It was a heroic task, for the ancient canons were in his time buried in an endless number of collections, and as many of these collections contained laws which were either apocryphal or only local, as all the collections were not within his reach, and as many laws had never been inscribed in any of them, the results of his labours were necessarily imperfect. He called what we know as his *Decretum* by the title : *The Concord of the Discordant Canons*. Gratian's collection deserves to be considered as authentic only in a limited sense. It was made by his own private initiative, and it contained many laws which were certainly not genuine. But on the other hand a large number, perhaps the vast majority, of the canons included in it were authentic, many others, doubtful or spurious in their origin, became laws by general acceptance, or by the sanction of authority, and the work as a whole in the course of time came to be recognised as a most useful, if not strictly authoritative, compendium of the *Jus Vetus*, or ancient legislation of the Church during the first twelve centuries.

THE FIRST ATTEMPT AT CODIFICATION

Gratian's labours apparently stimulated the ardour of others in the same direction. Two other collections of Decretals (*Prima* and *Secunda*) were made soon after by private individuals, and to these were added two others (*Tertia* and *Quarta*) by command of Innocent III. (1198-1216), and a fifth (*Quinta*) by Honorius III. (1216-1227). The latter Pontiff was succeeded by Gregory IX. (1227-1241), and to him we owe the first real attempt at a codification of the laws of the Church. The work entrusted

by Pius X. to a Commission of Cardinals was committed by Gregory to St. Raymond of Pennafort, but St. Raymond's task was far more limited, for it was confined to the five collections just mentioned. St. Raymond finished his task in 1234. He eliminated all that was useless in the five collections, removed the contradictions he found in them, added a number of laws made after they had been formed, and gave us what has become known as the Collection of Decretals of Gregory IX.

During the following half-century many new laws came into force, especially through the two Councils of Lyons (1245 and 1274), so that Boniface VIII. (1294-1303) found it necessary to add an Appendix (*Sextus*) to Gregory's Decretals, and this was also divided into five books. Clement V. (1305-1314) made another compilation, known as the *Clementines*, which was published by his successor John XXII. (1316-1334), and this was again followed by two other collections consisting of Decretals, known as *Extravagantes*, because they were not contained in the previous compilations. Finally, John XXII. also compiled a collection of the Regulations of the Cancelleria, which was completed by Nicholas V. (1447-1455).

JUS VETUS, NOVUM, AND NOVISSIMUM

Gratian's *Decretum* summarised the ancient statutes of the Church (*Jus Vetus*); the new laws (*Jus Novum*) were contained in the collections just mentioned; and what may be called modern legislation (*Jus Novissimum*) was inaugurated by the Council of Trent (1545-1563). The immense body of laws created by the Council of Trent constituted, to a certain extent, a codification of the laws of the Church. After the Council of Trent Papal Bulls began to count largely in the formation of Canon Law. Sixtus V. (1585-1590) published an immense *Bollarium*, containing the Bulls issued by all his predecessors from the reign of Leo I. (440-461) down to his own time, and since then down to the days of Pius X. an enormous bulk of Pontifical documents have been added to this fount of Canon Law. Since the Council of Trent, too, the Roman

Congregations have issued a vast mass of decisions with the force of law.

THE PRESENT CHAOS

It was inevitable that with the lapse of centuries endless confusion should result in this tangled mass of legislation. A law, for instance, was made some centuries since ; it was subsequently modified by a Papal Bull, and again by a Decree of one of the Congregations, and finally repealed, implicitly though not explicitly, by some later enactment or by a *custom* sanctioned by authority. In many cases it is impossible for the laity, and extremely difficult even for experts to determine whether and how far many of such laws have force to-day. A great number of laws once useful and even necessary have become either useless or hurtful, or altogether impossible of observance. Then, again, the changed relations between Church and State throughout the world require the overhauling of all the legislation based on the supposition that the State is (as it should be) the faithful ally of the Church.

Such, we may lawfully assume, are some of the principal reasons which have prompted Pius X. to undertake the codification of the laws of the Church, and a merely summary exposition of them is sufficient to prove the gravity and intricacy of the task. The completion of it will obviously require many years and immense labour, but it is not too much to hope that it will be effected during the present Pontificate, and in any case Pius X. is certain to be known in history as the author of the Code of Pius X.

WHAT THE COMMISSION HAS TO DO

The first care of the Commission of Codification will be to eliminate all the obsolete, antiquated, useless, and impossible legislation which has drifted down to us ; its second will be to supplant what has been taken away by laws adapted to present needs ; and its third to arrange all the legislation of the Church in the clearest and simplest manner possible. In all this the Commission will be guided by the consideration that the new code is to contain the

Common Law of the Church, or in other words that it is to be of universal application.

And here arises a very important question: What is to be the spirit of this new and universal Code of Pius X.? Will it be so contrived as to extend, or curtail, or leave unchanged the law-making functions of bishops in their respective dioceses, and of provincial and national Councils? It will certainly affect, to some extent, the local Church legislation at present in force—indeed, it is likely to affect it very largely. But after all that point is comparatively insignificant when compared with the *spirit* or *genius* of the new code. Ever since the Reformation, or better perhaps, since the Council of Trent, there has been a growing tendency to centralise both legislation and administration in the Holy See. It is useless to inquire here into the causes of this, beyond stating that two of the principal of them have been (*a*) the reaction against the revolt from the centre of unity in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and (*b*) the increasing facility of communication with the centre of unity in modern times. If this same tendency to centralisation finds expression in the new code, it will follow that merely local laws will shrink in importance, and local law-making will be reduced to a minimum. It is not hard to see how closely this problem affects the hierarchy of the Catholic Church. The policy of centralisation has gradually left Patriarchs and Primates and Metropolitans but little more than their title—is the new code to be a centralising code, which will strip even the bishops of some of their power?

A VERY INTERESTING PBOBLEM

Before attempting to answer the question let it be said that, *prima facie*, it would seem as if the answer should be in the affirmative, (1) for the reason already alleged of the increased and increasing facility of communication with Rome; (2) because local customs and differences everywhere are tending to decrease through this same facility of inter-communication, and through the progress of a system of education which tends to eliminate local

differences of all kinds; (3) because everything that promotes unity in the Church is to be recommended *a priori*, and (4) because Pius X. has devoted special attention to the reform and re-modelling of the Roman Congregations which are charged with so much of the central legislation and administration of the Church.

CENTRALISATION AND DECENTRALISATION

But in the face of all these reasons the writer has good reason to believe that the most striking and momentous feature of the new code will be its decentralising tendency. He is convinced that the Pontificate of Pius X. is destined to be memorable in the annals of the Papacy for its policy of decentralisation. But in treating of such a delicate and important topic he wishes to declare that if there is anything in this article which is not fully in accord with Catholic truth or with the intentions of the Holy Father, he humbly and unreservedly retracts it beforehand.

THE POPE'S DECLARATION TO CARDINAL MORAN

Last October Cardinal Moran had an audience of the deepest interest with the Holy Father, and the writer of this article was privileged the same day to have an account of what took place from the lips of his Eminence. On November, that is months before the plan of codification was heard of, he sent it to *The Tablet*, from which it was copied in *The Times*, and in many other papers. The sum and substance of it was this: Cardinal Moran dwelt on the urgent necessity of perfecting the working of the Roman Congregations—and especially of Propaganda. As an instance of the delays that sometimes happen in the transaction of most important business he mentioned, among other things, the fate of the weighty decrees drawn up by the Irish Synod held at Maynooth four years ago. They were duly forwarded to the Propaganda at Rome—and have never since been heard of! His Eminence spoke about the 'congestion' of business at Propaganda and the other Congregations, of the causes which brought it about, and of the remedies which suggested themselves.

The Holy Father was deeply impressed, and before the Cardinal left him declared that he would provide for the efficiency of the Roman Congregations in two ways : first, directly, by introducing a better system, and a more effective *personnel* into the Congregations themselves ; and, second, by devolving some of the work they have now to perform on the local authorities. Finally His Holiness did not hesitate to affirm that the time had come for *decentralising*, and one of the means for introducing, or rather restoring this decentralisation was to be the establishment of primates, with hierarchical powers. There is, however, reason to believe that Pius X. has since then found it necessary to abandon, or at least to delay, the appointment of primates, and to substitute for them Apostolic Delegates in every country in which the Holy See is not at present directly represented. In some cases the Apostolic Delegates are to be sent from Rome—in others a local bishop will be chosen to act in the name of the Holy Father. One of the chief functions of the Apostolic Delegate will be to see to the observance of the new code containing the Common Law of the Church.

THE CHARACTER OF THE NEW CODE

From all this it follows that the new code will not be a centralising but a decentralising code. It will contain uniform laws for the whole Church, but it will allow even greater scope than heretofore to provincial and diocesan legislation and authority. It will contain relatively few laws, but these will be very clear and simple so that it will be easy to know them, and not too difficult for weak human nature to observe them. Radical changes are almost certain to be introduced on such vital questions as marriage, fasting and abstinence, the holding of synods and provincial councils, the status of the clergy, the relations between bishops and regulars, etc. Some idea of the confusion existing on these matters may be had by considering the extraordinary divergences that now exist with regard to marriage. In some places a Catholic man and woman become man and wife as the result of a simple declaration

to that effect in the presence of a civil magistrate—while at a place a few miles distant, such a marriage is absolutely invalid. The Code of Pius X. will change all that. Then, again, the laws on fasting and abstinence are so burrowed with modifications, privileges, dispensations, and customs, that uniformity has become a thing of the past. It is certainly not the intention of the Holy Father to introduce a cast-iron uniformity and rigidity into the laws of the Church, but it is also certain that he intends to raise them as far as possible above the necessity for continual exceptions.

HOME RULE ALL ROUND

To sum up, the new code will not constitute a Constitution or a Magna Charta of the Church, and will in no way interfere with the plenitude of legislative authority which belongs to every one of the Roman Pontiffs, but it will aim *to give Catholic Laws for the Catholic Church.* While emphasising in a very striking way the sovereign authority of the Holy See, promoting unity of legislation throughout the Church, and bringing all Catholics into more direct relations with the Supreme Pontiff, it will at the same time co-ordinate, strengthen, and dignify the powers of diocesan, metropolitan, and national authorities. In a word, the new code is destined to be a marvellous adaptation in the Church of the principle of 'Home Rule all round.'

P. O'KELLY, D.D., J.C.B.

'THE PRINCIPLES OF MORAL SCIENCE'

FATHER SLATER may feel perfectly sure that on personal grounds I have not the least objection to the criticism which appeared over his name in the last number of the I. E. RECORD. I have myself criticised freely some of the greatest names in theology and philosophy; and as I claim the right to do so in the interest of these sciences, I am wont to allow others the same right as regards my own speculations. And though Father Slater's article contains nothing which I did not know before and consider carefully,—nothing, therefore, that calls for any other reply than is to be found in my book,—yet, lest others should think, if I did not reply, that I was unable to do so, I proceed to criticise his views with the same freedom, and I hope with the same courtesy, with which he has treated mine.

The difficulties which I have found in the ordinary teaching of the theologians, are due, he thinks, to the fact that I do not understand what these writers mean by certain formulæ in common use; and he contends that certain principles stated as I have stated them lose in simplicity and usefulness, or lead to conclusions which must be regarded as immoral.

As a specimen of my failure to understand the mind of the theologians he instances my criticism of the first clause of the principle, as usually formulated, which governs the case of actions with evil as well as good effects. According to the clause, the first thing to determine is whether the action in question is good in itself or at least indifferent. I asked whether this did not involve the whole question at issue: How is one to know whether the action is good or evil, seeing that it produces evil as well as good effects? Father Slater now tells us (page 388) that the action may be 'viewed in itself, that is, apart from its effects;' that 'we can examine the morality of the action apart from

its evil effect ;' and that 'this is what the principle tells us to do.'

I fail, however, to see how one can examine the morality of an action apart from its effects, evil as well as good. The only test I know of the morality of an action is the effect or effects produced. Here as everywhere throughout science the axiom holds : *actus specificatur ex objecto*,—the object of any muscular action, such as walking or killing, being the effect produced. Abstract from this altogether and every action is equally indifferent. Abstract from the evil effect, as Father Slater assures us the theologians would have us do, and almost every conceivable action must be regarded as good. He would admit, I am sure, that the theologians mean by this clause to rule out as evil such actions as blasphemy, lying, and direct slaying of innocent persons. Any of these, however, considered apart from its evil effects, must be regarded as good whenever it produces a good effect, as it almost always does. Craniotomy, for instance, apart from its evil effect, is merely the moving of certain instruments,—an action which, as relieving the mother, would undoubtedly be excellent if it were not for the evil effect on the child. So, too, a lie may produce a good effect, and for that reason should be considered right, if it were not for the evil effect of the action. Will Father Slater try to think of any action whatsoever that would not have to be classed as good or at least indifferent if examined apart from its evil effect ? And if he cannot find any such, will he say how this question—whether the action is or is not good in itself—is not the whole question at issue, as I have contended ?

The second clause of the principle, as usually formulated, deals with the agent's intention : he must not intend the evil effect. This, I have said, could not affect the morality of the external action, which is the only question really at issue. According to Father Slater I have failed to understand this second condition also, as 'we are not concerned with the mere external action regarded in itself.' 'The action is regarded as a complete human act,

therefore as a voluntary act, as one issuing from free will, therefore as necessarily informed by a certain intention' (page 389).

It seems to me that the question with which the principle deals is the morality of *any* action that produces evil effects as well as good. The entire difficulty arises from the fact that the effects—the determining factors—are not only good but evil. They remain evil and good, and hence the difficulty remains, no matter how good or evil the agent's intention may be. It is, of course, an obvious truth that if the agent intends an inordinate effect this intention is evil; and my complaint was and is that theologians make much of this truism, as if it helped in any way to clear up the difficulty about the morality of the external action; which, no matter what the agent intends, produces evil effects as well as good, and for that reason is difficult to classify in the moral order. When we discuss the morality of lying, duelling, worship of saints, causing abortion, boycotting, picketting, and such things, do we not take them as they are in themselves,—the mere external actions apart from the agent's intention? though they may be human acts and proceed from the will. Whether they do so proceed or do not, they have in themselves, apart from any will or intention of the agent, an objective material morality; and it is about this that moralists of all shades of opinion,—Catholic, Protestant, and Infidel; rigorous, liberal, and lax,—dispute. It helps very little in moral science to say that one sins whenever one tells a lie, fights a duel, or causes abortion directly, if the act is accompanied by a bad intention.

In this sense it is not true to say, as Father Slater says, that 'to walk in the fields in order to wantonly destroy sentient life, is a bad action.' One who walks in that way performs two actions, the act of walking and the act of will; of which the first may remain good however evil the second may be. One might walk in one's sleep, without any intention, and the act would still be good or bad materially; and it is simply not true that in discussing the morality of acts of this kind theologians

contemplate only such as 'are informed by some intention and not merely the physical external acts of the body' (page 390). They contemplate every action that forms part of the object of the science of morals; every action, therefore, which is moral in any true sense. They discuss principally the character of the material morality of external actions, such as duelling, lying, stealing; they discuss also the objective existence of obligations, such as that of giving alms, making restitution, paying taxes, telling sins in Confession,—no matter what the person concerned may know or will. They do not omit to treat of the moral character of accompanying intentions,—as I have done in my book,—since these acts also are in the moral order. The question of intention, however, is easily settled when one has ascertained the moral character of the external action; hence it does not occupy one-fortieth part of any treatise on moral theology. Father Slater will probably deny this; I must only leave every intelligent student to form his own opinion.

Father Slater proceeds (page 390) to show that in my treatment of this question I have falsified 'the meaning of the distinction, as commonly used by theologians, between direct and indirect causality,' and 'confounded it with the distinction between *per se* and *per accidens*.'

As to the confusion, I have merely stated historically that both distinctions are used in the same sense, especially by writers on morals. I have quoted Zigliara to the effect that 'a cause *per se* is that which produces the effect *directly*,' whereas 'a cause *per accidens* is that which does not produce the effect *directly*.' I have quoted De Lugo:—'Dupliciter potest hoc contingere: primo ita ut *per se* et *directe* occidatur innocens; secundo ita ut saltem *indirecte* et *per accidens*.' I might have quoted ever so many more to the same effect, as, for instance, Thomas Sanchez[1]:—'Sunt medicinae quaedam directe ad occisionem fœtus tendentes, aliae autem *per se* et *indirecte* ad morbos pra-

[1] *De Matrim.*, L. 9, D. 20, n. 14.

vosque humores expellendos.' If, therefore, there is any confusion, it is not due to me. I have merely noted what others have said. If they have not said it, let that be shown ; but if they have, let them bear the blame,—if there be any.

But I have, it seems, 'falsified the meaning of the distinction [between direct and indirect causality] as commonly used by theologians ; ' the proof of which is that when they 'treat of the morality of direct and indirect killing, the distinction does not merely refer to the direct or indirect causality of the external act ; it has special reference to the intention.'

The distinction between direct and indirect applies, therefore, to the causality of the external act ; and the only question is whether it has in addition 'special reference to the intention.' One may sometimes *cause* indirectly the death of an innocent person without committing even material sin ; may one also *intend* the death, however indirectly ? Lehmkuhl expresses the opinion of every theologian when he says that 'the agent *must not intend* the evil effect, but only the good ; ' now, however, we are assured that it may not be wrong to intend the death, provided the intention is indirect, and that this is Lehmkuhl's meaning. For, the distinction between direct and indirect, we are told, 'does not merely refer to the causality of the external act, it has special reference to the intention.'

In proof of his contention Father Slater quotes from the *Lexicon Scholasticorum Verborum* to the effect that 'in moralibus . . . indirecte [intendit homicidium] qui illius causam aliquam ponit, ut ebrietatem, ex quo illud sequatur.' There is some sense in this use of the term ; for, when a man gets drunk, foreseeing that he will commit homicide, he really intends the homicide and must be held responsible for that intention. It is likely, indeed, that he intends it, not for its own sake, but for some good which he finds in the drunkenness from which it will result, as he foresees ; that is why he may be said, in very loose terminology, to intend the death indirectly. But to maintain that the term 'indirect' has special reference to the

intention when the entire proceeding of the agent is lawful, as it often is when innocent persons are indirectly killed, can mean only that it may be right in such cases to intend the death in some way, provided it is not directly intended; and no theologian, not even Father Slater, would justify any real intention, no matter how indirect, that embraces the death of an innocent person caused by one's own action. The distinction, therefore, between direct and indirect has no reference to intention, whenever it is used to determine the morality of an action with good and evil effects.

In my refusal to recognise the distinction between *first act* and *second act* as of any use to determine whether doubtful laws do or do not bind, Father Slater finds another instance of failure to understand the meaning of a formula in common use. He alleges (page 394) that I have misunderstood the history as well as the meaning of the distinction.

The only evidence of historical error that I can find is a statement to the effect that Suarez and Sylvius made use of the distinction long before Gotti, and in the same sense. But so far was I from saying that Gotti was the first to make use of it in that sense, that I expressly abstained from discussing the date of its introduction into this part of moral theology, referring that aspect of the question to the curious in such matters,—among whom I am now happy to find Father Slater.

Coming to the question as to the meaning of the distinction, Father Slater says (page 396) that 'the jurisdiction of the lawgiver is in first act while it remains *in habitu*; it comes into second act when it is used to make a law.' Good. Not so good, however, when he continues:—'The law just made but not yet in force is in first act; when it comes into operation, when it begins to bind, it is in second act.' Every law, of its nature, as distinguished from jurisdiction, is an action; and every action is a second act. No action is a first act. The only first act known to our philosophy is a power to act not yet become an action, such as jurisdiction not yet become

a law. Father Slater says this is not so and that I do not understand these things. All I can reply is that such is my reading of the philosophy of the School.

I know well enough that not only in connection with laws but also in treating of divine co-operation theologians of a certain religious Order, not unknown to Father Slater, have been wont to use the term first act to denote the incipient stage of an action ; but I contend, with all respect, that this is a departure from the strict philosophical meaning of the term ; and I am aware that it is censured as such by the ablest writers of the Thomistic school when they discuss the question of divine co-operation. Much of the confusion that prevails in the science of theology would be removed if the term first act were used only in its strict sense, to designate an existing power of acting, as distinguished from its action.

These, however, are questions as to the use of words : the real question at issue with regard to doubtful laws is whether they may or cannot bind objectively. Father Slater says (page 397) that such laws ' are wanting in one of their essential elements,' and, as such, ' do not bind, or are no laws ; ' but he also contends that, notwithstanding this essential defect, they ' bind imperfectly ; ' so much so that if the law were to exist really, as it may, by acting against it one would commit a material sin (page 394). But, if promulgation is an essential element of law, so that a law which is not promulgated ' does not bind, or is no law,' how can it ' really exist ' or ' bind imperfectly,' so that one who might act against it might ' commit a material sin ' ? Father Slater might ask himself this question : Is not promulgation so essential to a law that the law cannot exist or bind in the least, however imperfectly, until it has been promulgated ? And he might read over again the passage which he quotes from St. Thomas, and see whether he can find therein either (1) that ' a law binds *perfectly and fully*[2] only through the knowledge of the

[2] There is not in the text a hint as to any distinction between imperfect and perfect obligation ; nor is it easy to see how any such distinction can be made out ; at least those who, like Father Slater, make use of it ought

subject' (page 396); or (2) that promulgation is incompatible with 'ignorance of its existence among the community' (page 397).

Would a particular precept of the natural law—that, for instance, regarding craniotomy—bind, so as to make it objectively unlawful to kill the child, even though every soul alive were convinced that the practice in question is right? The law of baptism requires promulgation; but will Father Slater maintain that it does not bind where the community knows nothing of its existence? He admits that it may be a material sin to violate a doubtful law; but is it a material sin to violate a law which 'is not promulgated, does not bind, or is no law'?

Questions like these throw light on the real meaning of St. Thomas,—if the passage quoted is to be accepted as a true statement of doctrine. The meaning is that laws are not sufficiently promulgated until they have become known to the community, or at least until enough has been done to make it possible for the community to know them. It may help Father Slater to discern the Angelic Doctor's real meaning, if he turns to the *Summa* (I. 2, q. 90, a. 4, ad 2) and reads:—'Illi coram quibus lex non promulgatur obligantur ad legem observandam, in quantum in eorum notitiam venit per alios, *vel devenire potest*, promulgatione facta.'

This is something very different from the 'knowledge of the subject' which, we are assured, is necessary for the promulgation and binding force of laws.[3] And if Father

to explain what they mean. Imperfect obligation, as is admitted, is sufficient to beget material sin if the law should actually exist and be violated. And as the formal sin comes from the agent's will, which is the same whether the law binds or does not bind objectively, provided he regards it as binding, it—the formal sin—is independent of obligation, even of the most imperfect kind. What then can be the effect of a perfect obligation?

[3] The distinction is suggested in the very text quoted by Father Slater, as he would have remarked if he had read more closely:—'Nullus ligatur per praeceptum aliquod nisi mediante scientia illius praecepti; . . . nec aliquis ignorans praeceptum Dei, ligatur ad praeceptum faciendum, nisi quatenus *tenetur scire praeceptum*. Si autem *non teneatur scire*, nec sciat, nullo modo ex praecepto ligatur.' St. Thomas must have meant something by the limitation thus introduced: 'nec teneatur scire.' It is not fair to quote the text as if for promulgation the Saint required actual knowledge on the subject's part.

Slater is so far interested as to make further inquiries, he will naturally turn to Suarez, and find, unless I am very much mistaken, that by promulgation he understands throughout a 'publicatio legis per quam *possit a subditis cognosci*.'[4]

Before dismissing this part of the question I may be permitted to say that I do not admit, and am not aware that I have admitted anywhere in the book on *Moral Science*, that the maxim: Doubtful laws do not bind, is sometimes true. Father Slater says (page 398) I have made the admission on page 205; but if he will read a little more attentively the sentence which he quotes in part, he will find that what I say is, not that doubtful laws do not bind sometimes, as he has it; but that in certain cases *it is reasonable not to insist on their observance*,—a very different thing, in my opinion.

So far for Father Slater's defence of certain commonly received statements of doctrine from which I have ventured to dissent. Turning now to my own statement of the principle which governs all cases of external actions with evil as well as good effects, he finds (pages 391-2) that the difficulty of ascertaining which essences are or are not subordinate to others, is so great as to render the principle practically worthless.

Is it, however, more difficult to ascertain which essences are or are not subordinate to others, than it is to determine which actions are good in themselves or at least indifferent? —the first clause of the principle as commonly formulated and approved by Father Slater. How do you know that a lie, for instance, or the direct slaying of an innocent man, is bad in itself? Is not this also 'the work of a theologian and not an easy task even for him'? And when even he sets about this task, will he not try to accomplish it by ascertaining whether, say, one man's life is intended for the benefit of another; whether, that is, these essences are or are not subordinate? Father Slater will do a service

[4] See, for instance, *De Legibus*, lib. i., c. 11, n. 2.

to moral science if he can show how, except on this principle of subordination, one can ascertain that any action is good or bad in itself.

Neither the principle as commonly formulated nor the statement which I have proposed, will help you to determine whether an action is right or wrong, until you have first ascertained something which can be known only by a careful study of the details of moral science; will not help you, that is, to determine whether the act is good or bad in itself, as Father Slater will have it; or whether the essences in question are subordinate or the reverse, according to the form proposed by me.

Father Slater complains that the formula set forth in my book for the solution of cases of doubt, cannot be applied in many cases, for want of definiteness in the elements necessary for the solution, or because many evils are incommensurable or dependent on subjective considerations; and he asks what may be the relation, say, between the value of merit gained and time lost in saying the Divine Office (page 400).

If, however, one were perplexed in conscience over any such matter, thinking it a sin to waste time saying a prayer which one is not bound to say, and also a sin to lose an occasion of gaining so much merit, even Father Slater would recommend a comparison of the two evils, to find which is the greater. It is, he admits, 'a well-known principle of theology that in cases of a perplexed conscience, when one must choose one of two evils, there is an obligation to choose the less' (page 398). Let him do when he is not perplexed what, on his own admission, he must do whenever he is perplexed, and he will have solved his difficulty.

He 'fails to see,' moreover, that 'there is always a loss to somebody, the Church or the lawgiver perhaps, when a doubtful law is not enforced' (page 400); and thinks that such is my supposition.

It is not. My supposition is that in all such cases there is *danger* of loss,—a danger which would become a

certainty if the existence of the law were certain. Laws, I always understood, are meant for the public good, as well as for the good of the individuals who are required to observe them. Their violation, no matter how unconscious, is an evil,—a material sin. When the law is doubtful there is always danger of material sin if should not be observed, as Father Slater admits. And yet he 'fails to see' how this evil—material sin—can be a loss to anybody.

When it comes to a question as to what is evil he is hard to please. Dealing with the moral character of an act which produces evil as well as good effects (page 390), he says it is not evil to amputate a diseased leg in order to save life; nor is it evil, apparently, to produce unconsciousness by means of chloroform when there is good reason for administering it. Not a moral evil, he will say, no doubt; for 'we must not,' he reminds me, 'do evil that good may come of it.' But have I said it is a moral evil? If it were a moral evil one should never do it, even indirectly; for one must not do moral evil in any circumstances whatsoever. Like so many others he will say, I suppose, that the evil which is done when an innocent person is killed indirectly, is not *done* by the agent but only *permitted*; but he will surely tell us, if so, how one can be said merely to *permit* the *effect* of *one's own action*.

It may throw some light on the mind of theologians when they discuss the morality of an action with two effects, if the question at issue is formulated thus: When an action produces an effect which is *physically* evil as well as one which is *physically* good, when is the action with its effects evil or good *in the moral order*? Whenever the action is morally good its effects are morally good, and *vice versa*,—all its effects; for when any effect of an action is morally bad, the action is always sinful: that is the very meaning of a sinful action. If Father Slater ponders the question formulated in this way, he may come to see that it is evil to amputate a leg or to produce unconsciousness by means of chloroform, even though there should be good reason for doing either.

I fear I must admit that the rule which I propose for the formation of a certain conscience in cases of doubt, could not compete in simplicity with that generous formula : doubtful laws do not bind,—if only this could be applied universally. When you learn, however, that you are expected to observe a doubtful law sometimes though not always ; that, for instance, you must observe a doubtful law of abstinence on Friday night though not on Thursday night ; that you must not injure a man's person in case of doubt ; that you must pay a part, though not the whole, of a sum of money of which not a farthing is certainly due ;—when you see how probabilists sweat, as the saying is, in their endeavours to reconcile these and other exceptions with the general formula which they propose ; not to mention the difficulty of explaining how a law which is not promulgated, and, therefore, as wanting in one of its essential elements, does not bind nor even exist, can bind imperfectly, notwithstanding, so as to beget material sin ;—when you consider all this you may come to doubt whether, after all, the rule which I advocate does not excel in simplicity as much as it certainly does in consistency. I do not wish to rely too much on this simplicity as a test of truth ; it would be so much simpler to say that one is in no case bound to observe a doubtful law,—or even a certain law, for that matter.

Father Slater has discovered one class of cases of doubt in which it would be immoral to apply the principle of selecting the less of two evils, to secure a practically certain conscience ; cases in which, 'according to the doctrine, I may do something which is probably unjust to my neighbour in order to avoid a greater money loss to myself.' He asks whether I mean this, and whether it is sound morality (page 397).

Yes, I mean it ; and if it is not sound morality, there is some very unsound morality to be found in books that have a much larger circulation than mine and are much nearer to him ; on which, therefore, he would do well to fix his eye. When a judge confirms a defendant in the

possession of a piece of property of which he is but probably the owner, he—the judge—does something which is probably an injustice to the plaintiff, to whom the property may really belong. Does Father Slater regard such a sentence as immoral ?

Let him open Lehmkuhl (I. n. 957), and read :—'Quodsi bona fide rem possidere quis coepit, et exorto dubio inquisivit, at dubium solvi non potest, ad nihil tenetur atque de illa re disponere potest.' By disposing of property in these circumstances the possessor 'does something which is probably unjust to his neighbour, in order to avoid a money loss to himself ; ' not necessarily a *greater* danger of loss, as I require. That there is objective danger of injustice is plain, since the property probably belongs to another. So obvious is this that Lehmkuhl adds :—'De re disponere potest, ita tamen ut utiliter disponat, atque capax et paratus sit utilitatem perceptam vel praetium rei domino reddere si forte postea certum dominum alter se probaverit.'

Lehmkuhl took this doctrine from De Lugo, and might have found it in almost any of our writers on justice. Will Father Slater ask whether they really mean it, and whether it is sound morality ?

Another curious instance of unsound moral teaching he has discovered. The principle regulating the morality of actions with good and evil effects, as formulated by me, would, he thinks (page 392), 'allow actions to be done which are certainly wrong.' It would allow me to 'relieve my wants and those of my family by stealing £5 from a wealthy neighbour.' By doing so, he says, I should but 'subordinate money to human wants, as by nature it should be subordinated ; ' and he 'does not see why this is not a legitimate application of my principle.'

If I were to apply in the same way the principle as commonly formulated, and approved by him, he would perceive at once why the application would not be legitimate. Why may I not steal to relieve my wants ? Is not the 'action good in itself' ? merely taking money and

making it subserve human need, as by nature it is bound to do. Is it not like killing an animal for food ?

Father Slater would reply at once : But the money is another's, and, so long as it is so, in using it you use him, contrary to nature's intention which makes him independent : hence the action of stealing is evil in itself. Is it necessary to point the application ? You may see once more how the question is resolved by every theologian,—Father Slater as well as me,—by ascertaining whether the essences which are brought into relation by actions of that kind are subordinate or independent.

There are many other points raised in Father Slater's article on which something might be said ; to discuss them all I should have almost to re-write the book. The main questions between us are : (1) whether, when moralists discuss the morality of an action with evil as well as good effects, the only question that presents any difficulty, and therefore the only question really at issue, is the character of the morality of the external action, apart altogether from any intention whereby it may be accompanied ; and (2) whether a law may be promulgated sufficiently so as to bind, even though not only individuals, but the community should be in doubt or even in ignorance of its existence.

In considering these questions it will help the ordinary reader to bear in mind : (1) that the conclusion reached by our theologians in their controversy with certain medical practitioners is, that craniotomy and abortion directly caused are material sins, no matter what the agent's intention may be, and even though he knows nothing of the injury which his action does the child ; and (2) that even when the entire community is in doubt or ignorance of the existence of a law, it may be a material sin to violate it, and will be if, notwithstanding the doubt, the law should exist objectively.

If Father Slater will reflect on these doctrines, which he himself admits, he may come to agree with me that doubtful laws may bind ; and that the real question at

issue between us and the moralists who approve of craniotomy and abortion directly caused,—the stock illustration of an action with good and evil effects,—is, whether these actions in themselves are right or wrong ; not how the morality of the action may be affected by what the practitioner may intend, directly or indirectly—if that language has any meaning—while performing it.

W. McDonald.

PIUS X. AND THE APOSTOLIC UNION OF SECULAR PRIESTS

IT is not yet quite a year since the whole Catholic world hailed with joy the announcement that Cardinal Joseph Sarto had been elected to the See of Peter in succession to the late illustrious Leo XIII., 'who not only ruled the Church for nearly six-and-twenty years with consummate wisdom, but showed, in himself, such sublimity of mind, and such a rare effulgence of every virtue, that he compelled the admiration even of his enemies, and consecrated the memory of his name by glorious deeds' (words of Pius X.).

By none was that joy more sincerely felt than by the secular clergy of every grade the world over. And assuredly not without reason. Here was a man whom sheer merit and hard, unselfish, generous work for God and souls had raised up, and against his own strenuous protest, from the lowly state of the missionary priest, first to the episcopate, and eventually to the highest dignity on earth—that of Vicar of Christ, and Father of all the faithful. Unlike his great predecessor, he had not been trained up in the ways of diplomacy and statecraft. He began his successful career as a simple, hard-working secular priest. He was a secular priest in every fibre of his soul, a man of God who had passed successively through all the grades of the sacred ministry; who knew, therefore, the difficulties and dangers, the joys and sorrows of the life of the missionary priest. What wonder that a responsive chord was touched and that the hearts of the clergy went out to him in sympathy and love.

And this joy was not abated, but intensified when, in his first beautiful Encyclical, he revealed to the world his single-minded devotion to priestly work, and proclaimed to all that his one end and aim in his Pontificate would be **'to re-establish all things in Christ.'**

With copious tears and prayers [he tells us] We endeavoured

to escape this dread burden of the Pontificate. When We reflected on the present most unhappy condition of human society . . . oppressed much more than in former times by a most serious internal malady, which, becoming daily aggravated, is eating it to the core and hurrying it to destruction. . . . when We considered the nature of that malady—a turning away from God, than which nothing more assuredly leads to perdition, . . . when We saw that against this great evil We should have to provide in the fulfilment of the duties of the Pontificate . . . conscious of Our own weakness, We feared to undertake a task so urgent, and so fraught with labour.

Nevertheless, since it has pleased the Divine will to raise up Our lowliness to this supreme dignity, We take courage in Him who strengthens Us, and relying on the power of God, We put Our hand to the work, and declare this to be Our sole purpose in the Pontificate, 'to re-establish all things in Christ' (Ephes. i. 10), that in truth 'Christ may be all and in all' (Col. iii. 11). . . . We solemnly declare that We do not wish to be, and with the help of God We shall not be, aught in human society, but the minister of God whose authority We exercise. The interests of God are Ours, and to these We are determined to devote all Our strength and Our very life.

Noble words! and worthy of the Vicar of Christ. But how are they to be carried into effect? Through the active co-operation of his venerable brethren of the episcopate, and under their fostering care, of a holy and zealous priesthood.

It will be your part, venerable brethren, to second Our efforts by your holiness, knowledge, and experience; above all, by your zeal for the glory of God, looking to this alone that Christ be formed in all.

Of the means to be employed in attaining this great end it seems unnecessary to speak, for they are obvious. Let *your first care* be to form Christ in those, who are destined in the exercise of their vocation to form Him in others. We refer to the Priests, venerable brethren. For all who have been raised to the dignity of the priesthood must know that they have the same mission to the people amongst whom they live, as that which Paul proclaimed that he had received, when he spoke these words of ardent affection: 'My little children, of whom I am in labour again, until Christ be formed in you' (Gal. iv. 19). But how will they be able to perform this duty of forming Christ in their people, if they themselves have not first put on Christ? Nay, if they have not so put Him on, that they may apply to themselves the words of the same Apostle: 'I live,

now not I; but Christ liveth in me' (Gal. ii. 20). 'For to me to live is Christ' (Phil. i. 21). Hence, although to all is the exhortation addressed to advance 'unto a perfect man, unto the increase of the age of the fulness of Christ' (Ephes. iv. 13), yet before all others does it concern him who exercises the sacerdotal ministry; who is therefore called 'another Christ,' not merely by reason of the communication of power, but also of the imitation of His works, by which the priest ought to present in himself the express image of Christ.

To the clergy then, and especially to the hard-working missionary clergy, Pius X. looks for the furtherance of the great work he has put before himself as the end of his Pontificate. He esteems worthy of praise those who prosecute the study of useful sciences in every branch of learning, 'that they may be better prepared to defend the truth and refute the calumnies of the enemies of the faith.'

Yet We cannot conceal that We shall always prefer those who, while they neglect not sacred and human learning, dedicate themselves more closely to the welfare of souls through the exercise of those ministries that grace the priest zealous for the Divine glory. 'We have great sadness and continual sorrow in our heart' (Romans ix. 2) to find Jeremiah's lamentation applicable to our times: 'The little ones have asked for bread and there was none to break it to them' (Lam. iv. 4).

But to do this great work effectually they must be fit instruments; they must take to themselves, after the example of Christ, the words of the prophet: 'The spirit of the Lord hath anointed me, to preach the Gospel to the poor; He hath sent me, to heal the contrite of heart, to preach deliverance to the captives and light to the blind' (Luke iv. 18, 19). In other words, they must be imbued with the spirit of their Divine Master, the Model Priest, and inflamed, like Him, with charity and zeal for souls.

Seeing the strong views the Holy Father holds as to the need, above all at the present time, of holy, active, zealous priests, we are not surprised to learn that one of the first acts of his Pontificate was to bestow special marks of his favour on an association that has for special end

the sanctification of the secular clergy—The Apostolic Union of Secular Priests.

A former member of this Association himself, knowing personally the great advantages of it ; what powerful helps to acquire and maintain the true ecclesiastical spirit it supplies ; he hastens to give it his cordial approval and to recommend it most earnestly to the clergy.

A brief account of this Association, of its end and aims and spirit, and what the Holy Father has done for it, will not, we trust, be without interest for the readers of the I. E. RECORD, and may, with God's blessing, be a means of extending more widely its influence for good amongst our faithful Irish clergy.

The Apostolic Union is an Association of secular priests who wish, without being members of a religious community, to foster and practice a truly priestly and apostolic life. It was founded in its original form by the Ven. B. Holzhauser, in the seventeenth century. In the year 1862 it was revived and re-organised by a French canon, Père Lebeurier, who remains to the present day Superior-General of the Union. Under the fostering care of Pius IX., and our late lamented Pontiff, Leo XIII., it is no wonder that it spread rapidly. The former of these two great Popes blessed and encouraged it in three Briefs, and the latter in two. Especially in the notable letter of May 31st, 1880, Leo XIII., having enumerated the many advantages of membership of the Union for priests, goes on :—

Wherefore, if Our Predecessors have recommended this most useful institution by bestowing on it the highest praises, We most freely and readily accord to it the same, especially in these most disastrous times, which are plainly seen to require this assistance. Nay more, We exhort all secular priests, in order the more effectually to provide for their own welfare, as well as for the interests of religion, to enrol their names in this most salutary institute. May they be moved by the manifest design of Divine Providence, which has now again revived this institute for the support of the Church in her time of trial. May they be moved by the heavenly blessings which have enabled this work to progress in a short time with such marvellous rapidity, despite the most serious difficulties.

The Union has at present a membership of about 6,000 priests. Of these Ireland claims about 400.

The *end* which the Union, as the book of rules tells us, has mainly in view is the sanctification of the clergy in their missionary lives among the people. If the priest be holy, his work will be holy. A perfect priest will do a perfect work amongst the souls committed to him. A certain amount of distraction and therefore of difficulty in striving after this perfection is inseparable from the life of a priest on the mission. He will scarcely remain faithful to the rule of life which he proposed to himself in college days unless he has special helps, special graces from God, and special encouragement from his fellow-priests. To win these graces and this encouragement the rules of the Apostolic Union were framed. They draw closer the bond which unites the priest with God in methodical and persevering prayer, and with his fellow-priests in the charities and mutual relations of a priestly brotherhood. They secure for him, without either in their letter or their spirit, withdrawing him from his secular vocation, a large share of the helps, natural and supernatural, that members of religious communities find in their rule and in the companionship and example of their brethren.

The duties of Associates may be summed up in the keeping of the few simple rules of the Union, together with the nightly marking of the Bulletin and the monthly submission of same to the president or other fellow-member of the diocesan branch. These rules require nothing of members beyond what every good priest must do every day if he would maintain himself in the true spirit of his vocation, viz.: the prompt act of rising in the morning, the daily meditation, the morning Mass with preparation and thanksgiving, the daily visit to the Blessed Sacrament, spiritual reading, etc. Simple things, but how important, nay, how essential in the daily life of the missionary priest. Yet how easily neglected. How often he requires a stimulus to practise them faithfully. This stimulus the Apostolic Union supplies.

But the Union aims at something more than the mere

fulfilment of these important duties. Indeed the *chief thing* it has in view is the *spirit* which should animate the members in the performance of them. 'The rules without the spirit would be but a skeleton, and would soon fall to pieces.' '*Spiritus et qui vivificat.*' It is the spirit that clothes these dry bones, and infuses life, and vigour, and zeal for God and souls.

'The spirit which should quicken the Union is no other than a personal love for Jesus Christ, the Model Priest, and a tender yet manly devotion to His Sacred Heart.' And hence the Union is placed under the protection of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Love for that Sacred Heart is the source, not only of the purity and piety of each priestly heart, but also of that sacerdotal charity which knits in closest sympathy the necessarily scattered members of the Union.

The spirit of Jesus Christ is the true ecclesiastical spirit, and the only one that can cope with the spirit of the world in which lie the duties and dangers of the secular priest. The priesthood of Jesus is a high standard, but no lower standard is practical or permissible. Every lapse that has ever saddened the Church has come from lowering, either in theory or in practice, that priestly standard. Every reform that has been effected among the clergy has been brought about by raising again the standard with the motto: *Sacerdos alter Christus.* St. Vincent de Paul, when reviving the priestly spirit in France, never tired of repeating the Apostle's words: 'Vivo ego, jam non ego, vivit vero in me Christus.' And so the Apostolic Union, aiming as it does at securing the perfection of the secular clergy, desires no other spirit to animate and elevate its efforts than the spirit of Jesus Christ.

Mark how beautifully the end and aims and spirit of the Apostolic Union correspond with those of the Holy Father, as shadowed forth to us in that remarkable first Encyclical of his. This coincidence will sufficiently explain, why one of the first acts of his Pontificate was to bestow a special mark of his favour on Père Lebeurier by raising him to the rank of Domestic Prelate, and by acceding to his desire that the Holy Father himself should be the Protector of the Union, instead of a cardinal, as heretofore.

In the *Études Ecclésiastiques*, the official organ of the Union, Mgr. Lebeurier gives a very touching account of the kindly feelings of His Holiness towards the Union, as expressed in his own words, and shown by his many special favours conferred upon it. A brief summary of the account will not, we hope, be without interest for the readers of the I. E. RECORD.

He begins by saying that like all the rest of the world he awaited anxiously the decision of the cardinals assembled in conclave to elect a successor to the universally lamented Leo XIII. After three days the news came that Cardinal Joseph Sarto, Patriarch of Venice, was Pope, under the name of Pius X.

I said, *Deo gratias*. I had a presentiment that the Apostolic Union would have reason to congratulate itself on the choice. I had in mind that Cardinal Sarto was not a stranger to us. I wrote immediately to our Assistant for Italy to know if the new Pope had not been a member of the Institute, and asked him to give me some particulars of his career. He replied that Joseph Sarto had been, as priest, a faithful and zealous member of the Union, and as bishop and patriarch had always encouraged and protected it. He reminded me of the address presented to him by his brother members of the Union on his nomination to the See of Mantua, and of the letter he wrote in reply so full of piety, and humility, and testifying such brotherly affection for *mes chères confrères*, and winding up with the words, 'I shall always feel proud to be inscribed in your pious Association.'

Space does not allow us to give this beautiful and touching letter in full, but we cannot refrain from reproducing the address itself. It is of special interest, showing, as it does, what was thought of him and of his great qualities of head and heart, by those who knew him best, his fellow-members of the Union.

EXCELLENTISSIMO VIRO JOSEPHO SARTO

EPISCOPALI DIGNITATE HONESTATO.

Utpote qui per singulos levitarum gradus ad altiora jure ascendens, egregia virtutum indole, mira ingenii suavitate, animique candore, nemini gravis, acceptus omnibus, insuper doctrinæ opibus consilii maturitate ignito ac paramanter effuso,

Salesii ad instar eloquio adeo enituit ut jampridem communi sententia ecclesiae antistes designaretur, circulus Apostolicus Vicetinae Diœceseos tanto sodali superbiens, laetitiae cultusque sensus ingeminando gratulatur, acclamat, vota nuncupat. Mantua O felix si merita es talem habere pontificem, felicior si hujusmodi patris et pastoris exempla documenta sectaberis. Kal. Oct., MDCCCXXXIV.

He goes on : ' I made up my mind to set out for Rome. It was a duty to offer His Holiness the homage of a special attachment and to seek from him new succour, counsel, and blessing for our dear Union.'

Having consulted and got the approval of the Cardinal-Archbishop of Paris, he decided to start on the 19th Nov. :—

Two days previously looking through my correspondence I found a letter from Rome which I opened *sans emotion* as an ordinary letter. What was my surprise on reading : ' Very Rev. Canon,—I have the honour of announcing to you that the Holy Father . . . has been pleased to admit you amongst the number of his Domestic Prelates, etc. . . .

' Chan. B. Mª. MENGHINI,
' *Carem. Pontif. M.U.Ap.*'

We give here the Brief, in which Pius X. numbers himself amongst the members of the Apostolic Union :—

Dilecte Fili salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Tuum studium in catholicam religionem quod tibi persuasit ut auctor et legifer existeres piae sacerdotum saecularium sociationis, quae apostolicum munus et officium inter catholicos viros navaret et impleret, obsequium singulare tuum erga Nos et hanc Apostolicam Sedem et aliae laudes quibus enites, suffragantibus iisdem sacerdotibus qui se in tuam disciplinam contulerunt, quos inter *et Nos ipsi*, quodam modo Nos impellunt ut ecclesiasticam tibi dignitatem deferamus, quae Nostram in te benevolentiam testatur. Quare. . . .

Assured by this special mark of benevolence on the part of the Pope, he set out for Rome in high hopes of doing good work in the interest of the Union ; had an audience with the Holy Father in company with the Assistant-General for Italy, and a few other members of the Institute :—

I offered to His Holiness the sentiments of veneration,

obedience, and love of the priests of the Union. . . . He replied —in Latin—that he was happy to hear of these sentiments, which he believed to be sincere, because he knew the priests of the Union, and had always seen them *inter bonos sacerdotes optimos*. He added that he esteemed very highly this work for the priesthood, that he wished to see it prosper, and that he would do all in his power to favour and extend it.

I told him how greatly this benevolence of the Vicar of Christ touched and encouraged us; adding how desirable it would be that this testimony of his good-will should be made known to our brothers by some authentic document. 'You mean a Brief? A Brief shall be given you.' I reminded him that Leo XIII. had given the Apostolic Union a Cardinal Protector, the late Cardinal Parocchi, but that if it pleased His Holiness, I would not ask him for a Cardinal Protector. He smiled, and said: 'Very well, I will be your Protector.'

In a subsequent audience granted December 9th, His Holiness showed the greatest interest in the work of the Union, and gave the reasons why he did so. First of all, the Union has for object to give pious priests to the Church, and this is the greatest good it could propose to itself, for piety is useful for all things; if it is not all, it is the source of all that is good and desirable in the priest; and the pious priest is the greatest treasure of the faithful people. Secondly, to secure piety, the Union employs a means which is *necessary* and *suffices*, namely, regularity in the practice of spiritual exercises. And here he named the several exercises prescribed by the rule, adding that it was impossible to fulfil these faithfully without becoming and remaining good priests. And lastly, to maintain this regularity the Union uses a means, apparently little, but in reality powerful and efficacious—the daily marking of the Bulletin and the monthly submission of same to the diocesan president of the Union. Great good is sure to be the recompense of fidelity to this practice.

Therefore [he concluded] redouble your zeal to draw to the Union as many priests as possible. Isolation is a cause of weakness and moral ruin for many. Many will be saved through the Union who would be lost without its succours, and those who would be good without it will be better as members of it. Encourage all the Associates and tell them, 'Le Pape est toujours le premier prêtre de l'Union Apostolique.'

I told the Holy Father that he would be our Father by a triple bond :—Father of the faithful, Father of the clergy; Father especially of the members of the Apostolic Union; that we also would be his children by a triple love, and a triple devotion, that he might count on our fervent prayers every day for his preservation and for the blessing of God on his labours.

The Brief promised by His Holiness was expedited without delay. This important document appeared in the May number of the I. E. RECORD, and we commend it to our readers as worthy of serious study. The many new and special privileges it confers on members show how highly His Holiness appreciates the good work the Union is doing for the secular clergy, and how desirous he is to extend its influence for good amongst them for their own sanctification and for the welfare of the people committed to their care.

He begins it by saying that nothing is nearer to his heart than to see those who are called to the sacred ministry as shining lights, giving an example of every virtue to the Christian people, and, therefore, like his predecessors, he is anxious to promote every good work that tends to the spiritual good of the Catholic clergy.

Knowing how useful to the Church above all in these difficult times, is this Institute of the Apostolic Union—of which We ourselves were once a member, and whose utility and excellence We know from personal experience, and in whose advantages We participated even after Our elevation to the episcopal dignity—knowing that those who are members of it *prae omnibus optimos esse*, therefore, responding to the petition of Our dear son, V. Lebeurier, honorary Canon of Orleans, Prelate of Our House, Founder and Superior-General of the Apostolic Union for forty-two years, We most willingly, for the good and the increase of the Institute, grant the following favours.

That all may know how We value the Institute, and as a singular pledge of Our paternal love, We take and reserve to Ourselves the patronage of it.

In order that present members may be strengthened in their attachment to the Union by the help of spiritual favours, and that others for their own good and for the advantage of their sacred ministry may be induced to join the Union, the Holy Father grants in perpetuity to

all who are or will be in the future members of it, and who will have made the *promissio stabilitatis* according to rule, and as long as they shall remain in it :—

1. A plenary indulgence, on the conditions mentioned in the Brief, on the great feasts of our Lord, of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Twelve Apostles.

2. An indulgence of 100 days to the same every time they send monthly Bulletin for inspection on condition of saying, with a contrite heart, one *Pater*, *Ave*, and *Gloria* for the intention of the Roman Pontiff.

3. One hundred days if, with contrite heart, they attend the monthly renovation made in common.

N.B.—All these indulgences are applicable to the souls in Purgatory.

4. The faculty of celebrating for a grave reason the Holy Sacrifice an hour before the Aurora.

5. The faculty of a privileged altar three times a week.

6. The faculty 'nunc et in posterum extra Urbem de consensu Ordinarii loci' of blessing beads, crosses, medals, statues, and of applying indulgences to them as stated in Brief.

7. The faculty of imparting the Papal Benediction with plenary indulgence on the last day of the Lenten and Advent sermons, and at the close of Retreats and Missions, as stated in Brief.

The above favours are in addition to those already enjoyed by members, the chief of which are :—1. A plenary indulgence on day of enrolment ; 2. A full participation in the prayers, penances, and merits of the Franciscan, Theatine, Carmelite, and Dominican Orders, etc. ; 3. The power of erecting the Stations of the Cross with the written consent of the Ordinary of the diocese ; 4. The power of applying to crucifixes the indulgences of the Stations ; 5. An indulgence of 100 days once a day on saying the prayer of the Union : *Domine Jesu*.

It is to be hoped that the evident desire of the Holy Father for the extension of the Union, and the many great spiritual favours he has graciously granted to members, may induce many more priests to join it, and avail of the

many helps it affords to preserve and cultivate more and more the true spirit of their holy state.

There are at present eleven branches of the Union in Ireland. We should be glad to see one in every diocese. Six members are sufficient for the formation of a branch, but the formal consent of the bishop of the diocese is in all cases required. As an additional inducement, we may add that all members after death have annually, in the month of November, the benefit of about 6,000 Masses offered for them by their living brethren.

JAMES BUSHER, M.SS.,
Assistant for Ireland.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

THE JUBILEE—USE OF PROBABLE OPINIONS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Can a person safely use a probable opinion in fulfilling the conditions prescribed for gaining the Jubilee? Can a confessor safely use a probable opinion in conferring on Jubilee penitents the special privileges granted on the occasion of the Jubilee? A reply to these questions in an early number of the I. E. RECORD will be useful to your readers.

SACERDOS.

A clear distinction must be drawn with our correspondent between the indulgence of the Jubilee and the privileges of the Jubilee.

(1.) If there be question of the indulgence of the Jubilee a probable fulfilment of the prescribed conditions will not avail to certainly gain this indulgence. This is the opinion of nearly all authorities. They found their teaching (*a*) on the nature of the connection which exists between the prescribed conditions and the indulgence. The indulgence is a favour which is attached by the Church to certain conditions. Whoever fulfils these conditions gains the favour. Whoever does not fulfil the prescribed conditions does not gain the favour. Now a person who acts on a probable opinion does not in reality fulfil the conditions of the Jubilee if the opinion on which he acts be not objectively the true teaching. Hence a probable opinion will not suffice to certainly gain the indulgence. (*b*) A decision of the S. Ind. Cong.[1] favours this view :—'Quod si aliquod ex operibus injunctis vel omnino vel in parte notabili *sive per inscientiam, sive per negligentiam, impotentiam vel quacunque alia causa* non servetur aut praetermittatur, indulgentiae minime acquiruntur.' Hence theologians reasonably

[1] 18th February, 1835.

conclude that the Church does not wish to supply the indulgence when the prescribed conditions are not for any reason fulfilled with substantial integrity.

Bouquillon[2] and Bastien[3] hold that if there be question not of a condition itself, but rather of the *exact way* in which a condition is to be fulfilled, the indulgence will be gained if a solidly probable way of performing the prescribed work be observed. They note that in this case the indulgence is gained not because the Church supplies, but because when a solidly probable way of performing a certain condition is adopted then the prescribed condition is substantially fulfilled. This opinion has a considerable degree of probability. We do not think, however, that it is by any means certain. Hence we would advise those who wish to gain the indulgence of the Jubilee not to put it in practice except in case of necessity.

(2.) If there be question of the privileges of absolution from reserved sins and censures, commutation of vows, and dispensation from an irregularity, theologians commonly hold that a confessor can safely use a solidly probable opinion in exercising his power, exactly in the same way in which he can use a solidly probable opinion in the exercise of similar powers which he may have outside Jubilee times. This opinion is commonly held because no clear reason for making a distinction between these powers given during Jubilee times and similar powers given at other times can be pointed out. The same necessity on the part of the faithful, and the same doubt on the part of the law, exist in both cases. So long, then, as the Church does not reject the common opinion of theologians in this matter, we think it safe in practice to hold that the Church supplies jurisdiction if the solidly probable opinion be, as a matter of fact, not correct.

Theologians, however, warn confessors not to do anything which would endanger the gaining of the indulgence itself. They give, as an example, the case in which the confessor has only probable power to pro-

[2] *Com. in Jub.*, 1886.
[3] *Tractatus de Jubilaeo Anni Sancti aliisque Jubilaeis*, p. 57.

rogue a Jubilee in favour of some classes of penitents. He ought not use that probable power, except in case of necessity, because if the probable opinion be not correct the Jubilee is not prorogued by the confessor. It is by no means certain that the same rule does not apply to the commutation of the prescribed works. At least it is not at all so commonly held by theologians that a probable opinion with regard to this privilege will urge the Church to supply if the probable opinion be wrong. Hence, we think that confessors, except in case of necessity, ought not to act on a merely probable opinion in commuting the prescribed works.[4]

OBLIGATION OF TRAVELLERS TO OBSERVE THE SATURDAY ABSTINENCE

REV. DEAR SIR,—The law of abstinence on Saturdays during the year does not bind in Ireland. If an Irishman, retaining his home in this country, travel during vacation in those parts of Italy where the law of abstinence on Saturday still binds, is he bound to abstain in accordance with that law ?

VIATOR.

A traveller is bound by the general laws of the Church which bind in the place where he is travelling, even though they do not bind in his own country. The law of Saturday abstinence is a general law of the Church, although it has disappeared in many places owing to custom or dispensation.[5] Hence the traveller, mentioned by our correspondent, is bound *per se* to observe the law in those places where it binds. The S. Cong. Inq.[6] upheld this teaching when it stated that travellers from Belgium in which the bishops, by virtue of special power, dispensed from Saturday abstinence, are bound to observe that law of abstinence in places where it binds.

Per accidens, a traveller may be very easily excused from

[4] Loiseaux, p. 95 *seqq* ; Bastien, p. 57.

[5] Gregory XVI., 17th December, 1831, granted our Irish Bishops power to dispense the faithful from the Saturday abstinence. The Bishops exercised this power in 1832 in a Pastoral Letter which ist o be found in the I. E. RECORD, 1st series, vol. ix., p. 142.

[6] 10th January, 1855.

the observance of this law. Apart from the case of a personal dispensation the difficulty of obtaining suitable abstinence food is often sufficient excuse. In Italy, the law of abstinence on Saturday is not very faithfully observed. Because of this and other reasons it is not easy at times to procure good abstinence fare at the hotels. It would be unreasonable to expect a traveller to abstain in such circumstances. Moreover, many Catholic hotels and pensions in Italy have procured a dispensation from the Saturday abstinence for their guests. Even those who stay for a very brief period at these hotels and pensions may enjoy this dispensation. J. M. HARTY.

LITURGY

(*a*) SAYING A MASS 'DE COMMUNI' WHEN 'PROPER' IS WANTING; (*b*) WHETHER 'VOTIVE' IS LAWFUL IN CASE

REV. DEAR SIR,—I shall feel thankful if the following difficulty were answered in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD :—

(1.) A priest finds himself about to say a private Mass on ordinary week-day. On examining the Missal beforehand he discovers that the Mass for the day is not there ; the Missal being old, and the saint recently canonized. He had previously thought that he had procured all the recent Masses and inserted them in the Missal, and just now he finds his mistake. What is he to do ? He finds himself perplexed. Is he permitted, in order not to have to omit celebrating altogether, to say either a Votive Mass, or take the Mass from the Common ? Not thinking either permissible, he abstains from celebrating that morning ; not, however, without keen disappointment. Of course, he orders at once from the publishers the Mass required.

(2.) In case he had found himself vested on the altar before he finds out his mistake, or, again, that it was a feast day of obligation, how is he to manage ? CURATE.

Our correspondent has an exalted idea of the reverence due to the Rubrics of the Missal, and we hope that his veneration for them will only increase with the progress of his missionary experience. At the same time he was, perhaps, a little too scrupulous in omitting to say Mass in

the circumstances which he has described. He might, we think, without much hesitation have made up his conscience to take the Mass from the Common. When a priest has been habitually careful about furnishing his Missal with the most recent Masses and keeping it, so to speak, up to date, he need not have much scruple on an occasion in saying *de Communi* a Mass the proper parts of which he is not provided with. There is, indeed, very little difference oftentimes between a special Mass that has been granted for a particular saint and the Mass found in the Common of the class to which the saint belongs. As a rule it will be found that both coincide except in the Collect and, possibly, the Epistle and Gospel. Assuming there is no special reason for saying the Mass *proper*, we think any slight cause, such as a desire to celebrate *ex devotione*, is enough to warrant a priest in taking the Mass *de Communi*. Much more would he be justified in this course of action if there was any necessity or obligation of celebrating. Of the two alternatives, then, suggested as a way out of the difficulty in which our correspondent finds himself, this is the most approved and the one to be followed in practice.

But could our correspondent say a Votive Mass in the case ? Though not distinctly stated, we presume the office of the day is at least of double rite ; for, if it were not, then there would be perfect liberty of choice between a festive and Votive Mass. This being so the alternative of a Votive Mass is not allowable, because of the Liturgical law prescribing uniformity between the Office and Mass on doubles and days of higher rite. Indeed, there is a desire on the part of the Church expressed in the Rubrics that this uniformity should be universally observed : '*Quoad fieri potest Missa cum Officio conveniat*;'[1] the reason being that the Office is regarded as a preparation for the Mass, and that both are intended to mutually contribute towards honouring and commemorating the same object. But it is only where the Office is of the dignity explained that this uniformity becomes a matter of obligation and strict precept. The

[1] *Miss. Rom. Rub.*, tit. iv., n. 8.

rule admits certain well-known exceptions, especially in favour of Masses for the Dead and solemn Votive Masses. Discussing the obligation of conforming the Mass to the office, St. Liguori[2] asks whether it is not a serious fault to say a Votive Mass on a day on which it is not allowed by the Rubrics. After citing theologians for the affirmative side, he himself seems to lean to the negative opinion, provided that there is no scandal or contempt implied. He was influenced by this consideration, 'quia non videtur in hoc ad esse notabilis perversio ritus.' If, therefore, it is only a slight fault against the Rubrics not to conform the Mass to the office it is possible to conceive circumstances—but not those we are considering—in which the thing might be justified. After what has been said it will be seen that the second hypothesis our correspondent makes presents no difficulty. If it is lawful to say *de Communi* a Mass the *proper* parts of which are not had for almost any reason whatever, *a fortiori* it is lawful to so act in any of the contingencies contemplated.

We would wish to add a word to remind priests of their obligation of keeping the Missals thoroughly up to date. Sometimes Missals are used that are old, shabby, and dilapidated. These should be replaced by books worthy to be used in the solemn surroundings of the altar, of suitable type, size, and binding. From time to time, too, copies of the latest Masses should be obtained from the publisher, and carefully inserted in an appendix at the end.

MAY VOTIVE MASS OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION BE SAID 8th JUNE?

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly say if it is lawful to say the Votive Mass of the Immaculate Conception on the 8th June, next. My reason for doubting is, that although the day is within a privileged octave, still the Octave of Corpus Christi admits the offices of doubles minor occurring. An early reply will greatly oblige.
Yours, SACERDOS.

We do not think that the Votive Mass of the Immaculate

[2] *Theol. Mor.*, lib. vi., n. 420.

Conception may be said within the Octave of Corpus Christi. For the General Decree of August last makes no distinction between the privileged octaves, but simply says that the Mass may not be said within them. Hence we do not see how any exception can be made. In this event the Mass may be said on the Sunday following, in accordance with the provisions of the Decree above mentioned.

CALENDAR TO BE FOLLOWED WHERE AN ORDER EXERCISES THE CHAPLAINCY

REV. DEAR SIR,—A priest, whether secular or regular, who is chaplain to a community or institution is bound to follow the Calendar of the place, at least in the *capella principalis*. Is this also true where the chaplaincy is entrusted not to an individual priest, but rather to a religious Order or Congregation? I have heard it contended that a distinction is to be made in the latter instance and, consequently, that the Calendar of the Order is to be followed.—Yours,

PERPLEXUS.

The two following questions were proposed for solution to the Congregation of Rites. It was asked :—

I. In Ecclesiis alicui Religiosae Familiae concreditis, sacerdotes exteri in illis celebrantes tenentur ne sequi Calendarium ejusdem Familiae proprium, si habeatur?

II. Num idem dicendum sit de Ecclesiis quae non Religiosae Familiae, sed tantum alicui personae privatae, etsi ad eandem Familiam pertinenti, commissae sunt?[3]

The answer to the first query was in the affirmative. to the second in the negative. Here, then, a distinction is evidently made. The first decision implies that 'in Ecclesiis alicui Religiosae Familiae concreditis,' the Calendar of the Religious *Familia*, to which the charge of the community is entrusted, is to be followed, while this Calendar is not to be the rule of the place where an individual priest—even though a member of the Order—is charged with the care of the community. If the community ministered to has a special Calendar, this is to be respected as well as any

[3] S.R.C. Decr., n. 4057.

privileges granted in the way of special Masses. When, then, is a church or community said to be 'alicui Religiosae Familiae concredita'? We will give the meaning of the phrase in the words of the *Ephemerides Liturgicae*[4]:— 'Domus dicitur alicui Congregationi concredita, si ea non solum quoad Missam celebrandum, sed etiam quoad regimen Congregationi ipsi commissa sit ab Episcopo ita ut nemo, Ordinario dioecesano excepto aliquod jus in illa exercere valeat.' An Order, then, or Congregation charged not only with the duty of saying the Masses for a community, but also with a certain full jurisdiction over it, may follow its own Calendar for the reason, seemingly, that the community comes under its *regimen*.

P. MORRISROE.

[4] February 1904, pp. 120-1.

CORRESPONDENCE

EDUCATED LAITY IN PAROCHIAL ASSOCIATIONS

REV. DEAR SIR,—May I offer a suggestion in reference to the Associations of the Sacred Heart, etc., which exist in almost every parish? It is, that a branch, say, of the Association in Honour of the Sacred Heart should be established in every college and convent boarding-school. The result of this, apart from the benefit to the college and to the individual student, would be :—

(1) The erroneous idea that these Associations are only for the common people would be done away with;

(2) The educated laity would have practical experience of the working of the Association and would thus be prepared to take their places in this great parochial work;

(3) They would be brought into touch with the people, and would be afforded an opportunity of doing social work.

As regards the working of the Association in the schools, a monthly meeting and a general Communion is easily arranged. And a small council of senior students, with a president, if necessary, from the professors, would govern the Association, and keep in touch with past members, receiving reports of their work in their respective parishes, thus encouraging these past students and stimulating the zeal of the college Association.—Yours faithfully,

SACERDOS.

DOCUMENTS

LETTER OF POPE PIUS X TO THE GENERAL OF THE INSTITUTE OF CHARITY

DILECTO FILIO, RELIGIOSO VIRO, BERNARDINO BALSARI,

PRAEPOSITO GENERALI INSTITUTI A CARITATE

PIUS PP. X.

Dilecte Fili, religiose vir, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Equidem gaudemus pium, cui praesides, Institutum eam praeseferre benemerendi de Ecclesia industriam, ut iure videatur a Caritate duxisse nomen. Cognitum enim est, quam diligenter utiliterque non modo apud vestrates, sed apud exteros quoque, maxime in Anglia, ad incrementum religionis, ad salutem animarum laboretis.

Quapropter, quod ipse vehementer cupis, id Nos libenter facimus, ut divinam benignitatem coeptis operisque vestris, bene precando, conciliemus. Idque eo libentius facimus, quia ex litteris officii plenis, quas abs te proxime accepimus, impensum studium amoremque perspicere licuit, quo erga Apostolicam Sedem affecti estis. Pergite, dilecti filii, mente animoque cum Romano Pontifice coniuncti, secundum praescripta Instituti vestri pro Ecclesia contendere ; et vobis ubertas, quam enixe imploramus, supernorum munerum, nunquam defuerit.

Horum auspicem eamdemque benevolentiae Nostrae paternae testem, tibi, dilecti Fili, religiose vir, et universae tum Societati a Caritate tum etiam Sodalitati sanctimonialium a Providentia, quibus item praesides, Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die X. Februarii, an. MDCCCCIV., Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

PIUS PP. X.

INDULGENCES FOR THE CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY OF IRELAND

PROT. S. 8562.

EX AUDIENTIA HABITA DIE 26 JANUARII 1904.

SSmus. D. N. Pius divina prov. PP. X., referente me infrascripto S. Congnis. de Prop. Fide Secrio. omnibus ac singulis

utriusque sexus Christifidelibus piae Societatis Veritatis Catholicae in Hibernia promovendae adscriptis, vel in posterum, adscribendis, qui ecclesiam ipsius societatis vel propriam cujusque parochialem devote visitaverint in festis SSmae. Trinitatis, Immaculatae B. Mariae Virginis, S. Patritii, Ep. C., S. Lurentii, Ep. Conf., et S. Birgittae Virginis, vel Dominicis diebus festa eadem immediate subsequentibus; dummodo vere poenitentes, confessi, ac Sacra Communione refecti, per aliquod temporis spatium pias ad Deum preces effuderint pro Sanctae Fidei propagatione et juxta Summi Pontificis intentionem, plenariam Indulgentiam valituram et applicabilem quoque per modum suffragii Animabus in Purgatorio detentis, benigne concedit atque in Domino misericorditer impertitur.

Concedit insuper Sanctitas Sua iisdem Christifidelibus partialem Indulgentiam centum dierum, applicabilem quoque ut supra, quoties vel alium ad se aggregandum praefatae Societati induxerint, vel comitiis sive generalibus sive localibus, juxta ipsius Societatis Constitutiones habendis, interfuerint, ac contrito corde sequentia quocumque idiomate recitaverint.

'*Veni Sancte Spiritus reple tuorum corda fidelium et tui amoris in eis ignem accende.*'

V. *Emitte Spiritum tuum et creabuntur.*

R. *Et renovabis faciem terrae.*

OREMUS.

Mentes nostras, quaesumus Domine, Paraclitus qui a Te procedit illuminat; et inducat in omnem, sicut tuus promisit Filius, veritatem: qui tecum vivit et regnat, etc. Praesentibus valituris in perpetuum.

Datum Romae in Aed. ejusdem S. Congregationis de Prop. Fide, die et anno ut supra.

Pro R.P.D. Secretio,

JOANNES BRUNI, *Off.*

✠ GULIELMUS,

Archiep. Dublinen. Hiberniae Primas.

[The Plenary Indulgence mentioned above can be gained by annual subscribers as well as by those who have signed the roll of membership.—ED. I. E. RECORD.]

APOSTOLIC VISITATION OF ROMAN CHURCHES

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

PIUS EPISCOPUS

SERVUS SERVORUM DEI

Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Pii Divina Providentia Papae X.

INDICTIO VISITATIONIS APOSTOLICAE OMNIUM ECCLESIARUM ET LOCORUM PIORUM ALMAE URBIS.

Universo clero et populo romano, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem,

Quum, arcano Dei consilio, ad supremi apostolatus apicem, nihil tale cogitantes, evecti fuimus, illud ex ore Domini audire visi Nobis sumus: *Pasce agnos meos, pasce oves meas;* quo scilicet intelligeremus, universae Ecclesiae Nobis procuratione commissa, debere Nos *impendere* Nos ipsos ac *superimpendere* pro salute omnium, aequo studio, provehenda. At vero illud primum perspeximus romano, populo, episcopos Nos esse datos: non enim aliter quam ob romanum Episcopatum, et Beati Petri conscendimus Cathedram, et catholici nominis supremum gerimus pontificatum. Quamobrem huc etiam, ante omnia, curas Nobis advertendas esse sensimus, ut Ecclesiae huius utilitatibus, ecclesiarum caeterarum nobilissimae, praecipua studiorum Nostrorum laborumque impenderemus. Idque eo vel amplius imponitur Nobis, quod, cum Roma, divinis praeordinationibus, catholicae unitatis centrum sit constituta, unde lux veritatis, quae in omnium gentium revelatur saltutem, tamquam a capite per totum mundi corpus effundatur; necesse omnino est ut inde etiam Christi bonus odor ad fideles omnes permaneat, atque ex ea pariter credendi lex ac vivendi exemplum petatur. Quam igitur Nobis instaurationem omnium in Christo proposuimus, a Clero populoque romano exordia capiat oportet; ita ut, renovato spiritu, quotquot e sacro vel laicorum ordine in hac Urbe versantur, sanctitatis et iustitiae semitas, tempestate licet virtuti infensissima, alacrius instituant percurrendas.

Hanc ob rem, pastoralem Visitationem, pro episcopali munere suscipiendam decrevimus; eamque, ad Omnipotentis Dei ladum et honorem, ac Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae exaltationem, per praesentes litteras indicimus; quae a Sacrosancta Lateranensi Basilica inchoabitur Dominica in Albis, in caeteris postea tam patriarchalibus, quam collegiatis et parochialibus ecclesiis ear-

umque capitulis et personis, item monasteriis, Conventibus et Ecclesiis quorumvis Ordinum tam virorum quam mulierum, Collegiis, Confraternitatibus laicorum aliisque locis ecclesiasticae potestati subiectis peragenda.

Hanc quidem Visitationem Nos per Nos ipsos instituere magnopere cuperemus. At quoniam per adversa temporum prohibemur ; Decessorum etiam Nostrorum exemplis usi, Viris dignitate, doctrina ac rerum experientia praestantibus tanti momenti negotium dare statuimus, quibus et necessarias facultates et instructiones opportunas ad commissum officium rite exequendum trademus.—Quare Dilectum Filium Nostrum Petrum Tituli Sanctorum Quatuor Coronatorum S.R.E. Presbyterum Cardinalem Respighi, Nostrum in Urbe in Spiritualibus Vicarium Generalem, eligimus et deputamus ut dictam Visitationem Nostro Nomine Nostraque Auctoritate peregat eique praesit ; eidemque adiungimus nonnullos Antistites et Romanae Curiae Praelatos, nimirum Venerabiles Fratres Iosephum Ceppetelli Patriarcham Constantinopolitanum, Henricum Grazioli Archiepiscopum Nicopolitanum, Nicolaum Iosephum Camilli Archiepiscopum Tomitanum, Maurum Nardi Episcopum Thebanum, qui Secretarii munere fungetur, Raphaelem Virili Episcopum Troadensem, et dilectos Filios Basilium Pompili, cui Assessoris officium committimus, Gulielmum Sebastianelli, quem iudicem causarum et executorem decretorum Visitationis constituimus, Benedictum Melata, Petrum Piacenza, Fredricum Polidori, Ioannem Baptistam Nasalli-Rocca, Ludovicum Schüller, Ioannem M. Zonghi, Alexandrum Avòli, Evaristum Lucidi et Augustum Sili. Insuper nominamus dilectos Filios Bonifacium Oslaender Monachum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti Congregationis Cassinensis Abbatem Monasterii S. Pauli extra Urbem, Paulum a Plebe Contronis Concionatorem Apostolicum Def. Gen. Ordinis Capulatorum, Hyacinthum M^a^ Cormier Proc. Gen. Ordinis Praedicatorum et Aloisium Palliola Congregationis SSmi Redemptoris, ut operam suam in iis praesertim navent, quae ad religiosas utriusque sexus familias pertinent. Quod si porro opus esse videbitur, alios praeterea idoneos e clero viros ad eumdem effectum designabimus.

Quum vero, in tanto opere peragendo, maioris momenti res occurrere procul dubio necesse erit ; volumus hasce deferri ad Sacram Congregationem Venerabilium Fratrum et Dilectorum Filiorum Nostrorum S.R.E. Cardinalium negotiis Visitationis

Apostolicae ecclesiarum Urbis praepositorum, qui, maturo examine adhibito, sententiam deinde Nobis aperiant.

Ne autem, in id operis, auxilium ab Eo petere praetermittamus, a quo est omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum, publicas haberi supplicationes ac praesertim Sacramentum augustum, in patriarchalibus Basilicis aliisque templis publice ac solemni ritu proponi mandamus, additis etiam sacrarum indulgentiarum muneribus, prout per Cardinalem Vicarium fusius edicendum curabimus.

Hortamur igitur romanum clerum et populum ne in vacuum gratiam Dei recipiat; sed, optatis Nostris studiosissime obsecundantes, ad felicem exitum sacrae Visitationis, pro sua quisque conditione adlaboret. Utinam, emendatis moribus, aucta sacrarum aedium reverentia, festis diebus sancte servatis, omnique virtutum genere exculto, Urbs, quae Petri Sede illustratur, sit universo terrarum orbi dux et magistra sanctitatis!

Speramus equidem atque adeo confidimus Deum clementissimum benigne industriis Nostris adfuturum. Ope namque utimur et imploratione potentissima Immaculatae Genitricis Christi, cui, hoc anno, a romano populo, aeque ac a fidelibus caeteris, peculiares adhibentur honores; nec non precibus Apostolorum Petri et Pauli aliorumque Caelitum, qui Urbem Nostram vel irrigarunt sanguine vel virtutibus consecrarunt.

Datum Romae, apud Sanctum Petrum, anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo noningentesimo quarto, tertio Idus Februarii, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

A. Card. Di Pietro, *Pro-Dat.*

A. Card. Macchi.

Visa:

De Cvria I. De Aqvila e Vicecomitibvs.

Loco ✠ Plumbi

Reg. in Secret. Brevium.

V. Cvgnonivs.

FACULTIES FOR THE VISITATION OF ROMAN CHURCHES

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI PII DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE X. LITTERAE IN FORMA BREVIS, QUIBUS AMPLISSIMAE FACULTATES PRO APOSTOLICA VISITATIONE IN URBE PERAGENDA CONCEDUNTUR.

DILECTO FILIO NOSTRO PETRO TITULI SS. QUATUOR INCORONA-

TORUM, S.R.E. PRESBYTERO CARDINALI RESPIGHI, NOSTRO IN URBE, EIUSQUE DISTRICTU VICARIO IN SPIRITUALIBUS GENERALI, VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS ANTISTITIBUS, AC DILECTIS FILIIS ROMANAE CURIAE PRAELATIS, PRO VISITATIONE ECCLESIARUM, ET LOCORUM PIORUM ALMAE URBIS INSTITUTA SPECIALITER DEPUTATIS.

PIVS PAPA X.

Dilecte Fili Noster, Venerabiles Fratres ac dilecti Filii, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem,

Quae Nostra fuerit mens in indicenda Sacris Visitatione omnium Ecclesiarum piorumque Locorum Almae Urbis, Nostrae sub plumbo Litterae nuper editae, quarum initium '*Quum arcano Dei consilio*' satis aperte testantur. Vestrum nunc studium, diligentiam, vigilantiam requirimus, Dilecti Fili Noster, Venerabiles Fratres ac dilecti filii, quos in hoc munere elegimus ac deputavimus. Ne quid ergo ministerium vestrum impediat, immo ut Vobis praesto sint omnia, quae ad illud sancte ac feliciter obeundum conferre possint, exemplo Romanorum Pontificum Praedecessorum Nostrorum amplissimis Vos facultatibus instruere decrevimus, quas in primis, Tibi, dilecte Fili Noster, qui nomine Nostro Visitationem peragis, eidemque praeesse debes, Vobisque omnibus et Vestrum cuilibet per hasce in forma Brevis Litteras communicamus, nimirum :

I. Mandata quaecumque circa Visitationem ipsam, eaque durante etiam vivae vocis oraculo per Vos a Nobis accepta, illis ad quos ea res pertinet, referendi et oretenus per Nos ordinata mandandi, quibus relationi, ac mandatis vestris et cuiuslibet vestrum Nostro nomine factis plenam et indubiam fidem adhiberi, ac firmiter obtemperari tamquam mandatis Nostris Apostolicis volumus et iubemus.

II. Mandata et praecepta quaecumque necessaria et opportuna illis in rebus, quae Visitationis praeparationem, statum, progressum et executionem concernunt, decernendi, faciendi atque exequi iubendi.

III. Personas quasque tam Ecclesiasticas saeculares et regulares cuiusvis Ordinis et Instituti, quam laicas pro rebus et negotiis ad Visitationem pertinentibus ad Vos vocandi et ad personaliter coram Vobis comparendum citandi, opportunisque iuris et facti remediis compellendi.

IV. Personas easdem et tamquam principales et tamquam testes, seu tamquam principales quoad se, et tamquam testes quoad alios, examinandi, et ut veritati testimonium perhibeant, admonendi, atque etiam cogendi, iuramenta eis deferendi, et ab ipsis exigendi et recipiendi ad Sacrorum Canonum praescriptum, ac recusantes per Censuras Ecclesiasticas, aliasque poenas Vobis benevisas compescendi.

V. Libellos supplices et memorialia etiam Nobis inscripta et directa, atque instructiones, relationes, delationes, querelas, etiam secretas contra quascumque personas accipiendi, et Nobis referendi, seu alias, prout rerum et personarum qualitas requiret, iuxta Ordinationes Nostras ex Auctoritate Vobis tradita providendi.

VI. Congregationes aliquarum personarum, quae Vobis in consilium super praemissis adhibendae videbuntur faciendi, easdemque personas Auctoritate Nostra vocandi, et cum eis de negociis Visitationis tractandi, consultandi et deliberandi.

VII. Unum sive plures Commissarium, seu Fiscalem, nec non Cancellarium, itemque Ratiocinatorem, aliosque ministros, quibus in opere Visitationis utamini, eligendi et deputandi, electum sive electos toties quoties Vobis videbitur removendi t alium sive alios subrogandi.

VIII. Quotiescumque videbitur atque etiam seorsum a Te, dilecte Fili Noster, qui Nostro nomine Visitationem peragis, eidemque praeesse debes, vobisque omnibus, Venerabilis Fratres ac dilecti filii, et iteratis vicibus quarumvis dictae Urbis, seu extra illam, intra tamen illius Districtum consistentium Ecclesiarum omnium etiam ab ipsius Urbis Vicarii ordinaria iurisdictione exemptis, sublatis abrogatisque, ad hunc dumtaxat effectum, Sacrae nempe Visitationis, quacumque veteri consuetudine sive Apostolicis Constitutionibus, nec non universim quibuslibet iuribus ac privilegiis speciali vel etiam specialissima mentione dignis, Patriarchalium, Collegiatarum seu aliarum Ecclesiarum etiam S.R.E. Cardinalium ratione Tituli aut denominatione sui Cardinalitus et alias quomodolibet vel ex quavis causa subiectarum, seu cuiusvis capellae vel Oratorii, nec non Monasteriorum tam Virorum quam Mulierum, Prioratuum, Domorum et Locorum saecularium, seu cuiuslibet Ordinis etiam Mendicantium, Congregationis aut Instituti Regularium, aut Hospitalium quantumvis exemptorum, Nobisque et Apostolicae Sedi immediate subiectorum, et generaliter quorumcumque Locorum et operum

piorum quomodolibet nuncupatorem et quocumque privilegio, exemptione et immunitate suffultorum, etiam si de iis specifica et individua mentio habenda foret, eorumque Capitulorum, Conventuum, Universitatum, Collegiorum, Congregationum, Confraternitatum, Archiconfraternitatum etiam Laicorum, etiam nullo alio speciali Nostro expectato ordine vel mandato, aut etiam requisito consensu, vel licentia, Visitationem faciendi, et illa et quaelibet illorum visitandi, et in illorum statum, formam, regulas, instituta, regimen, statuta, consuetudines, vitamque, ritus, mores, disciplinam, doctrinam et idoneitatem singularum personarum coniunctim vel divisim, et tam in capite, quam in membris, nec non circa divinum cultum, religiosas functiones, Ecclesiarum decorem, fructuum et reddituum dispositionem, regularem Religiosorum tam Virorum quam Mulierum observantiam, aliaque omnia et singula ad actum huiusmodi Visitationis quomodolibet spectantia, diligenter inquirendi, et ad hunc effectum quaecumque illorum Archiva, Bibliothecas, et quaecumque in illis continentur documenta et instrumenta authentica, scripturas, libros rationum dati et accepti, computa et ratiocinia perlustrandi, inspiciendi, perscrutandi ; praesertim vero SSmum. Eucharistiae Sacramentum et Sacras Reliquias et quibus Augustissimum Sacramentum et Sacrae Reliquiae, et res ad alia Ecclesiastica Sacramenta pertinentes continentur, S. Vasa, Pyxides, thecas, tabernacula ; nec non indumenta, ornamenta et instrumenta, utensilia, et suppellectilem ecclesiasticam, etiam pretiosam, diligenter et accurate inspiciendi, et ad praedicta exhibendum quascumque personas cogendi et compellendi ; et in praemissis omnibus et singulis quacumque correctione, emendatione et refermatione indigere cognoveritis, corrigendi, emendandi et reformandi, uniendi, transferendi, in melius immutandi, processusque necessarios desuper faciendi, et Nobis referendi, seu iuxta ordinationes Nostras in his opportune providendi, mandata, decreta, statuta et ordinationes executioni demandandi, ac custodiri et observari praecipiendi, demum omnia alia et singula quae huiusmodi Visitationis negocium, ulteriorem progressum, executionem, et in ea facta et facienda mandata, decreta, statuta et ordinationes concernunt, et concernent, seu ad ea quomodolibet spectant et spectabant, faciendi, gerendi, exequendi, mandandi et ordinandi.

IX. Contradictores et Vobis in praemissis inobedientes et rebelles, eisque auxilium, consilium vel favorem publice vel

occulte, directe vel indirecte quomodolibet praestantes, per suspensionis atque etiam privationis Beneficiorum, et officiorum Ecclesiasticorum, ac per censuras et poenas Ecclesiasticas et temporales, aliaque opportuna iuris et facti remedia, appellatione postposita compescendi.

X. In Visitatione huiusmodi eum ordinem tenendi quem commodiorem, utilioremque iudicabitis, quin praecedentiam inter Ecclesias, Monasteria et Loca quaecumque per Vos visitanda servare adigamini. Nos enim ex hac agendi ratione nulli Ecclesiae, Monasterio, vel Loco, neque ulli Capitulo, Conventui, Confraternitati, aut personae tam coniunctim, quam divisim, seu alias quomodolibet in aliquo etiam minimo quoad praecedentiam, aliasque praerogativas quascumque praeiudicari, aut quicquam novi iuris acquiri decernimus.

XI. In perlustrandis Urbis Paroeciis, pauperibus infirmis graviter decumbentibus, quos Nostro nomine visitabitis, spiritualibusque ac temporalibus subsidiis iuvabitis, Apostolicam Benedictionem semel impertiendi, iisdemque, dummodo ante vel post Visitationem vestram vere poenitentes et confessi, Sacra Communione refecti fuerint, Plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum Indulgentiam et remissionem, quam unicuique eorum semel largimur, denunciandi.

XII. Tibi, Dilecte Fili Noster, Vobisque Venerabilibus Fratribus specialem facultatem concedimus in Ecclesiis etiam Patriarchalibus, aliisque Ecclesiis et Locis per Vos visitandis Altaria atque ipsasmet Ecclesias consecrandi aut illa vel easdem Ecclesias, aut illis adnexa reconciliandi, seu etiam coemeteria, campanas, calices, patenas, Cruces, indumenta et ornamenta Ecclesiastica quaecumque, et aquam, ut moris est, benedicendi, Sacramentum Confirmationis ministrandi, Sacrosanctum quoque Missae sacrificium, nec non Vesperas et quaecumque alia divina officia solemni et Pontificali ritu celebrandi et decantandi, verbi Dei praedicationes, et conciones ad Dei amorem et timorem in cordibus fidelium excitandum et accendendum publice ad Clerum et Populum, seu alias privatim prout occasio et necessitas postulabit, habendi, aliaque omnia et quaecumque munia Pontificalia, etiam quae notam et expressionem requirerent magis specialem, et sub generali huiusmodi concessione non comprehenderentur, etiam erga personas alioquin habiles et idoneas exercendi.

XIII. Ubi contigerit alicui Altari, etiam pro defunctis pri-

vilegiato, seu Capellae tam magnum Missarum celebrandarum numerum ex variis defunctorum legatis impositum esse, et singulis diebus praescriptis nequeat illis satisfieri, quidquid magis ad Dei honorem, Ecclesiarum utilitatem, salutemque animarum eorum, qui legata pia reliquerunt, etiam per translationem partis Missarum huiusmodi ad aliud Altare, seu Altaria etiam non privilegiata, videritis expedire, re tamen diligenter perspecta, statuendi, et ordinandi, ut in eisdem Altaribus commodius ac plenius piae voluntati defunctorum satisfiat, ita quod Missae ad Altaria huiusmodi, ad quae illarum celebrationem transtuleritis celebratae, illis pro quibus celebrabuntur, perinde suffragentur, ac si ad Altaria privilegiata, seu alias iuxta eorumdem defunctorum voluntatem celebratae fuissent.

XIV. Ad faciliorem et expeditiorem Visitationis progressum et complementum Secretario et Assessori facultatem tribuimus eiusdem Visitationis decreta, statuta, ordinationes, mandata, praecepta, inhibitiones, informationes, relationes, nec non seriem ordinandi, describendi, et in libellos seu commentarios, sive etiam in publica et authentica forma documenta et instrumenta redigendi, caeteraque omnia, et quaecumque ad eorum munus spectantia gerendi exercendi, etiam si notam ex expressionem requirent magis specialem, et sub generali commissione huiusmodi non venirent. Nos enim volumus iis documentis et scripturis, quae de rebus in Visitatione gestis a Secretario et Assessore praefatis, vel ab eorum altero fient et emanabunt, ipsorum manu ac Visitationis signo munitis, plenam et indubitatam fidem nunc et perpetuis futuris temporibus tam in iudicio, quam extra illud, omnino haberi, neque ad id probationis alterius adminiculum requiri.

XV. Quascumque querelas, accusationes, denunciationes contra quascumque personas tam Ecclesiasticas saeculares ve regulares, quam laicas cuiuscumque status, gradus, dignitatis et praeeminentiae existentes, recipiendi et audiendi, causasque exinde aut alias quomodolibet ex dicta Visitatione vel illius causa emergentes tam Ecclesiasticas quam profanas ex officio audiendi, cognoscendi ac iuxta mandata Nostra, seu alias, prout iustitia suaserit, et ordo dictaverit rationis, illas decidendi et terminandi. Utque liberius ab omnibus, denunciationes, querelae et accusationes et causae quaecumque ad dictam Visitationem pertinentes deferri possint, omnibus similiter et singulis personis tam laicis, quam Clericis etiam in Sacris et Presbyteratus Ordinibus constitutis saecularibus, et quorumvis Ordinum, Con-

gregationum, et Instituti regularibus, quavis etiam Episcopali vel maiori Ecclesiastica vel mundana dignitate vel praeeminentia fulgentibus, qui in actu eiusdem Visitationis, seu alias, illius occasione aliquid, quod ad praedictas causas pertineat, per viam denuntiationis, querelae vel accusationis palam vel occulte, sponte vel ad aliorum instantiam in iudicio, vel extra iudicium revelaverint, aut in praemissis testimonium dixerint, vel aliquid propterea scripserint, subscripserint, indicaverint, dictaverint, detulerint, interrogaverint, vel interrogati responderint, vel ad reos defendendos, convincendos, indicia, votum, auxilium, consilium vel favorem per se, vel aliud directe vel indirecte praestiterint, sive tamquam Iudices ordinarii, vel delegati, custodes, scribae, testes, tabelliones, consultores, procuratores, advocati seu alias se in praemissis quomodolibet, ingesserint, ut nullam propterea poenam, vel censuram Ecclesiasticam, aut irregularitatis notam incurrant, Nostro nomine et Auctoritate indulgendi.

XVI. Omnes et singulas causas occasione Visitationis huiusmodi coram quibuscumque Iudicibus tam ordinariis quam delegatis pendentes et etiam instructas, et terminis in quibus reperiuntur, cum omnibus et singulis eorum incidentibus, dependentibus, emergentibus, adnexis et connexis, totoque negotio principali ad Vos Auctoritate Nostra avocandi, illasque summarie, simpliciter et de plane, sine strepitu et figura iudicii, sola facti veritate inspecta, audiendi, cognoscendi, et fine debito, prout iuris fuerit terminandi.

XVII. Iudici causarum et executori decretorum Visitationis praefatae Auctoritate Nostra deputato omnia in eadem Visitatione decreta, statuta et ordinata exequendi, et observari faciendi, contra inobedientes et negligentes, nec non cuiuscumque criminis occasione dictae Visitationes detectos reos et delinquentes, eorumque complices et fautores cuiuscumque status, dignitatis, ordinis et conditionis fuerint, per viam accusationis etiam summarie, simpliciter et de plano, sine strepitu et figura iudicii, sola facti veritate inspecta, inquirendi et procedendi, reosque, prout canonicae requirunt sanctiones, puniendi, ac tam super praemissis, quam etiam alias quascumque in eadem Visitatione, aut etiam antea per Nos tamen Tibi etiam absque speciali commissione committenda causas Ecclesiasticas inter Capitula, Conventus, Collegia, Universitates, Confraternitates, Archiconfraternitates, eorumque superiores ac singulares personas Ecclesiasticas saeculares vel cuiusvis Ordinis etiam Mindi-

cantium regulares, etiam exemptas, et quovis privilegio vel immunitate suffultas, etiam Nobis et Apostolicae Sedi immediate subiectas, motas et movendas, cum earum omnibus incidentibus, emergentibus, adnexis et connexis, etiam summarie et simpliciter et de plano, et alias prout praefertur, terminis substantialibus unico contextu, vel etiam non servatis, sed illorum loco praefixo termino arbitrio Tuo et de eiusdem Visitationis mandato procedendi, audiendi ac fine debito terminandi, et ad hunc caeterorumque contingentium effectum, quoscumque etiam per Edictum publicum, constito summarie et extraiudicialiter de non tuto accessu personis, quibus et quoties opus fuerit, etiam per simili Edictum, atque etiam sub censuris et poenis Ecclesiasticis, nec non pecuniis eiusdem Secretarii arbitrio moderandis et ampliandis, inhibendi, contra inobedientes quascumque censuras et poenas ipsas, etiam iteratis vicibus aggravandi, mandata, prohibitiones, inhibitiones et monitoria etiam sub censuris et aliis poenis praedictis, caeterisque sibi benevisis remediis, omni et quacumque appellatione proposita decernendi, omniaque in praemissis, et circa et necessaria et quomodolibet opportuna faciendi, mandandi et exequendi, etiam quae expressionem requirerent magis specialem, et sub generali concessione non venirent, iis tamen servatis limitibus, quos Visitatores collatis insimul consiliis praescribent, et exceptis semper causis maioris momenti, ad Congregationem VV. FF. NN. S.R.E. Card. super negotiis Visitationis apostolicae Ecclesiarum et Locorum piorum Urbis praepositorum vigore citatae Bullae Indictionis deferendis.

XVIII. Pro celeriori causarum expeditione, et ad parcendum quantum fieri potest, partium dispendiis, simplici et nudae scripturarum ac iurium in tribunalibus, seu archivis, aut notariorum officiis eiusdem Urbis existentium inspectioni, eorumque notis ac privatis copiis standi, et illis probationem eamdem fidem in iudicio adhibendi, quae adhiberetur, si alia in forma publica et authentica forent transumpta aut alias originaliter exhibita.

Mandamus autem omnibus et singulis ad quos spectabit, quacumque dignitate, auctoritate, potestate et praeeminentia fulgentibus, ut Vobis et cuilibet Vestrum in praemissis omnibus et singulis prompte pareant et obediant, alioquin sententias seu poenas, quas rite tuleritis seu statueritis in rebelles, ratas habebimus et faciemus, auctore Domino, usque ad satisfactionem condignam inviolabiliter observari.

Non obstantibus Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apostolicis etiam Conciliaribus, et Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum, Hospitalium, Ordinum, Congregationum, Archiconfraternitatum, Confraternitatum et aliorum Locorum et Operum piorum huiusmodi etiam iuramento, confirmatione Apostolica vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis, statutis, et consuetudinibus, etiam immemorabilibus, stabilimentis, usis et naturis ac stylo Curiae ; privilegiis quoque, indultis, exemptionibus et Litteris Apostolicis praemissis et cuiusvis illorum, ac superioribus et personis eorum quomodolibet, nuncupatis et qualificatis, sub quibuscumque verborum tenoribus et formis, ac cum quibusvis etiam derogatoriarum derogatoriis aliisque efficacioribus, efficacissimis, et insolitis clausulis et decretis etiam irritantibus in genere, vel in specie, etiam motu proprio, vel ad Catholicorum Principum quorumlibet preces, et instantiam, seu eorum contemplatione et intuitu, atque etiam consistorialiter, et alias quomodocumque et quandocumque concessis, confirmatis et pluries innovatis. Quibus omnibus et singulis, etiam si pro illorum sufficienti derogatione de illis, eorum totis tenoribus specialis, specifica expressa, et individua ac de verbo ad verbum non autem per clausulas generales idem importantes mentio, seu quaevis alia expressio habenda, aut aliqua alia exquisita forma ad hoc servanda foret, illorum omnium et singulorum tenores, formas et occasiones praesentibus pro plene et sufficienter expressis, insertis et servatis respective habentes, illis alias in suo robore permansuris, ad praemissorum effectum specialiter, et expresse, ac plenissime derogamus, et derogatum esse volumus, caeterisque contrariis quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die III Martii MCMIV, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

L. ✠ S. ALOYS. Card. MACCHI.

POPE LEO XIII. AND THE PROPOSED CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AUSTRIA

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

LEO XIII PERGRATUM DECLARAT EPIS AUSTRIAE NUNCIUM DE MOX INSTITUENDA UNIVERSITATE CATHOLICA.

EPISTOLA DILECTIS FILIIS NOSTRIS ANTONIO IOSEPHO S.R.E. PRESBYTERO CARDINALI GRUSCHA, ARCHIEPISCOPO VIENNENSI ; GEORGIO S.R.E. PRESBYTERO CARDINALI KOPP, EPISCOPO VRATISLAVIENSI ; LEONI S.R.E. PRESBYTERO CARDINALI DE

SKRBENSKY, ARCHIEPISCOPO PREGENSI ; IOANNI S.R.E. PRESBYTERO CARDINALI PUZYNA, EPISCOPO CRACOVIENSI ; CAETERISQUE VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS ARCHIEPISCOPIS ET EPISCOPIS AUSTRIAE

LEO PP. XIII.

Dilecti filii nostri et Venerabiles Fratres, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem,

Quod votis decessorum vestrorum, multorumque annorum operâ praeparatum, absolutionem tamen perfectionemque ad haec usque tempora desideravit, maximo nunc cum gaudio nunciatis properare feliciter ad exitum. Nam sunt fere in promptu praesidia ad catholicam Studiorum Universitatem condendam, unusque est omnium vestrum consensus posse iam admoveri manus ad magnum illud Lyceum constituendum, cuius mansit quidem longior, quam debuit, expectatio, at opportuna item et apta ratio succrevit. Quapropter ad consilia vestra, quae ipsa per se commendantur, libenter Nos et approbantes accedimus, atque illud vobis apertum demonstratumque volumus, omnem Nos iucunditatem ex allato nuncio percepisse, quippe comparari ubique et amplificari illustria et sancta studiis domicilia, summopere gaudemus. Hanc autem animi Nostri sententiam voluptatemque in id etiam declaramus, ut addatur fidelibus vestris, ut par est, incitamentum, quo rem tantam ac tam salubrem alacriore voluntate maturent, opemque conferendo perficiant. Caetera, sollertiae vestrae, uti semper, confidimus, nihilque dubitamus de eorum liberalitate et consensione, quorum commodo expetita existit Universitas. Quae autem ad hoc tale Lyceum pertinere existimantur, ubi primum erunt omnia instructa ac parata, rem Nobis patefaciendam esse volumus per sacram studiis regendis Congregationem ; haec enim in id munus incumbit ut et statum Nobis negotiorum id genus exponat, et mandata potestate utatur scholarum catholici nominis ad Sacros Canones constituendarum.

Mentem interea Nostram laetam ac benevolentem unicuique vestrum testamur ; caelestiaque suscepto operi munera adprecantes, benedictionem Apostolicam vobis omnibus impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XXX Aprilis MDCCCCII, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo quinto.

LEO PP. XIII.

SOLUTION OF QUESTIONS REGARDING MASSES FOR THE DEAD AND SINGING OF GOSPEL, DISTRIBUTION OF HOLY COMMUNION

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

TRIA SOLVUNTUR DUBIA

R. D. Victorinus Costa cui concredita est Paroecia loci 'Vidor' nuncupati, intra fines Dioeceseos Ceneten., de consensu sui Rmi. Episcopi, sequentia Dubia Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi pro opportuna solutione humillime exposuit; nimirum:

I. In dicta Paroecia omnibus feriis sextis per annum non impeditis, de more celebratur Missa cum cantu pro defunctis et postea celebrans, deposita casula et manipulo, sine pluviali et absque incensatione, peragit exequias super stratum: quaeritur: Rectene id fit? et quatenus negative, debet celebrans induere pluviale et incensare?

II. In Missis cum cantu absque ministris, deficiente lectore qui epistolam canat, potest vel debet celebrans eam canere?

III. Sacerdos celebraturus potest paratus cum casula distribuere communionem fidelibus ante Missam, et postea ad aliud altare pergere ad Missam celebrandam? et quatenus negative, potest indutus alba et stola Eucharistiam distribuere et inde, assumpta casula, pergere ad celebrandum in alio altari?

Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, reque mature perpensa, rescribendum censuit:

Ad I. *Negative* ad primam partem; *Affirmative* ad secundam, iuxta Rubricas Missalis de Ritu Absolutionis et *Decretum* N. 3108, *Sancti Marci*, 7 Septembris 1861 ad IV.

Ad II. Servetur Rubrica Missalis (Ritus Servandus, tit. VI., N. 8) *et Decretum* N. 3350, *Lisbonen.* 23 Aprilis 1875.

Ad III. Servetur *Decretum* N. 2740, *Tridentina* 12 Martii 1836, ad XI.

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 5 Martii 1904.

S. Card. Cretoni, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ Diomedes Panici, *Archiep. Laod., Secret.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

IRELAND'S RENAISSANCE. By R. J. Smith. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., 1903.

IF the title of a work should give some clue to its contents we are sorely puzzled why the author should have chosen *Ireland's Renaissance* as a suitable designation for his three hundred and ninety pages of printed matter. Had our opinion been sought for we should have suggested as a good guide for his readers: 'Smith on the History of the World with special reference to the Catholic Church, Papal Infallibility, Ireland, Politics, Newspapers, Language, and Bigotry.' Though this title would have been far from exhaustive, yet it might have, in a small way, prepared the reader for the treat in store for him from the perusal of the book. Doubtlessly, the author has prior claims at the baptism of the product of his genius, but for the sake of the general public we feel bound to state that any other name would have been equally appropriate.

Formerly such productions gave us considerable annoyance, but, thanks to the number of them on the market in recent years, we have long passed that stage. After careful consideration we have come to the conclusion that the authors never meant to be taken seriously—that they were merely poking fun at their readers, and that the triumph of their success as actors had been reached when people rushed into print with learned refutations of their opinions. For our own part we must freely admit that for years we have not come across a more amusing book than the one under consideration at present. We are under serious obligations to the author for having provided us with such an entertainment during a dull season, and we are certain that what we have lost in time from the perusal of his work we have gained in health and enjoyment.

Confining ourselves to the chapters on St. Patrick and the Early Irish Church, as we were asked to do, we read the introduction with care till we reached the solemn declaration that 'History must and will have its say, and those who resist its legitimate authority will deservedly be crushed by it;' and

then, a vision of the author bearing down on the workers on Irish History like an express train rose up before our mind, and for a moment we felt unnerved. We were somewhat reassured, however, when we learned that the lines on which he was to run, were 'facts, considerations, early Irish writings, and manuscripts.' The only danger was that at some of the intricate crossings he might get switched on to the wrong track, and, leaving his facts, writings, and manuscripts behind him, dash recklessly along the 'consideration' siding. Our fears were, unfortunately, soon realized. On the very first page we read: 'The *Tripartite* was discovered in a Bavarian town, and was given by a Jesuit priest to Colgan *who was one of the Four Masters*.' We opened our eyes in astonishment. Colgan one of the Four Masters! This was not a 'fact,' it was not in 'early Irish writings' or 'manuscripts.' It must be a 'consideration' of the writer's own make, and if we might offer a suggestion it would be that he should patent it. In itself it is sufficient to stamp him as an original writer on Irish Ecclesiastical History. Of course, it would be superfluous to mention that Colgan did not publish the *Vita Tripartite* but only a translation; that he had, as he tells us himself, not one but three very old MSS. in his hands; and that the MS. Egerton 93, and Rawlinson B. 512, are quite different from the copies which Colgan had before him. A few lines further down we read with hardly less astonishment: 'The Life of St. Patrick in the *Book of Armagh* was first written by Muirchu Maccthení about the middle of the seventh century, then largely interpolated by Tirechan, and finally copied as a whole from Tirechan's edition by Ferdomnach about the early ninth century.' Where did the author learn that Tirechan 'interpolated' the work of Maccthení? It is not in early Irish writings or manuscripts: in fact the opposite might easily be inferred. It must be another special historical 'consideration.' Again, he gravely informs us that Tirechan states that 'the burial place of St. Patrick was unknown in his time; a statement which implies that the Columba legend about Saul was not yet invented in Tirechan's time. The invention having taken place it was easy to state that a County Down saint, named Tassach, attended him in his last illness.' 'St. Fiach was the author of this.' We wonder was it King's *Supplement* which, according to our author is such a reliable *répertoire* for original document, he consulted when

he wrote this passage. He will be surprised to learn that on fol. 15, b. 2 (*Book of Armagh*), we find the following passage in Tirechan's *Life of St. Patrick*: 'Columbcille spiritu sancto instigante ostendit sepulturam Patricii ubi est confirmat id est in *Sabul Patricii*.' He will be even more surprised about the 'County Down saint Tassach,' if he reads the words of Muirchu Maccthéni who, according to him, wrote before Tirechan: 'Adpropinquante autem hora obitus sui (Patricii) sacrificium ab Episcopo *Tassach* ad viaticum beatae vitae acceperat.' Is not that curiously like the way we describe the death of a Catholic bishop at present?

We cannot further follow the author along his crushing course. It would require volumes did we attempt such a work. His theory about the St. Patrick mystery is that the Palladius-Patrick was an early Roman Missionary who set himself to overturn Greek Christianity. His proof is that 'the Christian Irish' refused to accept the teachings of Palladius. Where did he learn this, or is it only a 'consideration'? He gravely informs us 'that *if* the St. Patrick who wrote the *Confessions* was St. Patrick senior, and the writer of the *Dicta Patricii* Palladius Patrick, and *if* early writers confounded the several writings as the production of the latter it is no wonder there is a mystery. This *is* the trap they seem to have fallen into.' After years of waiting how grateful they must be to our author for having relieved them.

His comparison of the Irish to the Greek schismatical Church on account of the dispute with Rome about the celebration of Easter, and his belief that this is an original discovery of his own, are highly significant of his knowledge of history. Let him consult the first intelligent boy he meets coming from the nearest Christian Brothers' school and he will explain to him that the very fact of the Irish referring their case to Rome for decision, and of their acceptance of Rome's commands, is a fair proof that the supremacy of Rome in matters essential was fully recognised. He could tell him, too, that whether Christianity came to Ireland from Wales, Gaul, or the East (our author thinks some Eastern may have been blown on to our coast), the 'Petrine' claims were equally safe. The East was unanimous with the West in its acknowledgment of the Papal power.

It might fairly be expected that our author seldom indicates

his authorities, but when he does so we might reasonably hope that he had quoted correctly. We do not accuse him of bad faith, but we do of blindly following the blundering translations of some Protestant writer (possibly his much lauded King) without any attempt at verification. Where, for example, did he get the passage (page 179) from the Bull of Adrian IV. about the Irish being schismatics, and disregarding the Papal authority? This is not to be found in the Bull. Possibly, too, he might consult the lately published work of his co-religionist, Professor Thatcher of Chicago, in which he denies the authenticity of this Bull; and surely the Chicago professor has nothing to gain by such denial. Again, where did he find the passage of Lanfranc's letter (page 180) about the 'uncanonical marriages of the Irish clergy'? Almost equally good is his remark about Celsus, 'that he could not be persuaded to separate from his wife and children.' We cannot give him the honour of this discovery, but he may be surprised to learn that Celsus was never troubled with a wife or children.

In conclusion we may say that if the author meant his chapters on Irish History as a serious discussion of the questions involved, they are beneath criticism; but, if he meant to exemplify, as we believe he did, the errors into which preconceived views often lead historians, he merits our warmest congratulations.

J. MacC.

Leabar an Athar Eoghan. The O'Growney Memorial Volume. By Agnes O' arrelly, M.A. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

Nobody who was privileged to witness the O'Growney funeral as it wended its way through the crowded thoroughfares of Dublin in last September, can soon forget the touching scene. In the procession were to be seen representatives of every class and of every calling in life, while the line of route was thronged with sympathetic onlookers, all intent on honouring the memory of the man who had laboured so strenuously and with such success for the regeneration of the native language of Ireland. Little did Father O'Growney dream, as he toiled night after night in his study at Maynooth, that in four short years after his death people should come to regard him

as the Apostle of the Language movement in this country; and it was little he cared for honour or applause. His heart was in his work; he considered no sacrifice too great if only it would advance the cause to which he had devoted his life. Under the strain his constitution, never strong, broke down, and away in far-off Arizona, where he had sought for health, almost completely amongst strangers but with his last thoughts on Ireland he passed to his reward—a martyr to his work. He died consoled by the thought that the movement which he had done so much to initiate was destined to succeed.

We knew Father O'Growney well. We studied in his classes in Maynooth, and even yet we can recall how, with all his zeal for the spread of the Irish language, with all the exertions he himself was making, and the not few disappointments which he encountered where he might least expect them, he always managed to be bright and cheerful, bubbling over with genuine good nature and fun, willing to minimize even the most glaring mistakes, and ready to encourage even the humblest efforts.

It is fortunate for Father O'Growney that he should have found such an enthusiastic, sympathetic, and capable a biographer as Miss O'Farrelly. An energetic and zealous worker in the Irish Language movement, she was quick to appreciate the significance of the O'Growney funeral procession, and that such an event required some lasting memorial. She determined to tell the simple tale of the life and life-work of O'Growney, and let them win sympathizers for the cause when he himself could no longer speak. She set to work to collect materials, and she must have spared no pains in her research. Everybody who had an intimate acquaintance with Father O'Growney was consulted. His old class-fellows at Maynooth, but especially his college comrade and life-long friend, Father O'Kieran, his friends in Meath, his fellow-labourers in the cause—all generously placed materials at her disposal, and in a wonderfully short space of time she has been able to publish this most interesting volume. We must warmly congratulate the authoress on the success of her labours. Her book is one which will be read with pleasure and profit by everyone who has at heart the spread of the Irish language, but especially by the priests and students of Maynooth—so dear to the heart of Father O'Growney. Miss O'Farrelly tells her story in such a beautiful homely style, so simple and yet so touching and appropriate, that at times, as we read, we could not help feeling intensely moved.

The first part of her volume deals with the funeral procession from Arizona to Maynooth ; the second is devoted to an account and appreciation of Father O'Growney and his work ; while the last portion is given to the Reliques—not hitherto known to the general public. These include articles in English and Irish, contributed from time to time to different magazines, sketches, modernizations of ancient sagas, metrical translations into Irish not yet published, together with a short treatise on grammar and Irish composition, which he compiled for the use of the students in his class at Maynooth.

The book is entirely the product of Irish workmanship—printed on Irish paper by Irish workmen, and in the capital of Ireland. It is a pity that Miss O'Farrelly should have been forced to undertake the worry and risks of publication. Not the least remarkable feature is the beautiful illustrations with which the book is interspersed. We have no doubt that it is sure to command an immense sale.

J. MacC.

DIE DEUTSCHEN DOMINIKANER IM KAMPFEGEGEN LUTHER. Dr. Paulus. Herder, 1903.

SOME of our readers are, no doubt, acquainted with Jansen's *History of the German People*, or know that its appearance marks an epoch in the world of letters. Few books on similar subjects have caused such a sensation, or even one comparable to it. Its publication took Germany by storm. Since the author's untimely death a few years ago, his work has been continued by an able writer, and quite a number of learned monographs by various scholars have also been issued as a supplement.

The fourth volume of these monographs has commenced with Dr. Paulus' history of the Dominicans that were among the most prominent opponents of Luther. It is a most opportune publication. The author has already gained the reputation of being the first authority on the biography of Tetzel, on the history of the controversy regarding Indulgences, etc., and it is certain that his present work will considerably add to his fame. He treats of some twenty-four Dominican theologians. The biographical sketch of Köllin, the erudite commentator on the *Summa*, and those of Tetzel and Fabri, will, perhaps, be found the most interesting in the series, though indeed the remaining contents of the volume amply repay perusal.

J. M.

THE IRISH
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

A Monthly Journal, under Episcopal Sanction

VOLUME XVI.

JULY TO DECEMBER, 1904

Fourth Series

DUBLIN
BROWNE & NOLAN, LIMITED, NASSAU-STREET
1904
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Nihil Obstat.

GIRALDUS MOLLOY, S.T.D.,
CENSOR DEP.

Imprimatur.

✠ GULIELMUS,
Archiep. Dublin., Hiberniae Primas.

BROWNE AND NOLAN, LTD., NASSAU-STREET, DUBLIN.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

Allegorical and Literal in the Fathers. By Rev. George E. Price - 201
'America, Priests' Total Abstinence League of.' By Rev. Walter O'Brien, C.C. - - - - - - - - 330
Arc, Joan of. By Rev. M. Shinnors, O.M.I. - - - - 142
Black Castle of Wicklow, The. By Thomas Fitzpatrick - - 26, 122
Bourdaloue, The Centenary of. By Very Rev. P. Boyle, C.M. - 1
Bossuet and Richard Simon. By Rev. T. B. Scannell, D.D. - - 107
Canon Law Reform. By Very Rev. Walter McDonald, D.D. 298, 403, 507
Centenary of Bourdaloue. By Very Rev. P. Boyle, C.M. - - 1

Correspondence:—
An Irish Vincentian Martyr - - - - - - 463
Moore Memorial Fund - - - - - - - 460
Scapular, Origin of - - - - - 259, 355

'Creator's Sidereal Kingdom, Scale of the.' By Rev. E. A. Selley, O.S.A. - - - - - - - - - 97
Days of Our Lord, Preaching in the. By Rev. John Freeland - 231
Denifle's 'Luther und Lutherthum.' By Rev. Reginald Walsh, O.P. 222
Devotion, Some Tendencies of Modern. By Rev. David Dinneen, D.D., C.C. - - - - - - - - 415

Documents:—
Beatification of Dominican Martyrs - - - - 558
Benedictines of Brazil - - - - - - - 183
Blessed Alexander Sauli, Canonization of the - - - 568
Blessed Sacrament, Certain Doubts about the Exposition, Preservation, and Distribution of the - - - 557
Canonical Appeals in Germany - - - - 269, 270
Capucian Order, Concession to the - - - - 563
Catholic Clerical Managers' Association - - - - 76
Commissione Pontificia dei Libri Liturgici Gregoriani - - 83
Curé of Ars, Beatification and Canonization of the - - 563
Dispensations relating to Pauline Marriage - - - 365
Doubts relating to the Jubilee - - - - - 261
Dowry of a Nun - - - - - - - - 372
Elevation of Certain Feasts of Franciscan Order - - 374
Eucharistic Congress of Angoulême - - - - 372
Fast and Abstinence for Austrian Soldiers - - - 555
Franciscan Students for Missions in America - - - 561
Important Statement of the Irish Hierarchy on Education and other Catholic Interests - - - - - 171

PAGE

DOCUMENTS—*continued.*

Important Resolutions of the Irish Hierarchy - - - 464
Images of the Blessed Virgin, Use of - - - - 555
Indulgences and Privileges of Premonstratensian Tertiaries - 360
Indulgences for Invocation of Mary Immaculate - - 363
Indulgences for a Temperance Society - - - - 267
Indulgence 'in Articulo Mortis' - - - - 377
Indulgence for Novena to St. Francis Xavier - - - 470
Indulgences for the Tertiaries of St. Augustine - - 86
Jubilee, Fast of - - - - - - - - 261
Letter of His Holiness Pope Pius X. to His Eminence Cardinal Logue - - - - - - - - - 356
Maria de Mattias, Beatification and Canonization of the Ven. Servant of God - - - - - - - 565
Matrimonial Dispensations - - - - - 177
'Motu Proprio' of His Holiness Pope Pius X. on a Vatican Edition of Liturgical Books - - - - 81
'Motu Proprio' of His Holiness Pope Pius X. on the Codification of the Canon Law - - - - - 83
Pontifical Commission for Codification of the Canon Law - 357
Pontifical Commission for the Study of Scripture - - 358
Poverty and Matrimonial Dispensations in Italy - - 268
Pope Leo XIII. and the Oriental Churches - - - 378
Pope Leo XIII. and the Bishops of Bologna Province - - 376
Pope Leo XIII. and the Nestorians of the East - - 375
Pope Leo XIII. and the Bavarian Bishops - - - 183
Pope Leo XIII. and the University of Quebec - - - 181
Pope Pius X. and the Editors of the Works of St. Bonaventure 271
Pope Pius X. and 'Les Missions Catholiques' - - - 273
Portuguese College in Rome - - - - - 266
Regulations for the Discharge of Intentions - - - 367
Renewal of Faculties to Irish Bishops - - - - 94
Rights of Precedence of Bishops - - - - - 373
St. Francis Xavier, Patron of the Propagation of the Faith - 263
Solemn Vows, Admission to - - - - - 178
Temperance Society, Indulgences for - - - - 267
Third Order of the Most Holy Trinity - - - - 176
Use of the Vernacular in Certain Religious Functions - - 179
Visits and Fast of the Jubilee - - - - - 260

Education, Primary, in Ireland. By Very Rev. John Curry, P.P., V.F. - - - - - - - - 385
Elphin, Patron Saints of the Diocese of. By Right Rev. Mgr. Kelly, P.P., V.F. - - - - - - - - 43
Entries Relating to the Irish Church. By W. H. Grattan Flood - 250
Experimental and Practical Science, Teaching of, in Secondary Schools of Ireland. By Right Rev. Mgr. Molloy, D.D. - 289
Fathers, Allegorical and Literal in the. By Rev. George E. Price - 201
Friars Minor and the Immaculate Conception, The. By Rev. Andrew Egan, O.F.M. - - - - - 481

PAGE

Immaculate Conception, The. By Rev. Reginald Waters, O.P. - 495
Immaculate Conception and the Friars Minor, The. By Rev. Andrew Egan, O.F.M. - - - - - - 481
Ireland, Primary Education in. By Very Rev. John Curry, P.P., V.F. 385
Irish Church, Some Entries relating to the. By W. H. Grattan Flood - - - - - - - - 250
Irish Lexicography. By Rev. M. P. O'Hickey, D.D. - - 521
Irish Vincentian Martyr in the Seventeenth Century. By Very Rev. P. Boyle, C.M. - - - - - - 307
Joan of Arc. By Rev. M. F. Shinnors, O.M.I. - - - 142
Latin, Roman Pronunciation of. By Most Rev. Dr. Donnelly, Bishop of Canea - - - - - - - 533
Lost Books and Lost Manuscripts, The Story of. By Rev. J. J Kelly, O.S.F. - - - - - - - 339
Louis Veuillot. By Rev. James MacCaffrey, S.T.L. - - 430
'Luther und Lutherthum,' Denifle's. By Rev. Reginald Walsh, O.P. 222
Neo-Scholastic Philosophy. By Rev. J. Kelly, Ph.D. - - 193

Notes and Queries:—

LITURGY (By Rev. P. Morrisroe):—

Anticipation of Jubilee Fast - - - - - 549
Around the Eucharist - - - - - - 454
'Benedictio in Articulo Mortis': Invocation of Holy Name and Source of its Obligation - - - - - 552
Blessing of Dolour Beads - - - - - - 548
Crucifix 'De la Bonne Mort' - - - - - 551
Invocations at the Beginning of the Litany of the Holy Name - 351
Pictures and Statues of Saints holding the Divine Infant - 352
Prayers in the 'Missa Quotidiana' - - - - 452
Privileged Altar - - - - - - - 548
Purification of Corporal - - - - - - 453
Recital of Exequial Office by Religious not Priests - - 550
Renewal of Hosts - - - - - - - 353
The Use of Lights before the Statues of Saints - - - 256

THEOLOGY (By Rev. J. M. Harty):—

Abstinence in Workhouses - - - - - 449
Celebration of Manual Masses - - - - - 442
Honorarium for Assisting at Baptism - - - - 350
Jubilee of the Immaculate Conception - - - - 348
Marriage of 'Peregrini' - - - - - - 450
New Legislation on the Acceptance and Celebration of Manual Masses - - - - - - - 442, 538

Notices of Books:—

A Holiday in Japan: Out East and Back West, 479; Al-Machriq, 95; A Roll of Honour, 472; Aubrey de Vere, 475; Beati Alberti Magni Commentarius in Job, 383; Benedicti XIV. Papae, Opera Inedita, 281; Blake, William, A Study of His Life and Work, 474; Breviarium Romanum, 94; Compendium Sacrae

PAGE

NOTICES OF BOOKS—*continued.*

Liturgiae juxta Rituum Romanum, 93; Concerning the Holy Bible, 473; Die Geschichte des Messopfer-Begriffs, 476; Die Ruthenish-Römische Kirchenvereinigung genannt 'Union zu Brest,' 190; Dissertatio Historico-Theologica de Lapsu et Paccato Originali, 186; Doctrina Russorum de statu Justitiae Originalis, 379; Eadmeri Tractatus de Conceptione S. Mariae, 575; Gregorian Mass ('Misa de Angelis') 576; Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, 276; Horae Semiticae, 92; Index der Verbotenen Bücher, 284; *Journal of the Co. Louth Archæological Society*, 573; Kurzgefasster Commentar, Die Bücher Samuels, 278; Life of Ven. Gabriel Possenti, C.P., 574; Lost Angel of a Ruined Paradise, 472; Memoir of the Life of Sister Mary Genevieve Beale, 381; Musical Education, 571; Psalmorum Synopsis, 96; Spiritual Despondency and Temptations, 95; Spiritual Exercises for a Ten Days' Retreat, 287; Stories from Irish History, 192; Summula Philosophiae Scholasticae: Cosmologia et Psychologia, 575; The Old Riddle and the Newest Answer, 188; The Priest: His Character and Work, 275; The Tales Tim Told Us, 288; Universal History, 283; Woman, 382.

Origin of the Scapular: a Criticism. By Rev. Herbert Thurston, S.J. 59

Patron Saints of the Diocese of Elphin. By Right Rev. Mgr. Kelly, P.P., V.F. - - - - - - - - 43

Pessimism. By Rev. J. Kelly, Ph.D. - - - - - 319

Philosophy, Neo-Scholastic. By Rev. J. Kelly, Ph.D. - - 193

Preaching in the Days of Our Lord. By Rev. John Freeland - 231

Priestly Dignity, The. By Very Rev. Canon Keens, M.R. - - 158

'Priests' Total Abstinance League of America.' By Rev. Walter O'Brien, C.C. - - - - - - - - 330

Roman Pronunciation of Latin. By Most Rev. Dr. Donnelly, Bishop of Canea - - - - - - - - - 533

Scapular, The Origin of: a Criticism. By Rev. Herbert Thurston, S.J. - - - - - - - - - 59

Secondary Schools of Ireland, Teaching of Experimental and Practical Science in. By Right Rev. Mgr. Molloy, D.D. - 289

'Sidereal Kingdom, Scale of the Creator's.' By Rev. E. A. Selley, O.S.A. - - - - - - - - - 97

Simon, Richard, and Bossuet. By Very Rev. T. B. Scannell, D.D. - 107

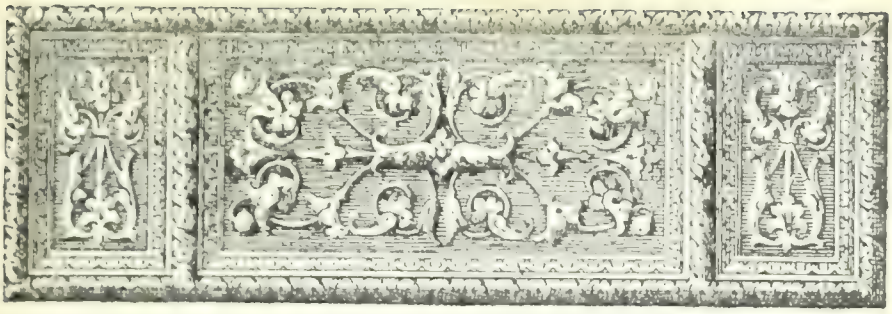
Story of Lost Books and Lost Manuscripts, The. By Rev. J. J. Kelly, O.S.F. - - - - - - - - 339

Tendencies of Modern Devotion. By Rev. David Dinneen, D.D., C.C. 415

Veuillot, Louis. By Rev. James MacCaffrey, S.T.L. - - - 430

Vincentian Martyr, Irish, in the Seventeenth Century. By Very Rev. P. Boyle, C.M. - - - - - - - 307

Wicklow, The Black Castle of. By Thomas Fitzpatrick - - 26, 122



THE CENTENARY OF BOURDALOUE

THE present year is rich in centenaries. Rome has recently celebrated the centenary of St. Gregory the Great. France has honoured the centenary of Bossuet, one of her greatest sons. In this year occurs also the centenary of another great Christian orator, Louis Bourdaloue, S.J., who died on 13th May, 1704. Bourdaloue has a special claim on the grateful remembrance of Irishmen. At a time when the clergy of Ireland were driven from their native land, and when her aspirants to the priesthood depended for support on the charity of foreigners, Bourdaloue raised his eloquent voice on their behalf and proclaimed their virtues and pleaded their cause in the capital of France.[1] Many of the other charitable works on whose behalf he preached have long since passed away. But the Irish Seminary still remains; and it is meet that in its turn it should raise its voice to honour the memory of one who, more than two hundred years ago, advocated its cause. With this end in view, and taking for his guides chiefly M. Anatole Feugère[2] and Father Eugène Griselle, S.J.,[3] the writer of this paper purposes to lay before the reader an outline of the career of Bourdaloue, to

[1] 2e *Exhortation pour un Seminaire.*

[2] *Bourdaloue : sa predication, et son temps*, par A. Feugère. Paris, 1889. 5 ed.

[3] *Bourdaloue : Histoire critique de sa predication*, par R. P. Eugene Griselle, S.J. Paris, 1901.

examine what is his rank as preacher, and to point out what is the leading characteristic of his preaching.

I

Louis Bourdaloue was born at Bourges, in August, 1632. At an early age he manifested a desire to devote himself to the service of God in the Jesuit Order. Accordingly, in his sixteenth year he made his way to Paris, and entered the novitiate of the Society. His father was displeased with the step Louis had taken, and coming to Paris he brought him back to Bourges. However, he soon withdrew his opposition to his son's vocation ; and Louis Bourdaloue once more entered the Jesuit novitiate. Having completed his noviceship he was for some time employed in teaching rhetoric. He next made his theological studies, and was ordained priest in 1660. For some years he was occupied in educational work ; and taught philosophy and moral theology with success. While engaged in this work no one seemed to foresee the future that awaited him as a preacher. But all the while he was acquiring that command of language, that logical precision, that grasp of theological principles, which are the best preparation for the pulpit. His conferences in the college at Amiens, and his sermons in the pulpit at Eu, drew attention to his talent for preaching.

But it is said by some of his biographers that a circumstance, apparently accidental, opened to him the career in which he has destined to be so conspicuous. One of the Fathers of the Society fell sick while giving a retreat ; Bourdaloue was called on to take his place, and he acquitted himself with so much success of the task imposed upon him, that he was relieved of his duties as professor, and employed in preaching. Bourdaloue continued a career so successfully commenced. Next year, 1670, he preached the Lent with success in the same church. Year after year he continued to preach in Lent and Advent. In 1679 he received the title of Preacher-Royal, with an annual stipend of 1,200 livres.

The first few years of his ministry in this new field of duty were spent in the provinces. Formed by the

experience thus acquired, Bourdaloue was summoned by his superiors to Paris, and in 1669 he preached the Advent station in the church of the professed Jesuit house in that city. The moment was a propitious one. Bossuet, whose eloquence had been the admiration of Paris for the past ten years, had just been nominated to the see of Condom, and was about to devote his great talents to the education of the Dauphin. The field was open to a preacher of talent, capable of filling his place. Bourdaloue at this juncture appeared upon the scene, and he soon became the most distinguished preacher in Paris ; a rank which he continued to hold for more than thirty years. The success of his first Advent station was complete, crowds flocked to hear him. In connection with this station, a pathetic incident occurred. The aged father of Bourdaloue, hearing of the fame of his son's eloquence, set out for Paris to have the satisfaction of hearing him preach. The father of Bossuet had journeyed to Paris, and listened with attention and with joy while his gifted son preached in the presence of Louis XIV. But the father of Bourdaloue was not permitted to enjoy a satisfaction so legitimate. He fell sick and died on his journey.

Five times he preached the Lent, and seven times the Advent station before the Court. From 1669 to 1704 he preached thirty stations, making a total of nearly five hundred sermons. But while Bourdaloue devoted the greater part of his life to instructing the polished audiences of the Court and capital, he did not neglect to preach to more humble congregations. From time to time he delivered exhortations in aid of works of charity, he gave retreats to religious, and occasionally he preached in the provinces. Here he knew how to adapt himself to the intelligence of the people. His fame as a preacher had gone before him, and when the peasants had listened to his discourses, they were heard to say : ' This, then, is the famous preacher from Paris, and yet we understood every word he said.' Two of his provincial stations merit special mention. In 1677 he preached the Lent at Rouen. His

successor in the pulpit the following year has left on record the result. 'When Bourdaloue,' he wrote, 'preached, all the artizans left their workshops, the merchants their counters, the lawyers the courts, the physicians their patients, to go to hear the preacher. As for me, when I preached the following year I restored everything to order. Nobody left his business.'[1]

The other provincial station took place in Languedoc, in 1686. In the previous year was revoked the Edict of Nantes, whereby Henri IV., nearly a century before, had granted liberty of worship to the Calvinists throughout the kingdom. Louis XIV. abolished that privilege, and commanded the Protestants, under certain penalties, to conform to Catholic worship. Many of them quitted the kingdom—the majority remained. Of these some conscientiously conformed to the Catholic faith; others conformed through constraint. As may be seen from the correspondence of Bossuet with M. de Basville, and others, the Bishops throughout the kingdom were much embarrassed as to the manner in which the new converts ought to be treated. Many of them were not converts at heart. Could they be lawfully admitted to assist at Mass, and to receive the Sacraments? The Bishops thought the wisest course was to provide them with solid instruction, hoping that when their minds were enlightened and their hearts touched by divine grace many of them would become true converts. Louis XIV. in imposing religious unity on his subjects had, there is reason to think, chiefly in view political unity. His officers, as was the usage in the surrounding Protestant nations, used measures of coercion to enforce religious uniformity. But wiser and gentler measures were more generally adopted. Preachers of distinction were sent to the districts where Calvinism had prevailed to instruct the new converts in Catholic doctrine. Accordingly, in 1686, Bourdaloue was sent by Louis XIV. to Languedoc; and he preached the Lent in that year at Montpellier with great zeal. By the gentleness of his

[1] *Bourdaloue: sa predication et son temps*, par A. Feugère, p. 11.

manner, and the force of his eloquence, he sought to win and to enlighten the minds of those who had been brought up in error. Whatever may have been the motives of Louis XIV. in revoking the Edict of Nantes, the motives of Bourdaloue, at least, were inspired by zeal and charity.

Returning from this mission, Bourdaloue continued his apostolic labours in the capital. Besides preaching he was indefatigable in hearing confessions, devoting to that work four or five hours daily. One who knew him intimately, Chrétien-Francois de Lamoignon, has sketched his character and manner :—

> No one [he writes] ever gained more by being seen as he was. Although he had the confidence of all that was highest in France, he never desired it. He devoted himself in the same way to all whom Providence directed to him, neither seeking the great nor despising the lowly ; speaking to each according to his character, and having no other object than to do perfectly the work he had in hand.[1]

His frequent relations with the Court and with the sovereign never made him forget the obligations of community life ; and he would not dispose of the stipend he received as Preacher-Royal, nor keep in his room the portrait of Louis XIV., presented to him by the king, until he had received the sanction of the General of his Order.

His whole life was devoted to work for souls. To be more free to preach he declined, in 1694, the office of Superior of the professed house of the Society in Paris. His Superior-General, Thyrsus Gonzales, did not urge his acceptance of the office. 'I consent,' he wrote, 'that as one of the two should be given up, you give up the office of Superior rather than that of preaching. For we have men who can take the place of your Reverence in governing but not in preaching.'[2] At length, feeling that old age was stealing upon him, he wrote to the General of his Order, stating that after fifty-two years spent in the Society labouring for others, his earnest desire was to retire from

[1] *Bourdaloue : sa Correspondance et ses Correspondants*, par H. Cherot, S.J. Paris, 1899, p. 110.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 219.

active life to attend to his own perfection. 'Permit me, I conjure you,' he wrote, 'to employ what remains to me of life solely for God and for myself, and to prepare to die as a religious.' [1] The Father-General gave his sanction to the desire so earnestly expressed. But Bourdaloue's superiors in Paris thought that the time had not yet come for him to retire from the pulpit. They obtained, therefore an order for him to remain at his post. Accordingly, Bourdaloue remained in Paris and continued to preach with unabated zeal. On May 3rd, 1704, he ascended the pulpit for the last time, and preached with his accustomed energy. A few days later he fell ill; and died on 13th of the same month, after a long and fruitful career. But it may be truly said of him that he has not at all died. He has obtained not only immortality with those who instruct many unto justice, but he has obtained, so to say, immortality upon earth. His sermons, to the number of 131, together with sixty-seven instructions, and two volumes of miscellaneous reflexions (*Pensées*), survive him, and have been translated into many languages, and in these, though dead, he still preaches. Such, in brief, was Bourdaloue's career, so different from that of Bossuet, and yet in eloquence hardly less great. Let us pass on to inquire what was his manner of preaching, and what was the reputation he enjoyed as an orator.

II

Of the method followed by Bourdaloue in the preparation of his sermons we possess but few details. His literary and theological studies were solid, and when he undertook the duty of preaching he had attained maturity of age and of judgment. He brought, therefore, to the composition of his sermons a well stored and well balanced mind. We can gather from one or two incidents recorded of him, that he took great pains with the preparation of his discourses.

[1] *Bourdaloue: sa Correspondance et ses Correspondants*, p. 184.

In a letter to the Maréchal de Gramont, in May, 1677, Bourdaloue speaks as follows :—

> Now that the Lent is over and the sermons finished, you desire that I should satisfy my inclination and my duty by taking the liberty of communicating with you more frequently. . . . As for me, I have set to work to prepare new sermons, the composition of which will occupy me somewhat more than those of the missioners of Bayonne. My station for next year, if it be not changed, will be at St. Sulpice in the Faubourg St. Germain.[1]

It seems, therefore, to have been his practice, as soon as one course of sermons was finished to spend the interval until the next Lent or Advent, in preparing new sermons. And the fact that his sermons were published from his manuscripts after his death, shows that he must have written them in full.

In so long a career he must have more than once treated subjects on which he had already preached. Indeed, it was a matter of notoriety that he repeated the same sermons. In 1680, Madame de Sévigné gives her impressions of his sermon on the Passion. 'Father Bourdaloue preached like an angel from heaven last year, and this year also, for it is the same sermon.' In 1692, referring to his Advent sermons, she writes :—'Father Bourdaloue is doing wonders this Advent. People who have a good memory say they know his sermons. As for me, who have none, they are new to me.'[2]

But his repetitions were not mere rehearsals. He revised and improved his sermons before delivering them a second time. His Passion sermon is mentioned by Madame de Sévigné as an instance :—'Ah ! Bourdaloue !' she writes, 'He preached a Passion sermon, I am told more perfect than can be imagined. It was the same sermon as last year, which, as his friends advised, he readjusted to make it inimitable.'[3]

Such was Bourdaloue's method of preparation. What

[1] *Bourdaloue : sa Correspondance et ses Correspondants*, p. 34.
[2] 28 December. 1692.
[3] Letter, 1st April, 1677.

was his manner in the pulpit ? In the second dialogue on Eloquence there is an interesting passage in which Fénelon refers, without naming anyone, to a well-known preacher of his day. He admits his talent and the obligation the pulpit was under to him for having delivered it from the servitude of declaimers. But he criticises the preacher severely for certain defects of manner, for the rapidity of his utterance, his monotony of voice and gesture, his struggling memory, and his speaking with eyes closed. Bourdaloue's name is nowhere mentioned, but most writers maintain that he is the preacher to whom Fénelon refers. Anatole Feugère and M. Brunetière accept this opinion as well founded. But Father E. Griselle, S.J., regards it as far from certain that Bourdaloue is the person referred to ; and he is inclined to think that the legend of the closed eyes has its origin in the fact that the portrait of the great preacher, which was painted after his death, represents him with eyes shut. But to form an opinion of Bourdaloue's manner in the pulpit we are not left to inferences. We possess contemporary testimony. The Abbé Jarry, a contemporary authority, speaks of his delivery in the following terms :—

> The delivery of the great man whom I have mentioned was strong, majestic, full of life and animation. As his sermons persuaded the understanding and touched the heart, so the beauty of his voice pleased the ear. Father Bourdaloue delivered his discourses with extraordinary rapidity, and was withal the slave of his memory. But this was not noticed, except occasionally, when he held his audience in suspense awaiting the continuation of the phrase he was trying to recall ; as he did not wish to substitute another for it, in order not to lose the thread of his discourse.[1]

The Abbé Legendre, another contemporary, speaks thus of Bourdaloue in his *Memoirs* :—'He had an engaging appearance, his voice was of prodigious strength ; he spoke very rapidly, but yet so distinctly that not a single word was lost.' [2] The vigour and the earnestness of Bourdaloue's

[1] *Revue Bourdaloue*, April, 1902, p. 79.
[2] *Ibid. loc. cit.*

delivery is beyond doubt. Even if we admit that he is the person referred to by Fénelon, the criticism amounts to no more than a statement that he had certain mannerisms. Many orators of the highest rank have had mannerisms, and if Bourdaloue was not free from them, they did not detract from his success, nor from the impression he produced upon his audience.

Many contemporary writers bear witness to the extraordinary success of Bourdaloue in the pulpit. When he preached the churches were crowded. During the Lent of 1679, when he preached at the church of St. Jacques de la Boucherie, the crowds and the number of carriages was such that traffic in the streets was interrupted.[1]

While he was yet only at the commencement of his career, the celebrated penitent, Madame de la Vallière, spoke of him in the following terms :—

> I am losing the Bishop of Condom (Bossuet). I had engaged him to preach the sermon for my clothing. If he does not return about the time when I shall be judged fit to get the habit, I shall make choice of Father Bourdaloue. He preached us a marvellous sermon on the Passion, capable of touching the hardest hearts. I had a conversation with him a few days ago. He pleased me much, and he is so penetrated with the truths he preaches that it is delightful.[2]

La Bruyère in his essay, *Sur la Chaire*, ranks Broudaloue with Bossuet as the first of orators. Bossuet himself, no incompetent judge, bears testimony to the excellence of his preaching : 'Father Bourdaloue,' he writes from Meaux, in 1694, 'has been here. He preached a sermon which has delighted the town and the whole diocese.'

Madame de Sévigné, whose letters represent so faithfully the impressions of the Court and of society in Paris in her time, speaks repeatedly of the wonderful success of Bourdaloue. She was present in the capital during the greater part of his career, and she assisted frequently at his sermons. On 13th March, 1671, she writes :—'I dined

[1] Letter of Madame de Sévigné, 27 Feb., 1679.
[2] Letter of Madame de la Vallière to the Marechal de Bellefonds, March, 1674.

to-day with Madame de Lavardin after having been to hear Bourdaloue, as were the *Meres de l'Eglise*, as I call the Princesses de Conte, and de Longueville. All the world was at the sermon ; and it was worthy of the audience.'

In 1683, he preached the Lent at the church of St. Paul-aux-Marais, the parish of Madame de Sévigné. She attended the sermons regularly, and early in March she wrote to a friend : 'I have got Bourdaloue on the brain. On Ash-Wednesday I commenced to attend the sermons at St. Paul's ; he has already delivered three admirable sermons.' At the close of the station she wrote : 'His zeal was never so triumphantly displayed. I am charmed ; I am carried off by it.' In 1686 she wrote : 'He has often taken my breath away by the extreme attention with which one hangs upon the strength and propriety of his discourses, and I only took breath when he was pleased to conclude a passage to begin another no less beautiful.'[1]

Fénelon himself does full justice to Bourdaloue in a memoir addressed to the Academie Française, in 1713 :— 'How many different styles have we admired in preachers before we had experience of that of Bourdaloue, who has attained, perhaps, the highest perfection of which our language is susceptible in that species of eloquence.'[2]

Father Gisbert, S.J., who was a student in Paris during a portion of Bourdaloue's career, writes as follows in his work on Christian Eloquence[3] :—

> There has never been witnessed a reputation more universal, more brilliant, more sustained, more out of the reach of envy, than that which Father Bourdaloue enjoyed for nearly forty years. Respecting him there was no difference of opinion. Court and city equally admired and esteemed him. As a man truly eloquent he united in his person all the great characteristics of true eloquence ; the simplicity of Christian preaching with majesty and grandeur, sublimity with clearness and a popular manner, strength with sweetness, vehemence with unction,

[1] Letter, April, 1686.
[2] Fénelon, *Memoire sur les occupation de l'Academie.*
[3] *Eloquence Chrétienne, dans l'idée et dans la pratique*, par P. B. Gisbert, S.J. Lyon, 1715, p. 244.

liberty with exactness, the greatest ardour with the clearest light. He spoke with zeal and fervour. What force in his delivery without excess or violence. What rapidity and fluency without confusion or disorder.

Such was Bourdaloue in the judgment of his contemporaries. Years have passed, and later critics appreciate him no less highly. La Harpe writes of him as follows:[1]—

The two great characteristic excellences of Bourdaloue are instruction and conviction. His Advent, his Lent, and especially his sermons on the Mysteries are masterpieces of clearness and of instruction, to which nothing can be compared. . . . To the eyes of reason Christianity is nowhere greater than in Bourdaloue. At the risk of using terms which seem contradictory, one might say of him that he is sublime in depth, as Bossuet is sublime in elevation. His diction is always natural, clear, correct, without much passion, but without void. Nothing is more irresistible than the solidity of his proofs. He promises unceasingly to demonstrate, but he is sure of his ground, and he always keeps his word. I should not be surprised, if, in a country like England, where preaching consists in proving, Bourdaloue were regarded as the greatest of preachers, and he would be so everywhere, if he had the movement of Demosthenes as he has the reasoning power.

Anatole Feugère, in his studies on the preaching and times of Bourdaloue, is no less eulogistic:—

As regards the art of speaking and skill, properly so called, who has carried it to a higher degree than Bourdaloue. In his discourses everything is studied, calculated; everything reveals a learned method and consummate experience. . . . Bourdaloue is the most fertile, the most solid, the most ingenious, in a word the most eloquent of dialecticians.

M. Brunetière, who ranks Bossuet as the first of Christian orators, renders full justice to Bourdaloue also:—

It is certain that at no time in his career as a preacher did Bossuet possess the reputation, and especially the vogue, one might say, the popularity of Bourdaloue. Bourdaloue is justly celebrated for the clearness of his divisions, and in truth he sometimes carries them to excess. But we may safely say that he is none the less in our language the master of oratorical development, of the art of distributing, arranging, and exhausting a

[1] La Harpe, *Cours de Littérature*, tom. ii., 2 partie.

subject. He is a master, too, of the art of transition ; and with him you pass without effort, almost without apparent movement from an idea to one akin to it, and from that one to another.

A second reason of the superiority of Bourdaloue, not certainly as an orator, but as a preacher, is to be found in his method of treating morals. He does not throw himself, like Bossuet, into the subtilities of dogma, he does not attempt to fathom or to force the obscurity of the Mysteries; he does aim at rendering their darkness visible. It is the will he addresses rather than the understanding. He is less concerned with convincing men's minds, than with moulding their habits to the practices of religion. Analyst, or, as it was said in his day, subtle anatomist, experienced director and confessor, which Bossuet was not, possessing a greater knowledge of men, he knows better than Bossuet where lies the resistance, and in order to soften it, how souls must be softened. The sermons of Bourdaloue are full of practical lessons and counsels.[1]

Elsewhere he writes :—

Bourdaloue is the most continuously eloquent of all our preachers ; he is in French the true master of oratorical development. He is remarkable for the variety and clearness of his divisions, for the practical details into which he enters, for the simplicity of his language, for the depth and correctness of his doctrine, and for the beauty of his transitions.[2]

We have quoted the testimony of French authors as best qualified to pronounce judgment on a preacher whose language is French. Let us add one more appreciation, and that from an English source. The Right Rev. Bishop Headley, expresses the following appreciation of the eloquence of Bourdaloue :—

The eloquence of Bourdaloue is not poetical, tender, or emotional. He has not the unction, the elevation, the pathos, of some of his own contemporaries. But he is a master of statement. He takes a point that is capable of effective treatment, and he never leaves it until it has long ceased to be a point, and stands out with stereoscopic effect. The art of development consists of two elements—the art of detail and the art of phrase. Bourdaloue produces much of his effect by the enumeration of details. He seldom reasons ; that is, he makes no show of reasoning. But he presents a general idea in every kind of

[1] Brunetière, art. Bourdaloue, *Grande Encyclop.*
[2] *Manuel de l'histoire de la littérature française.*

concrete reality. He heaps trait upon trait. He searches the whole field of moral knowledge, human character, human passion, human life, scripture, history, and even science to throw one gleam of light after another upon his central thought. He is not led away into mere rhetoric, poetry, or conceit, but he grips his thought fast till he has hammered it into his hearer's head.

Then he has the power of making effective phrases. His language is not mere repetition, not mere used up terminology, but a strong, bright, fresh presentment of his idea. Let the reader take up the famous sermon on Ambition, or on the Pardon of Injuries, and he will soon feel that 'eloquence of reason' which Voltaire credits him with. His elaborate divisions are now felt to be out of date. . . . But when he has got his division, when he has his single point well before him—there are few preachers who give the reader such an idea of fertile and persuasive development.[1]

III

But enough of testimonies as to the excellence of Bourdaloue. Let us pass on to examine his sermons, and see what they are, and what is the chief characteristic of Bourdaloue's preaching.

The sermons of Bourdaloue were not published by himself. Imperfect copies of some of them had been published unknown to him, and without his authority. He accordingly set to work to prepare an authentic edition. The General of his Order, in a letter dated 16th February, 1694, congratulated him on the project, and expressed a wish that the sermons should be published in Latin also for the advantage of those who did not understand French.[2] When Bourdaloue died the project was still unfulfilled, and the task of examining his manuscripts and preparing them for publication was confided to Father Bretonneau, S.J. Bretonneau undertook the work, and in 1707-1734 he published a complete edition of the works of Bourdaloue in sixteen volumes.[3] It consisted of twelve sermons for Advent; thirty-five for Lent; thirty-eight for the Sundays of the year; twenty-three on the Mysteries; sixteen pane-

[1] Paper from *Ampleforth Magazine*. *Tablet*, 23rd Aug., 1902.
[2] *Bourdaloue: sa Correspondance*, etc., par H. Cherot, p. 219.
[3] *Œuvres de Bourdaloue*. 16 vols. Rigaud. Paris, 1707-1734.

gyrics ; six sermons on the religious state ; two funeral orations ; twenty-two exhortations ; twelve instructions ; a spiritual retreat of eight days for religious ; an octave of discourses on the Most Holy Sacrament ; and a miscellany, entitled *Pensées*, made up of notes for sermons and extracts from letters of spiritual direction. The complete edition contained one hundred and thirty-two sermons, and about sixty-seven exhortations.

But as the sermons were not published until after the death of the preacher, the question has been asked : are they the genuine sermons which attracted all Paris in the seventeenth century ? A similar question might be asked about the sermons or orations of any public speaker. Many of the orations of Cicero were never delivered ; others were delivered, but they were revised and polished by the orator before they were given to the public. When the great Christian orators—such as Origen at Alexandria, St. John John Chrysostom at Antioch, St. Augustine at Hippo—preached, their discourses were taken down as they spoke by shorthand writers, and then written out in full, and submitted to the preacher for correction. When a speaker publishes his own discourses, or when it is taken down as it falls from his lips, we cannot doubt that it is his genuine work. If it be not such as it was delivered, it is, at least, such as he conceived a perfect discourse ought to be. But in the case of Bourdaloue, as in that of Bossuet, we have to rely on the faith of the editor who prepared his sermons for publication. Did the editor publish the sermons as he found them in the manuscript, or did he select and join together fragments of distinct discourses ? In the case of Bossuet the manuscripts still exist, and on examination of them shows that in the critical edition of the Abbé Lebarq we possess his genuine sermons. But it is otherwise with Bourdaloue. Most of the manuscripts no longer exist ; and hence we are obliged to rely on the testimony of the first editor, Father Bretonneau. What account does he give of his work ? In the preface to the first volume for Advent, he says : ' These are the genuine sermons of Bourdaloue, and not imperfect copies, such as

were published several years ago, and which he loudly disowned.'

This declaration is explicit and would leave no room for doubt were it not for certain expressions which he makes use of elsewhere. Referring to the sermons for Lent, he writes: 'Although in several of the sermons for Lent he does not address the King, yet they were almost all preached before the Court, but on different days, and under other Gospels.' Again, in the preface to the sermons for Sundays, he writes:—'He (Bourdaloue) had not leisure to revise them himself, and give them the final polish. This I have endeavoured to make up for; and by assiduous and constant labour I have succeeded in publishing a course of sermons for the entire year.' That the sermons of Bourdaloue underwent a certain amount of editing at the hands of Bretonneau seems certain. But the most competent critics are of opinion that the editor went no farther than the adaptation of the sermons to a text, or slight modification of unimportant details.

> There is reason to believe [writes M. Brunetière] that he (Bourdaloue) had made a selection of the sermons which he wished to publish; and on the other hand, as regards the authenticity of the text, the liberties which his confrère, Bretonneau, may have taken when publishing them cannot have been great, if you compare the sermons of Bourdaloue, with those which Bretonneau has published of his own.[1]

The *editio princeps* of Bourdaloue's sermons is that of Bretonneau, published (chez Rigaud, Paris) in 1707-34. A more recent edition was published in Paris in 1822-26, and one still more recent by Guerin, at Bar-le-Duc, in 1864. At the present time Père Eugene Griselle, S.J., who published in 1901 a valuable work entitled, *Historie critique de la predication de Bourdaloue*, is engaged in the laudable effort to seek out the manuscripts of Bourdaloue's sermons, and to collate all the earlier published editions of them. As the result of his labours he hopes to be able to produce a truly critical edition, which may serve as an enduring monument of the centenary of the great preacher.

[1] F. Brunetière, art. Bourdaloue, *Grande Encyclop.*

Regarding it, then, as certain that we possess the genuine sermons of Bourdaloue, let us go on to inquire what is the chief characteristic of his eloquence.

To appreciate a preacher from his printed sermons is a difficult task. A sermon is not like a book which speaks to the eye only. In a sermon there are not only the words and the arguments ; the living voice of the speaker has an energy which arouses the attention and influences the feelings. The preacher and the audience and the occasion all contribute to produce an effect which no printed text can revive. The sermons, then, of Bourdaloue can never convey to the reader all they conveyed to those who heard them from his own lips ; yet, even when read, there is one characteristic which they possess in a very high degree : they were eminently practical. He begins by stating his subject and laying down the division and plan of his discourse. To make it more clear he repeates it in different terms. Taking up each point, he first lays down his principles and proves them by solid arguments ; then, as if afraid lest his audience should not make the application of the subject to themselves, he proceeds to illustrate it by examples taken from real life such as it existed amongst the audience he addressed. The life and vigour of his descriptions are such that many in his own time, and many critics since his time, have believed they perceived in them portraits of real persons. They were so real, so life-like, that on some occasions, as Madame de Sévigné expressed it, there seemed nothing wanting but the name. A celebrated instance of such portraits is to be found in his sermon on Detraction.[1] Having developed his subject and pointed out how grave a sin detraction is, he proceeds to dwell on the illusion which prevails regarding it, and he continues thus :—

Have I not reason to be astonished that since detraction is so prejudicial to man, men are so devoid of vigilance and circumspection in guarding against it. But, Christians, do you know what astonishes me still more ? It is that in an age like ours, in an age, I mean, when we hear nothing spoken of but reformation, and strict morality, there are to be seen men

[1] *Sermon sur la Médisance.*

to all appearance so full of zeal for the discipline of the Church who, nevertheless, follow the laxest principles on the most rigorous obligation of Christian justice, namely, the restitution and reparation of honour. A man shall have spent his whole life in decrying not merely a few individuals, but whole bodies. He shall have laboured to bring to light a thousand injurious and calumnious statements, and, as if it were not enough to publish them by word of mouth, and to inform the world of them, either in person or through others animated by like sentiments, he shall have committed them to writing, to perpetuate the memory of them throughout ages to come. Yet that man dies, and for all that he makes no visible reparation. Without entertaining a doubt as to his responsibility, people say unhesitatingly, 'He was a good man; a great servant of God; he died in sentiments of piety which touched the hearts of all and edified all the world.' I admit all that, brethren. I will not diminish in aught the good opinion of his life. But, after all, three things make me uneasy. One is, that beyond doubt he is loaded with an infinite number of detractions, and atrocious detractions; the second is, that every detraction which has not been repaired as far as it could and ought to have been repaired, becomes, at the judgment seat of God, and according to the mildest doctrine, a certain pledge of damnation; and the third is, that there is no evidence that the dying man gave any mark of having repented of his past detractions or having adopted any means to repair them. This is what I leave you to reconcile with a holy life, and a holy death. For me it is a mystery I cannot comprehend, and a secret I cannot fathom. Christians, let us do better, and while we judge no man, let us judge ourselves.

In this passage, critics—and it is difficult not to agree with them—see the portrait of Pascal, author of the celebrated letters to a Provincial.

In the sermon on Christian Strictness[2] there is another portrait no less striking, which is regarded as that of the Arnaulds and the Jansenists. Again, in his sermon on Hypocrisy, the picture he draws of those who, by their caricatures of false piety, bring all piety into discredit, is regarded as a portrait of Molière. But, if in his sermons there are certain portraits which suggest a name, the circumstances which gave occasion to them were of public notoriety.

[1] *Sermon sur la sévérité Chrétienne.*

With regard to the others it is more consistent with the character of a great Christian preacher, such as Bourdaloue was, to infer that he wished to stigmatize not individuals, but prevailing vices. And here lies Bourdaloue's characteristic excellence. He spoke, not as aiming at an uncertainty, nor as one beating the air, but he addressed himself to the audience before him. That audience was composed of the Court, of the nobility, of the learned professions, of the higher classes of society. In that society the nobles formed a class apart, who spent their lives in pleasure, heedless of the mass of the people, who toiled in misery. In that society there was to be found, indeed, many animated by a profound spirit of faith, but there existed also a widespread spirit of Jansenism, undermining the true spirit of Christianity. In that society, in spite of elegance and refinement, there existed great corruption of morals ; and the Court itself was often the scene of scandals. While the poor were groaning under exactions, the rich gave themselves up to excess, and the nobles spent their time in frivolous amusements and wasted their fortunes in gambling. Churches and monasteries were richly endowed, and it was nothing unusual for parents to compel a younger son to take orders to qualify for a benefice, or to force a daughter to enter the cloister against her will, to enjoy an abbacy. All these abuses existed in the society to which Bourdaloue preached. His mission was to correct and reform them. Therefore he denounced them ; and as the history of Christian morals in the early Church may be seen in the pages of St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine, so the true picture of the society of the seventeenth century is to be found in the sermons of Bourdaloue. Let us take a few instances. Contemporary documents tell us that in Bourdaloue's time intemperance was making great progress amongst the higher classes. Here is how he denounces that vice in his sermon on Christian Temperance [1] :—

What a reproach to us, my dear hearers, what a reproach to all of us ; but in particular (for I cannot pass over in silence

[1] *Sermon sur la Tempérance Chrétienne.*

one of the greatest scandals of our time, in which we have seen it arise and increase every day), what a reproach to women. That the sex is vain, that it is jealous of perishable attractions, that it places all its glory in display, in shining either by the richness of the ornaments with which it decks itself, or by the splendour of the beauty with which nature has endowed it, is a fault with which it has been reproached in every age. But that by a corruption altogether new, women have reached an intemperance formerly unknown, that they affect a pretended strength in this respect, and boast of it, is an abuse which the iniquity of these last times has introduced amongst us ; and God grant that it does not end by banishing all virtue from amongst Christians. Yet people are sometimes so bold as to ask whether these excesses are criminal. But I ask, can there be the smallest doubt on the subject ? Must we have recourse to Christian morality to decide such a question ; and would not the pagans themselves rise up in God's judgment against us if we did not condemn these disorders not only as crimes, but as abominations ? The remedy, my dear hearers, as I have said and I repeat, is to confine oneself to the limits of what is sufficient for human weakness ; and since these excesses are ordinarily committed in certain assemblies, the means to maintain oneself in a sober and temperate life is to avoid them as far as charity to our neighbour and our state of life permits.

In his sermon on the Duty of Parents [1] he condemns the conduct of those who compel their children to take orders, or to enter the cloister. Having described the constraint exercised, he goes on to say :—

Nevertheless, they conduct this victim to the temple, bound hand and foot—I mean in sentiments of a will constrained ; silent through fear and respect for a father whom she has always honoured. In the midst of a ceremony brilliant for the spectators, but sad for the person who is the object of it, they present her to the priest, and make of her a sacrifice which, far from glorifying and pleasing God, is hateful to Him and provokes His vengeance. Ah, Christians, what an abomination ! And after that, ought we to be astonished that whole families are struck with the malediction of God. 'No, no,' said Salvian, with a holy irony, 'we are no longer in the days of Abraham, when the sacrifice of children by their parents was rare. Nothing is now more common than imitators of that great patriarch. Every day he is surpassed. For, instead of awaiting an order from Heaven they anticipate it. They immolate a child to God ;

[1] *Sermon sur les devoirs des Pères.*

they immolate it without pain, even with joy; they immolate it, though God does not command, or even accept the sacrifice. They immolate it even when God forbids, and does not cease to say: "Ne extendas manum tuum super puerum."—(Gen. vi. 26.)'

In his sermon onl Soth,[1] here is how he denounces the idleness of the rich :—

The question [he says] is this: When God pronounced that malediction on the first man, *In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane*, 'Thou shalt earn thy bread by the sweat of thy brow,' did He mean by those words to make a general law including all the posterity of Adam, or did he favour some and deal rigorously with others; did He except certain conditions and states of life; did He destine the great and the wealthy to the enjoyment of repose, and the poor to misery and servitude? Did He say to the latter, 'You shall moisten the earth with your sweat,' and to the former, 'You shall enjoy only delights'? I ask you, brethren, did God make such a distinction? 'Ah! brethren,' answers St. Chrysostom, 'He had no such intention; His justice, which is incapable of making any other distinction between man and man than that of innocence or sin, was far from taking into account birth and fortune, and regulating men's destiny thereby.' No, Christians, God gave to the rich no privilege to free them from that obligation. As sin was common to all, He willed that all should share in the malediction.

Let us not speak in general terms but for your improvement, and to render this discourse useful let us enter into details. . . . Is there anything more opposed to the idea Jesus Christ gives us of our condition than that continued gaming, that life of pleasure? Were there no such thing as Christianity, could a man, guided by reason, approve of it; and if at the mere tribunal of reason he is obliged to condemn it, what judgment, think you, will God pass upon it? You ask, is salvation at stake? And who doubts it, Christians? In what would it be interested if not in the profanation of what is most precious in the world, namely, time, and that the time to do penance? Now, what greater profanation can be imagined than the manner in which those of whom I speak live? If, in consequence of those principles, an idle word shall be condemned, what shall be the fate of a whole life in which God shall find nothing but what is useless?

Besides denouncing the idleness of the higher classes he

[1] *Sermon sur l'oisiveté.*

denounced also their amusements. Let us take a few extracts from his sermon on the Amusements of the World :

I consider the amusements of the world in their nature, in their extent, and in their effects. Now, I maintain, as you shall see, that they are almost all either impure and forbidden in their nature, and this is my first point ; or excessive in their extent, and this is the second point ; or scandalous in their effects, and this is the third or concluding point. Attend, if you please, to these three ideas, which require a fuller explanation, and which I proceed to set forth.

In his discourse he lashes with powerful invective the prevailing amusements of the day, viz., theatrical entertainments and dangerous literature, betting, and dress. After having stigmatized the first class of amusements as impure and forbidden, he goes on to those which are carried to excess. He points out the excess of time wasted, and of expense incurred in betting, and the evils to which it leads. Then he deals with the excuses men put forward in their defence :—

' But my play, after all, is but very trifling and very ordinary.' I grant it. But that play, so ordinary, afflicts creditors, who receive nothing, and who could, at least, provide necessaries with what a superfluous amusement deprives them of. That play, so ordinary, hinders you from providing your children not only with a good education suitable to their rank, but sometimes with food and clothing. That play, so ordinary, hardens you to the groans and lamentations of the wretched who seek your assistance, and receive from you no relief. Gaming, full of injustice, equally odious to God and men : to God, who sees the order of His providence reversed, and His laws violated ; to men who are frustrated of their rights and of what is due to them by so many titles ! We hear nothing spoken of but calamities and miseries. It seems as if Heaven in its anger had poured down all its scourges on the earth to lay it desolate. Everyone uses this language. We hear nothing but complaints and lamentations. But see the intolerable contradiction. In the midst of those lamentations and complaints has so much gaming ceased ? Have so many men and women of the world put a restriction on their play, have they limited themselves to play less ? In truth, my dear hearers, is not this to insult the public misfortune ; is not this an outrage on the religion you profess ; is not this to kindle anew the wrath of Heaven ? You will answer me that you make retrenchments. But where do you begin to retrench ? Is it in your play ? No,

certainly. But once more, where do you begin? With the bread which those who are dying of hunger should receive from you. Where do you begin? With the necessaries of your household, where everything is wanting in order that your play may not want. Where do you begin? By all that has no connection with your play, or rather by curtailing the most essential things, even necessaries, to supply your play. I know that considering what I say from a theoretical point of view, and at first sight, it will seem that I am exaggerating, and that I press my teaching beyond due limits. But examine the question practically, consult your own knowledge, pay attention to what is going on around you, and you will admit that so far from exaggerating there are many other excesses which I do not mention, and to which a love of gaming leads. What would it be if I spoke to you of a woman who in play, from which the strongest remonstrances cannot withdraw her, spends on one hand all her husband saves, who lies in wait to deceive him, and takes for her play all she can lay her hands on. If I spoke of a husband, who passing by turns from gaming to debauchery and from debauchery to gaming, exposes even his capital, and risks on a single throw the property of his entire family. If I spoke of a young man who, without restraint or reflexion, borrows on all sides and from all sorts of persons; and as he cannot yet despoil himself of an inheritance which he does not yet possess; deprives himself, at least, in anticipation of his rights, and provided he can but play, reckons as nothing a whole inheritance which he squanders.

He next goes on to the third species of amusements which are scandalous in their consequences, and he says :—

An example, Christians, will best explain what I mean. Of all pleasures is there any more indifferent in itself, or more innocent, than a promenade? Of all the amusements in the world is it not the one which presents the least ground for censure, and wherein the laws of conscience have, it seems least to reform? But I maintain, and you know as well as I, that there are promenades which are suspicious; others which are openly bad, and others which are scandalous. And the scandal regards not merely the libertine and the vicious, but even those who, in appearance, have the greatest hatred and horror of vice.

What would they (the Doctors of the Church) have said of those promenades for which people dress as for a ball; to which they bring the same spirit and the same display; what would they have said of those promenades, changed into public comedies, in which each one, at once actor and spectator, wishes to play his part and sustain his character? What would they

have said of those secret promenades, where chance to all appearance, but chance in fact well arranged and premeditated, leads to so-called meetings but real rendezvous? What would they have said of those walks?—I go no further. I owe this respect to the holy place wherein we are assembled. The disorders are such that modesty itself commands me to say no more, and I cannot better reproach you with them than by silence.

The energy with which Bourdaloue denounced prevailing vices is described by Madame de Sévigné in a letter dated 29th March, 1680. 'After dinner,' she writes, 'we heard the sermon of Bourdaloue, who always strikes like one deaf, preaching truths at full speed, denouncing adultery right and left; escape who can, he goes right on.' It was on this occasion, probably, that he preached one of his greatest sermons, *Sur l'Impureté*. Alluding to public scandals, to poisonings, which had come before the courts, and to other disorders which were well known to all, he spoke with apostolic energy and freedom. His sermon was criticised with severity as having exceeded the bounds of prudence and propriety. Bourdaloue was informed of this, and in a sermon delivered soon after, on the conversion of Magdalen, he referred to the observations to which his previous discourse had given occasion:—

If, in another discourse [he said] I have spoken of this sin more in detail; it was the pure words of St. Paul I made use of. Consecrated as they are, I thought that after the example of the great Apostle, I might make use of them. . . The Christians of those early times were not offended because St. Paul reproved them so strongly and so severely. But persuaded of the importance and necessity of that instruction, they received it with perfect docility; they were edified, touched, and penetrated with a holy compunction if they had any share in it; or with a salutary fear if they were innocent. I had a right to believe I should find in you the same dispositions, and that a lesson which St. Paul thought suitable to the period of the primitive Church, that is to a period of sanctity, would be much more useful in an age so corrupt as ours. I was mistaken. This age, corrupt though it is, has on this point more delicacy than the early Church. What I said did not please the world, and God grant that the world in condemning me has observed the measure of respect, religion, and piety due to my ministry; for, as regards my person, I know that nothing is due to me.

Too happy, if in seeing myself condemned I could hope to have confounded vice and glorified God. Too happy, if the blame of the world has deprived my words of none of their utility and efficacy; if there have been souls who, like the first Christians, have not only been instructed but also converted. What pleases the world is not always what is best and most necessary for the world. What displeases it is often the medicine, bitter it may be, which would work its cure. To be shocked and scandalized at such truths is one of the most evident marks of the need one has of them. To be edified by them, and to apply them to oneself, is the most certain mark of a soul which truly seeks the kingdom of God.[1]

From these specimens of the style of Bourdaloue it is evident he was no theorist. He spoke to the consciences of men. 'Come, said the Samaritan woman, and see a man who has told me all whatsoever I have done. Is not He the Christ ?' [2] So it is with the faithful. The preacher who can lay bare to them their hearts and set before them the portrait of their lives, attracts, interests and influences them. Such a preacher was Bourdaloue. He 'did not seek the wit that sparkles, nor the harmony which delights, nor the emotion which thrills. He sought rather the flash which pierces, the thunder which awes, the bolt which crushes hearts.' [3] His success was due to the fact that he was clear in statement, cogent in reasoning, and practical in details. He was the preacher suited to the needs of his time. The sound spirituality of St. Ignatius kept him aloof from the quarrels of Quietism. His attachment to the Holy See preserved him from Gallicanism. His zeal rendered him severe against heresy, but charitable to heretics. Above all, he was the champion of orthodoxy against Jansenism. The Jansenists were grave, calm, logicial. Bourdaloue was as grave, as calm, as logical as they. Wisely, strongly, calmly, with number, weight, and measure, he refuted them, and taught doctrine at once free from excessive rigour and excessive laxity. He was the apostle of his time. New manners have since been adopted, new questions are agitated, and new errors promulgated. If Bourdaloue

[1] *Sermon sur la conversion de la Madaleine.*
[2] John iv. 29.
[3] Bossuet, *Sermon sur la parole de Dieu.*

lived to-day his style, his manner, would, perhaps, be different. But he would be the preacher of his age ; warning men against prevailing vices and errors. He would teach men in the twentieth century, as in the seventeenth, the virtues they must practice and the vices they must avoid to gain eternal life. The great lesson which the career of Bourdaloue teaches is, that to be effective a preacher must bring to the pulpit not only a knowledge of the Divine Word and of theology, but a knowledge of the hearts and lives of men ; he must study the audience to whom he speaks, and aim, above all, at their instruction and moral improvement. The sermons of Bourdaloue were preached on solemn occasions. They were intended not to take the place of the plain parochial preaching, which must be, as it were, the daily food of the people. Like missions they were intended as a powerful remedy to rouse the languid, to warn the wicked, to lift higher the religious spirit of the people. But they possess characteristics which every sermon should possess. They are clear in statement, solid in proof, and practical in detail and earnest in manner. If the centenary of Bourdaloue serves to arouse preachers to imitate these characteristics of his eloquence, it will not have been commemorated in vain.

PATRICK BOYLE, C.M.

THE BLACK CASTLE OF WICKLOW

A Chapter in the Life of Edmund O'Reilly, *Archbishop of Armagh*

CLOSE to the harbour of Wicklow, on an almost isolated cliff of dark grey slate, are the remains of an ancient fortress known to fame as 'the Black Castle.' In the troublous time following the insurrection of 1641 this castle played an important part, and, owing to a state trial held in Dublin in the days of the Commonwealth, has become inseparably associated with the name of Dr. Edmund O'Reilly, then Vicar-General of the Archdiocese of Dublin, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh.

Brief and hardly legible notes of the trial (6th and 7th September, 1653), at the High Court of Justice, are preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, in a small volume lettered F. 4. 16, which contains the notes of other trials held about the same time, and among them that of Sir Phelim O'Neill, together with a number of detached papers all of considerable interest to the student of that perplexing period. The notes of the trial with which we are now more particularly concerned have been printed with some degree of accuracy (and some paraphrasing) by Miss Hickson, in the second volume of her work bearing the suggestive title, *The Irish Massacres, or Ireland in the 17th Century*. The attitude of this writer—more of the seventeenth than of the nineteenth century—is sufficiently shown by the following extract :—

> The long trial of the Reverend Edmund O'Reilly, the Roman Catholic Vicar-General of the Dublin diocese, shows the impartiality with which the prisoners were treated, and the latitude allowed them in the preparation of their defence. The popular notion that neither justice nor mercy was shown to the priests in the Cromwellian Courts is scattered to the winds by the proceedings of this trial. It is noteworthy that the majority of

the witnesses against the Vicar-General were persons of his own race and creed. Mr. and Mrs. Wolverston, members of an old Anglo-Irish Roman Catholic family of good position in Dublin and Wicklow, whose daughter was a nun, gave evidence against him.[1] He charged two of the Irish witnesses of the O'Byrne clan with having sworn falsely against him because he had formally punished them for immorality, but their evidence was in itself trifling,[2] and it is impossible to believe that all the rest of the witnesses were immoral and perjured. The prisoner did not indeed venture to say that they were so. At the same time it is only fair to point out that much of their evidence was mere hearsay, and that a witness of English name,[3] probably a Protestant, swore that O'Reilly had saved the lives of several Protestants. For these very sufficient reasons, although a verdict of guilty[4] was found in his case, his life was spared. He himself gave a remarkable piece of evidence as to the impunity that murderers enjoyed under Lieutenant-General O'Byrn.

The popular notion, I should say, is something very different from that indicated in the foregoing. The notion is—and it rests on no less an authority than Cromwell himself—that priests and friars were knocked on the head promiscuously, hanged, or shipped to the West Indies without any formality of trial. Dr. Edmund O'Reilly was indeed more fortunate than many of his colleagues in the ministry. The charge against him was not only wild and improbable, it was foolish in the extreme, and supported by only the merest pretence of evidence, as Miss Hickson herself, in effect, admits. The testimony of the two O'Byrne witnesses (as we are to call them) was indeed 'trifling,' or worse; but no one else was able to bring forward anything more to the purpose. The Wolverstons are paraded as important witnesses, while they had nothing to say really worth the paper on which it was writ. The only important testimony was that of the Englishmen Allen and Pemberton, who shewed clearly enough how impossible it was that Dr. O'Reilly could have act or part in a murder.

[1] It will be seen further on what that evidence amounts to.

[2] Absurd, rather. 'Trifling' is the general character of what was produced in court; it deserves not the name of evidence.

[3] Two of them: Allan and Pemberton.

[4] Of what? The writer ignores the true character of the finding.

Nor is it correct to infer that the Vicar-General charged Lieutenant-General O'Byrne with conniving at murders. A verdict of guilty was recorded against O'Reilly, but *not* as Miss Hickson has printed the record : he was found guilty of being 'accessary to the murder at the Black Castle,' of which murder Edmund Duffe Birne was found guilty. That the Government of the day felt the impossibility of connecting the priest with the alleged crime is clear enough from what followed. In her seventeenth-century zeal, Miss Hickson so far overshoots the mark as to imply a charge of complicity against the Cromwellian rulers of Ireland. Assuming that O'Reilly had been guilty of murder—or, what is not by any means the same, *found* guilty by the High Court Judges—it would, on the part of the Lieutenant-General of the Commonwealth and his Council, be most criminal complicity to allow the convicted to escape on any pretext such as is suggested in the following in continuation of that cited above :—

Carte and other Royalist historians assert that the real cause of mercy shown to Vicar-General O'Reilly was that he had secretly betrayed the Irish and English troops of Ormond and Purcell at Baggotrath[1] in 1649 to Michael Jones the Parliamentary general, by inducing an Irishman to offer himself as a guide to the Irish-Royalist troops, and to mislead them on a midnight march. Father Walsh, the Franciscan friar, who certainly had peculiar opportunities[2] for detecting such an act of treachery, assured Carte and Ormond that O'Reilly had been guilty of it. The charge may have been true, for it is certain that about that time the Jesuits and a section of the Roman Catholic clergy were endeavouring to come to secret terms with Cromwell and the Independents[3] finding that Ormond could not be won over to change his religion [she here refers to vol. i., p. 386]. O'Reilly was appointed Archbishop of Armagh by the Pope in 1656, and died in 1669.

We shall presently see what Carte and Father Peter

[1] 'The Royalist camp at Rathmines,' it ought to be.

[2] What opportunities? The friar may have heard such nonsense among the hangers-on of the Duke.

[3] Who tried to induce the Duke to return to the creed of his earlier days, except Father Walsh himself, when both were nearing the grave? The Duke then twitted Walsh with being very slow in tendering the advice if he thought it so important.

Walsh have to say in the matter. But where could the two men have met in the flesh? Father Peter Walsh died in 1688, in which year the biographer of the Duke of Ormond was no more than two years old, having been born in 1686. (I take these dates from the *Dictionary of National Biography*.) Father Peter may have hinted something of the kind to his great friend the Duke, but he could hardly have broached such a matter to baby Carte. This recalcitrant Franciscan friar certainly had peculiar opportunities for endearing himself to the bitterest enemies of his Order and creed. He has deserved well of those who are ever ready to honour the maligner, however virulent or stupid, of the priests and people of Ireland. He is not, however, by any means so definite on this particular point as Miss Hickson represents, and, as a matter of fact, Carte complains of his author's vagueness in respect to the disaster to Ormond's army. The allegation is altogether foolish; but Carte was ready enough to clutch at anything which might serve to cover the disgrace of his hero; and Ormond himself was not likely to discourage so acceptable an excuse for that ignominious and ruinous defeat. As this unfortunate affair is made to hang so heavy on the fair fame of Dr. Edmund O'Reilly, it may be well to point out that in the usual accounts of the Ormond disaster two events are mixed up, which in reality ought to stand apart. The failure at Baggotrath Castle was a trifle compared with the surprise and rout at Rathmines. Even if we accept the story of the guides, it affords no reason why the camp at Rathmines should be left open to such a surprise. Referring to Ormond's design against Baggotrath, Carte says:—

Before any resolution was taken, Lord Castlehaven, General Preston, Major-General Purcell, and Sir A. Aston were sent to view the place, and see if it was capable of being so strengthened in one night's work as to secure the party to be there posted. They returned approving, as in all respects fit for the purpose. Orders hereupon were given to Purcell to command thither in the beginning of the night 1,500 foot (the number advised by those who had viewed the ground) with materials to fortify. He accordingly began as soon as it was dark to march with that party, but met with so ill guides, that, though it was within

half a mile of the leaguer, he had not got thither a full hour before day. P. Walsh says (*History of Remonstrance*, p. 609), that Edmund Reilly, who had carried on the treaty between Jones, Antrim, and O'Neill, then Vicar-General of Dublin, and afterwards titular Archbishop of Armagh, betrayed the Royal camp at Rathmines to Jones, which he pleaded by way of merit, when, in 1653, he was under prosecution for being the chief author of the burning of the Black Castle of Wicklow, and of murdering those in it, during the Cessation ; and thereby saved his life. He does not say in what particular this treachery consisted, but *it is not improbable* that it lay in instructing the guides (who were under his spiritual charge, and could hardly mistake the way) to mislead the party ordered on a work so likely to hasten the reduction of Dublin.[1]

Now this explanation is no more than surmise of the most frivolous character. What great need could there be for guides when Purcell and his colleagues in command had been over the ground in open day, only a few hours before the night expedition set out ? The short intervening space was then an open plain, and, even if wooded, might have been traversed in half an hour by the leader who ought to have taken full note of the place earlier in the day. And how vague is the attempt to connect Dr. O'Reilly with the supposed guides ! They were of the diocese of which he was then Vicar-General, and *therefore* he must have tutored them so and so ! The allegation that he pleaded this as a merit, when on his trial in 1653, seems at first sight a serious matter. The fact is, there is not a trace of such pleading in the existing record of his trial. The note of his defence is more than usually ample and detailed. Had he made any allusion to such service to the Cromwellian party, it had appeared in some shape on the judge's abstract. The accused made a good defence, and had no need to introduce so irrelevant a plea. That the Government ultimately came to the same conclusion, is much more to their credit than their latter-day lady apologist would have it. The Ormondist party may, in their desperate efforts to put some face upon a military bungle of so disastrous an issue, have set afoot some such

[1] *Life of Ormonde*, ii., p. 79.

rumours as Father Walsh hints at rather than mentions. But if there was treachery in the affair, it would be within rather than without the camp; and no attempt has been made to show that Dr. O'Reilly was in or about the camp at the time. Let it be kept in view, that Ormond first settled down at Finglas,[1] on the north side of the city, that he crossed the Liffey, and pitched his camp at Rathmines, and was all the time—from the end of June till August 2nd—within an hour's march of Dublin Castle, and under the eyes of the Parliamentary Governor, Michael Jones, who, we may be sure, watched Ormond's every movement, abiding the time when to fall on with effect. At the head of the 'Intelligence' department, then and for years after, was the Governor's brother, Dr. Henry Jones, who had put aside his mitre of Clogher to take service under the Puritan party—one of the most active and unscrupulous instruments that have ever borne part in the degradation of the native race in Ireland. With such a Governor and such a Scoutmaster, watching his moves, the excuse made for Ormond is to this effect: That worn out with watching and fatigue in connection with the abortive attempt to possesss himself of the old ruined castle at Baggotrath, he had sought some repose. But had they all gone asleep in his camp that morning? Or did Ormond imagine that the man to whom he had given over Dublin

[1] 'Ormond, intending to besiege the capital, marched his army, in June, to Finglass, a village within two miles of Dublin. The garrison, commanded by Col. Michael Jones, was reinforced by some troops from England. These troops consisted of a regiment of horse and two of infantry, under the command of Colonels Venables and Hunks, well provided with provisions and warlike stores. The city being difficult of attack from the side of Finglass. Ormond crossed the river above the bridge with his army, and encamped at Rathmines. By the advice of his council he seized upon an old castle at Baggotrath which commanded the entrance to the harbour. This gave him a twofold advantage, viz., it facilitated his approach and prevented any succour arriving by sea to the besieged. He next sent workmen to repair the castle, and a force to protect them. This manœuvre greatly alarmed the garrison, and allowed the Governor to see into its design and consequences. On the morning of the 2nd August he made a sally in good order, retook the castle, and put the troops who were guarding it to the sword. This first success animated the garrison, the remainder of which marched against the camp. In vain did Sir William Vaughan oppose the enemy with a body of horse; they were routed, and he himself killed, and the panic having reached the rest of Ormond's army, he himself, his cavalry and infantry, were all shamefully put to flight.'—*MacGeoghegan.*

in 1647, would now return the compliment, and quietly await his Excellency's conveninece to retake the city? What excuse, I ask, was the alleged treachery of the guides on the way to Baggotrath, for the negligence of Ormond and his staff in leaving the camp open to a sally from the garrison? They invited the disaster, and meanly sought to shift the blame on one who had no faith in Ormond.

The description of the camp at Rathmines by the author of *The Warr in Ireland*, 1641-1653, an officer originally in the regiment of Sir John Clotworthy, and in 1649 on the Royalist side, ought not to be overlooked:—

> For, such a Camp for plenty of all things, and rich withall, was never seen in Ireland before, so as it might well be baites to poor soldiers close besieged. This Army was called the Army Royal, and well it might be so, and for riches and number may well be paralleled to King Darius's Army when they fought against Alexander the Great: who being so numerous and confident, undervaluing their Enemies, that the most of them never thought that fighting would come their turn, and so were gaping on till they were Routed without fighting—I mean the most part of his Army.—(Pages 82, 83.)

But it is time to introduce Father Peter Walsh, O.S.F., in his own character:—

> It was at last whispered during the first Cessation (of Arms) about the year 1644 or '45[1] 'twixt the Marquess of Ormond as the King's Lieutenant, of one side, and the Irish Confederates, of the other, that he the same Edmund Reylly, Vicar-General of Dublin, had been the chief Author of the late horrid both breach of publick Faith and cruel Murders too committed by some Irish within the English quarters in seizing the King's Castle at Wicklo, and burning it and all persons that lived then in it both Protestants and Catholics.[2]

In the notes of the trial there is no indication of such a holocaust. The name of the keeper, Joyce, is the only one that appears in connection with the burning of the castle, and the burning would seem rather to be the outcome of

[1] The dates must refer to the 'whisper,' not to the Cessation, which was in 1643. The burning of the Black Castle was in December, 1645.

[2] These extracts are taken from Walsh's bulky volume, *The History and Vindication of the Royal Formulary, or Irish Remonstrance*, printed 1674, pp. 608-9,

a drunken bout. Some parties—but Father O'Reilly was not among them—were admitted, it would appear, in a friendly way. There was, it further appears, a social carouse; and, as has happened before and since, the carouse led to a quarrel, and the castle got burned. How the fire originated, how many lost their lives on the occasion, and how, or whether any escaped, I find myself unable to make out from the existing manuscript scrawl. The strongest evidence against Father O'Reilly was that he pronounced the burning to be accidental, and certainly there is no evidence to show that it was otherwise. It was from certain expressions attributed to him before and after the event, that his enemies sought to fix upon him the guilt of being 'the chief author' of the alleged murders. And Father Peter Walsh has made himself responsible for attaching more value to the imputation than is warranted by the record of the trial, although he is careful not to commit himself to any definite opinion on the merits of the charge to which he gives currency. I am in a position to show that Walsh errs grievously in some of the statements which follow. I pass over his verbose account of Dr. O'Reilly's appointment as Vicar-General to Archbishop Fleming (who, as a leading member of the Confederation, had taken up his abode at Kilkenny, leaving the administration of his diocese in O'Reilly's hands) and of his temporary suspension from the Vicar-Generalship 1648-50.

Thenceforth, until Owen O'Neal's army came in upon special capitulation, about the end of the year 1649 he was the chief Messenger, Minister, and Agent that passed to and fro 'twixt the said General and the aforesaid Parliament Commander in chief, Michael Jones,[1] at Dublin, albeit often with the hazard of his life, being waylaid by Scurlog. Restored then to his Vicar Generalship, in the year 1650, joyning with those of Jamestown, and continuing always earnest promoter of their designs against the Royal Government although now in Clanrickard, he made one of, and sat in, that Provincial Synod of Dublin or Leinster, held anno 1652, in the woods of Clanmalira which declared me

[1] To whom Ormond had, in 1647, handed over the city and sword of State rather than to the Irish leaders, whose services he was forced to seek within two years later on.

Excommunicated, &c., as before was said, Although I withal confess, he was much about that time, or certainly at least in the precedent year 1650, far more humane and good-natured to me than others, when in the self-same woods Luke (*alias* Fiacha) O'Toole, understanding where I was, and preparing a party of Horse and Foot to Seize and Murder me, he the said Vicar General was the only man that dissuaded him.

Father Peter might have been produced at the trial as a witness for the defence of the man whom he seeks to injure as by a side wind.

In the year 1653 being come with some Creights to live within the Parliament's Line of Communication, and both indiscreetly and unhappily appearing in the Courts of Justice at Dublin, and in a Case of Felony against a Roman Catholick Gentleman by name Toole) of his own diocese, and making party against him before the Bench and Judge, one that knew him starts up presently, and desires the Judge to seize him as being Edmund Reilly the Irish Preest and Vicar General that was the chief Author of seizing and burning in Cessation time the black Castel of Wicklo, and consequently too of murdering all those were in it. Now whether this accusation was in itself true or false (for I know not) he was presently hurried away to prison, passed after through much trouble and trial; but after all and for his former services to the Parliament, especially that of betraying the Royal Camp at Rathmines to Jones (he having also pleaded this for himself, as all persons in Dublin did then talk), he was at last either quitted or pardoned, and withal either banished or with License departed to Flanders; but with the hatred and exclamations of all sorts of Royallists,[1] not only Protestants, but Roman Catholicks even of his own diocese.

Two circumstances throw doubt on the foregoing narrative in all its particulars. That he was made prisoner under such circumstances I propose to show from documentary evidence to be untenable; and I have already shown that the accused put in no such plea as Walsh would make the talk of the town. The whole story savours much more of envy and malice on the part of his Ormondist enemies than of any belief in his guilt on the part of the Cromwellians, and, if further proof or illustration were wanted, it is amply supplied by Walsh in the continuation of his statement :—

Yet soon after and although he went himself no farther than

[1] Ormondists, rather.

the Irish College at Lile in Flanders, he puts in at Rome for the Archbishoprick of Armagh (and for his former services to Owen O'Neil against Ormond, and by the mediation of Dionysius Massarius, Secretary then to the Congregation *de Propaganda*, the Dean of Fermo that formerly lived in Ireland with the Nuncio) obtains it immediately without noise or the knowledge of others.

Not without the knowledge of Father Peter Walsh, it would appear. This further passage shows how much the friar's mind had become enslaved by his excessive devotion to Ormond, then perhaps the most determined and dangerous enemy (certainly the most insidious) to the religion which the friar himself preached. To Walsh, Castlehaven, and others of that faction, the man who was not, as they themselves were, heart and soul with Ormond, were enemies to the King, if not to the King of kings. Such is the spirit that breathes through every line of Walsh's account of the charge made against Dr. Edmund O'Reilly, who, if prosecuted by the Cromwellians, was persecuted and maligned by the Ormondist party among the Royalists. Yet in spite of all insinuation to the contrary, the fact comes out that O'Reilly, so far from being himself concerned in a murder, had no sympathy with those guilty of crime.

Walsh would make it appear that the Vicar-General had been keeping out of the way till, in 1653, he, on venturing to appear in the High Court of Justice in Dublin, was identified and arrested on the charge of being chief author of the alleged murders at the Black Castle of Wicklow. The fact is, that O'Reilly was well known in the same court for at least a year before he was put on trial there himself. On the 8th day of September, 1652—just a year before his own trial—he swore an information in that court against the same Luke Toole whom Walsh credits with the intention of arresting and murdering himself in the woods of Clanmaleragh (but for the timely intervention of the said O'Reilly). The information was sworn before four prominent members of the High Court, namely, Sir Gerrard Lowther, the President, Justices Dongan and Bolton, and William Basil, the Attorney-General, who was also a magistrate for the province of

Leinster (excepting the counties of Kilkenny and Wexford [1]). Luke Toole held the rank of colonel in the Irish army. The Vicar-General charges him with putting to death one Cahell Cullen (against whom Toole had preferred certain charges at a council of war held at Castlekevin, [2] in the County Wicklow), and one Ann Byrne, of Glencree, whom Toole blamed with keeping up treacherous correspondence with the enemy. This is, likely enough, the case of felony, somewhat vaguely mentioned by Walsh. The deposition made by Father O'Reilly is a rather remarkable one, and, although it is so lengthy, I venture to give it in full owing to its historical value, the document having never before (so far as I am aware) appeared in print :—

[*County Wicklow Depositions*, in T.C.D., folio 219.]

The Exa'acon of Edmond Realy, comonly called the Viccar Generall, taken the viii day of September, 1652, before us, Sir Gerrard Lowther, Kn^t^, Sir Edward Bolton, Kn^t^, and Thomas Dongan, Esq., Com^rs^ for Adm^n^ of Justice, Oyer and Terminer, & Gaole Delivary, &c., and William Basill, Esq., Atturney-Generall for the Comonwealth, and one of the Justices of Peace for the Province of Leinster, as followeth :

Whoe being sworne & examined, Saith, that in or about August or September 1651, Collonell Luke Toole upon a holyday came to Glandelough or the Seaven Churches, in the County of Wickloe, where this exa'at and most of the neighbours then were, And that some of the said Luke Toole's soldiers did then bring thither Cahell Cullen as a prisoner, and that the said Luke there meeting this exa'at told him he had the said Cahell prisoner, and he brought him thither to bee tryed by a Counsell of Warr or a Marshall's Court, and asked this exa'at if he had anything to say against the said Cahell Cullen. And that he this exa'at answered thereunto, I have nothing to say against him. Whereupon the said Luke Replyed, What, have you nothing to say concerning the takeing away William Walshes of Shanganagh's horse. To which he answered, I have not aniething to say against the said Cullen, And saith that he this exa'at then prayed the sayd Luke Toole to doe the prisoner noe wronge he being his

[1] The exception appears on certain Wicklow depositions, as on folio 184.
[2] Or, perhaps, at the Seven Churches.

kinsman and neighbour. And that then the said Luke Toole said he would putt the said Cahell Cullen upon a counsell of warre ; and thereupon called his sonne Liv^t^ Collonell Donogh Toole, and Maior Christopher Toole, and some pettie officers, in all to the number of about seaven. And saith that Maior Bernard Talbott was there, but not of the Counsell of Warre. And this exa'at further saith that he knew so much of the said Bernard's mynde that he verely believeth he would not have beene of the Counsell of War if he had beene called thereunto. And saith that Hugh McPhelim Birne, Liv^t^ Generall of the Irish Army, and his brother Bryan McPhelim Birne, were not then present, nor were of the Councell of Warre ; his cause of knowledge of their absence is, that this exa'at was present when the Councell of Warre was called, and that they were not then there, and doth believe if they had been ther they would have saluted this exa'at, or he should some way have heard of theire being there.

And further saith, that after the said Councell of Warr had sate, hee this exa'at calling to the said Donogh ô Toole asked him what they had concluded on or done with Cahell Cullen. Whoe answered that they had freed him, And saith that he this exa'at allso asked of Christopher Toole, the said Luke's other sonne, what they had done with the said Cahell Cullen, and that the said Christopher allsoe answered that they had freed the said Cahell Cullen ; and further saith that hee the said Christopher advised his ffather the said Luke to take an oath of the said Cullen to be true vnto him, and to doe noe further hurt vnto him or his children, and soe to lett him goe, as the said Christopher then tould this exa'at. Whereupon this exa'at & all others that heard of it (as hee conceives) were fully satisfied that the said Cullen would have noe further hurt done vnto him ; and further saith than some four dayes after, he this exa'at heard that the said Luke Toole had hanged the said Cahell Cullen not farre from Castlekevin.

And this exa'at further saith that about a quarter of a yeare after, hearinge that the said Luke Toole had hanged one Anne Birne in Glankree, Abhorring the said act he this exa'at wrote a letter vnto the said Luke Toole, therein sharply blameing and reprehendinge the sayd Luke Toole for putting the said Cahell Cullen and Anne Birne to death so inconsiderately, and that the said Luke Toole shortly after returned an Answeare vnto the said letter, w^ch^ answer ffolloweth in these wordes, that is to say—

ffor his Reverend ffather, fa. Edmond Reyly, these deliver at Sankeane (sic) :

Reverend ffather, I received yo^r^ invective letter wherein I am accused by yo^r^ Reverence for the death of Nan Birne and Cahell Cullen, to give yo^r^ Reverence satisfaction, I found out

by severall Intelligences that the said Nan Birne directed the way for Nalshon whereby he tooke away Edmund McTeigue's cowes, the way that the said Nalshon came in the night tyme vnto Tirlagh Vllagh's quarter, where William Walsh was killed, Hugh McBrath's wife was wounded, And found out that she was betraying my lodging vnto y^{r} enemy, And whereas you accuse mee of hanging Cahell Cullen inconsiderately, I tell you I hanged him by a Councell of Warr, and upon his own confession wherein he confessed before my face that as long as he lived, I (*sic*) will do my uttermost endeavour to destroy me, and my children. And therefore I pray that yo^{r} Reverence may be pleased not to blame mee for cutting off such branches that would tend to our destruction, and that would deliver us into the hands of our enemy. A captaine of horse of our p'tie lately in night time had a private conference with Maior Arnot, w^{ch} conference will most likely fall out not for our good. If I hange that Captaine you will say something else. I have other things at this tyme that I will not trust to paper, And in the meantyme farewell.

Your humble servant,

LUKE TOOLE.

Glancree, this 7th of March 1651.

And this examinat further saith that Barnaby Toole, the said Luke Toole's eldest sonne, haveing at Harrold's Grange, near Rafarnane, som short tyme before the said Cullen was questioned as aforesaid, some beasts taken from some of the said Barnabie's tenants by the said Cahell Cullen, as this exa'at hath heard, and that complaint being (by some of the said tenants and others) made thereof against the said Cahell, This exa'at conceives that the offence taken against the said Cullen for troublinge the said Barnabie's tenants near Rafarnane, was the ground and first occation that caused the said Cahell Cullen to be questioned and p'secuted by the said Luke Toole as aforesaid. And this exa'at further saith that he hath heard that the said Luke Toole did offer vnto the said Cahell Cullen to save his life and not to hange him if he would take his oath to bee true vnto him and never after to do hurt vnto him or his children nor to bring any enemy vpon him, and that he the said Cahell refusing to take the said oath except he might have restitucon of what cattle had been taken from him, the said Cahell was afterwards hanged upon a beech, in the highway by the said Luke Toole's order and direcons, at this exa'at hath heard.

And this exa'at further saith concerning the said Luke Toole's hanging of one Anne Birne, that a servant of this exa'ats, called Tirlagh Reyley, was at Glancree when the said Anne was under a tree with a withe about her neck ready to be hanged ; and

asking his servant what was the cause she was hanged, answeared that Luke Toole said she was one Wilson a butcher's whore, and was a spye, and gave intelligence to the said Butcher.

And this exa'at further saith, that, after this, having question of conferrence with the said Luke, touching the death of the said Cullen, and blameing of him for the same, the said Luke stood upon his iustification, and sayd that the said Cahell Cullen and Anne Birne did both deserve death, and seemed nothing sorry for the same.

EDMUNDE RELLY.

GERRARD LOWTHER. EDW. BOLTON.

THO : DONGAN. WILLIAM BASIL.

Endorsed : The Ex'acon of Edmund Reyly, comonly called the Vicar Generall, cencerning Luke Toole's hanging of Cahell Cullen & Anne Birne.

Dr. Edmund O'Reilly's own deposition gives a vivid account of the County Wicklow two years after Cromwell had passed through on his way to the slaughter of Wexford. It is clear enough that in spite of that bloody and exterminating campaign against the Irish, the native commanders still held sway even to the limit of the modern suburbs of Dublin. The special interest of the deposition is that it shows how little likelihood there is that the Vicar-General could have any part in either planning or condoning a murder. Moreover, it shows that the friar who has given so much satisfaction to the enemies of his creed is altogether wrong in a vital portion of his narrative.

Supposing that O'Reilly was arrested when he made this deposition, why should a whole year elapse before he could be brought to trial if so many in his own diocese were eager to testify against him ? It must, after all, have been more difficult to get up a case against him than Father Walsh and his followers would represent. It is well to keep in mind that the Attorney-General (Basil) was himself present at the taking of the foregoing deposition against Luke Toole, and so had the advantage of fully examining O'Reilly a year before the time mentioned by Walsh. Every circumstance points to the belief that Father O'Reilly was conscious of no crime, and had no apprehension of any charge against himself. The accusation has every feature of a trumped up

matter, a mere afterthought on the part of his personal enemies.

The history of the Black Castle tragedy is but imperfectly disclosed in the T.C.D. depositions. It does not, as already stated, appear how the burning occurred, or what was the extent of the alleged loss of life. No doubt the examinations were directed against the accused, and were not intended so much for the historian as for the public prosecutor. And even for the latter purpose they now seem but poorly adapted. It is not a little remarkable that the examinations relating to the supposed murders were all taken immediately before the trial in 1653. I cannot find that any informations were made soon after the alleged outrage which ought to have occurred in 1645. We have on the other hand several depositions made as early as 1642, giving particulars of unsuccessful attempts to take the castle in the earlier period of the rebellion (as it is termed); but I find no trace in them of any hostile action on the part of the Vicar-General.

On the 29th March, 1642, one Thomas Molyneux of Brittas, in the barony of Arklow, gent., made a very full and detailed deposition before two of the Parsons-Borlase Commissioners, in which he estimates his own losses by reason of the rebellion at £575, and tells us that he fled for safety to his Majesty's castle of Wicklow.[1]

And this depon^t^ further saith, That soone after that he this depon^t^ was fled & comen to the s^d^ castle, he this depon^t^ bent [& employed] all his power, provition, & strength he could to defend and preserve the same for his Ma^tie^ against the Rebells; & therein did joine in assistance with one M^r^. John Joice then Keeper [or under-Keeper to S^r^ W^m^ Usher, k^t^][2] of the same castle, Whereupon, that is to say about the X^th^ day of the moneth of November afores^d^ last past, one Barnabee Birne, gent, sonne-in-law to Luke Toole, the gran-Rebell, & Edmond Birne of Killeoughter [gent, & Alex McDonnell, Constable of the towne of Wickloe], both of the said County of Wickloe, with divers others in their company, came to the gates of the said Castle, & comanded this depon^t^ and y^e^ rest, to surrender &

[1] Co. Wicklow Depositions, fol. 154.
[2] Matter interlined on the MSS. I place within square brackets.

deliver the possession thereof vnto them. Whereunto this depon^t^ and the rest answered, That if they & the said Barnaby and Edmond Birne & theire company would suffer them to write to the Lords Justices to know their pleasures, they would doe as the same Lords Justices should dyrect. But (' the same Rebells refused to suffer any L^er^ at all to be sent concerning the same,' *struck out*) although they after gave way that the depon^t^ and the rest should write their letter to the said S^r^ W^m^ Usher concerning the same, And that the said Rebells received the said letter, and caused it to be delivered, & that thereupon the said S^r^ W^m^, after he had acquainted the Lords Justices therewith, returned an answere[1] to this depon^t^ & the said M^r^ Joice, yet the Rebells intercepted the same letter so as it came not to the Castle, the Rebells having formerly besieged, beleagured, and discharged some shotts with their ordnance against the Castle, one Masterson one of their [Rebell] souldiers slaine in the attempt. And afterwards the said Rebells attempted & assaulted the said Castle severall tymes, But were repulsed.

The same deposition contains copies of letters received by Molyneux and Joyce in the end of December, 1641, and the beginning of January, 1642, offering favourable terms for the surrender of the Castle. These proposals came from Teige Oge Birne, Edward Walsh, Henry Walsh, George Sherlock, Brian Birne, Art Toole, Luke Birne, and Felix Birne ; but no mention is made of the Vicar-General.

The Castle held out, and the siege must have lasted till after April, or longer. The besiegers appear to have withdrawn before August, 1642, for on the 19th of that month, John Joyce made a deposition (in Dublin, of course) before Commissioners Watson, Aldrich, and Brereton, in which he continues the narrative of Molyneux, and gives copies of further letters received from insurgent leaders, one of which is of special interest if only on account of the allusion to the attack on Carrickmines Castle, and the death of Sir Simon Harcourt :—

To M^r^ John Joyce and the rest of his company : M^r^ John Joice,—Being not otherwise employed I was bould to write to you, & y^e^ rest of my neighbours therewith you : We were not wont to be so long in one towne, but we dranck and made merry together : ffor my part I am heare since the day that Tho.

[1] How can he swear to these particulars ?

Marcer was killed, Wch I protest shold not be killed if I were present. In the meanwhyle I gave way to others to send ltrs to you Wch I know to be to noe great purpose, But if you were in that mynd, or in that wont wherbe you wold leave that place (wch I know to be no pleasant place for you), My wourd should be as courrant as any man's wourd in the Countie. I will not treaten you, nor tell you of anything that is like to befalle, for I know you would not believe it. But I will tell you some news That you may believe if you please : The English Army tooke the Castle of Carrigmaine on Sunday last was . . . & killed 14 men that were wardes there, and many women (and) children. But there was killed of the English Sir Simon the Coroner (*sic*), his Lifetenant Coroner, five Captens, 200 soldiers : Soe I rest.

Yors as you are myne

8 Aprill, 1642. WALTER BIRNE.

Alluding to the foregoing and other letters, the deponent John Joyce continues :—

Nothwithstanding wch lers, & often assaults and attempts of the Rebells aforesaid (whereby some of the Castle perished[1]) the Castle is not yet taken : but the enemy is from tyme to tyme repulsed by his Matys small number of souljers there.

Joyce then enters into particulars of his own losses ' by means of the rebellion,' which, he says, ' come vnto one thousand one hundreth & twoe poundes xiiis, and his future losse amounteth to 40li per an.'

The Black Castle, it appears, was still in Joyce's keeping at the period of the Cessation of 1643, and so remained till the time of the burning and the alleged murders in December, 1645. From Walter Birne's letter, and from other depositions, it is to be inferred that Joyce was a ' jolly good fellow,' and had been on friendly terms with most of the rebel leaders. Indeed their free fellowship is put forth in most of the letters cited by both Molyneux and Joyce. The former good relations, it would seem, in a measure, returned during the lull of the Cessation period.

THOMAS FITZPATRICK.

[*To be continued.*]

[1] These must be included in the charge against Dr. Edmund O'Reilly in the loose and unsubstantiated imputations given further on.

PATRON SAINTS OF THE PARISHES OF THE DIOCESE OF ELPHIN

8th Dec.—Sligo: Cathedral: Beatae Mariae Virginis, sub invoc. Immaculatae Conceptionis. The B.V.M. under this title is also Patron of the diocese.

24th June.—St. John the Baptist. Parish still called St. John's.

8th June.—Coolerra: St. Bron, or Bronus (Lat.), Bishop, His church still remaining is called Kilaspugbroin, *i.e.*, the Church of Bishop Bron. The original name was Caisel-irra. It was built for Bron by St. Patrick (*Tripartite* and *Book of Armagh*; A.D. 512, *Annals of Ulster*). Colitur 8 June (*Martyrology of Tallaght*, ed. of Dr. Kelly of Maynooth, p. xxvi.).

15th June.—St. Dermot of Kilmackeon, brother of St. Evin. Colitur 15 June (*Martyrology of Donegal*).

4th Feb.—St. Loman, Calry: Lomanus of Lough Gill. Colitur 4 Feb. (*Mart. Tall.*, p. xiv.), juxta Loch Gile in Conacia.

15th October—Ahascragh: St. Cuan, Cuanus (Lat.). (*Acta Sanctorum*, p. 251.) The name of the place as given by the Four Masters is Atheascrath Cuain, the ford of [St.] Cuan's sandridge. His well, near the town of Ahascragh, is still a holy well, where a patron is held on the 15th October, and where stations are still frequently performed. Colitur 15: October (*Calendar of the O'Clerys*). St. Cuanna of Lismore, 4th Feb. (*Mart. Tall.*, p. xiv.). seems to be different from St. Cuan of Ahascragh.

8th March—Ardcarne: St. Beoadh, bishop, Beoadus, (Lat.). Colitur 8 Mart. (*Mart. Tall.*, p. xvii.; *Cal. Oengus*, *Mart. Don.*). Obiit 524 (*Annals of Ulster*).

5th July.—St. Etain of Tumna, Tuam-naod in Moylurg, on the banks of the river Boyle. Colitur 5 Julii (*Mart. Tall.*, p. xxviii.) This virgin is still vividly remembered at this church, Tumna, now belonging to Ardcarne, and

her grave is shown in the churchyard. (AA. 4 M., A.D. 1247, O'Donovan's note). St. Buadmael of Drumboylan: O'Hanlon, vol. iii. p. 766.

12th August.—Ahamlish: St. Molaise or Laisren, son of Declan, was founder of Inismuiredhaigh, now Innismurry. His festival is on August 12. There is another St. Molaise, of Devenish, son of Naitfraioch, whose festival is on the 12th Sept. (*Cal. Oengus*, *Mart. Tall.*, p. xxiv.; *Book of Leinster*, 362e, Kelly's ed.).

27th Oct.—Dicuill, son of Menide, ab. of Inishmurray; ob. [A.D.] 752. *Ann. Ult.* St. Dicolla of Inishmurray. The age of Christ, 752, Dicolla, son of Meinied, Abbot of Inis-Muireadhaigh, died. Inis-Muireadhach, *i.e.*, Muireadhach's Island, now Inishmurray, an island off the coast of the barony of Carbury, in the county of Sligo, on which are the ruins of a primitive Irish monastery, consisting of small churches and cells (AA. 4 M., A.D. 747). It belongs to the parish of Ahamlish, diocese of Elphin. (O'Donovan's note [n]).

1st Feb.—Cliffoney: St. Brigid. Her well is near the Catholic church.

7th Feb.—Athleague, Ath-liag (*ford of flagstones*): St. Maenucan. 7 Feb. (*Mart. Tall.*, pp. xv., 21). This place was from him called Ath liag Maenucain. It is to be distinguished from Athliag na Sinna (of the Shannon), now Ballyleague, at Lanesborough, in the same county. Both places were in Hy-Many.

9th Sept.—Fuerty: St. Kieran of Clonmacnoise born here. Ardkieran in this parish was probably his birthplace. His church is in the townland of Ardkeeran. There is still a vivid tradition of St. Kieran in the locality.

15th June.—St. Juis, or Justus, deacon, who baptised Kieran Mac-int-sair (son of the wright), from Patrick's book. [Colitur 15 June (*Mart. Don.*)]. 'Diaconus Justus, qui baptizavit Ceranum filium, artificis, ex libro Patricii' (*Bk. Armagh*, fol. 9*d*). 'Et baptitzatus [sic] est Ceranus ex libro Patricii a diacono Iusto in meo [Tirechan's] suspectu' (*Ib.*, fol. 12*d*).

29th June.—Athlone, St. Peter's: St. Peter, Apostle. An abbey for Cistercian monks, dedicated to St. Peter,

was founded here, according to Ware, in 1216, from which the parish was called St. Peter's.

1*st Feb.*—Drum : St. Brigid. The church whose ruins still remain was dedicated to her. Her well is outside the churchyard wall. It was anciently called Drum Drestan, and also Drum na bfeadh, *i.e.*, the fayes or woods of O'Naughten's country. The church of St. Brigid at Drum-Drestan had a right to one-third of the baptismal fees of the race of Hy-Maine (*Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many*, p. 79).

18*th Feb.*—St. Uidhrin of Drumdresna, near Athlone. Colitur 18 Feb. (*Mart. Tall.*, pp. xvi., 18).

1*st Feb.*—Cloonown, anciently Cluain-Eamhain, on the Shannon, in St. Peter's parish : St. Brigid. A very ancient abbey existed here. St. Brigid's well is here. The church of St. Brigid at Cluain-Eamhain had one-third of the baptismal offerings of the O'Kellys of Hy-Many.

4*th June.*—St. Colum[ba], priest of Cloonown ('on the Shannon, in Clare,' *Kelly*, p. 8, through mistake, near Athlone). 4 Junii (*Mart. Tall.*, pp. xxvi., 8).

1*st July.*—St. Ailill, bishop, Cloonown. 1 July (*Mart. Tall.*, pp. xxviii., 2).

24*th Nov.*—Aghanagh (Ballinafad) : St. Maine, grandson of Eoghan. Nov. 24 (*Mart. Tall.*, p. 35). The *Sanctilogium Genealogicum* styles him 'Episcopus.' Colitur 24 Nov. (*Life of St. Finnian*, AA. SS., p. 399). His holy well, Tuber Maine, is near the church of Aughana. The church of Aughana was built by St. Patrick on the west side of Lough Arrow, in the south of the barony of Tirerrill, in the county of Sligo (*Hy Fiacragh*, p. 490). In the *Naem Senchus* (versified Genealogies of Saints, *Book of Ballymote*, 230a, l. 45), bishop Maine is given as son of Eichten, son of Eoghan.

23*rd Feb.*—Aughrim and Clooncraff : St. Finnian. Colitur 23 Feb., 1st Feb. Kilmore : St. Brigid. St Cocqa, Colitur June 6, (*Mart. Tall.*, xxvi., 6a). There are still traces of two churches here—one dedicated to St. Brigid, the other, Kilcock, to St. Cocha. 17th March, St. Patrick, who founded the church of Kilmore (Cell-mor Cellula magna) (*Trip.* Part II. Stokes's ed, 232b. *Book of Armagh*, folio 16c.d.)

1*st Feb.*—Ballintubber : St. Brigid. In the ancient

annals the place is called Bailetoberbrighde, *i.e.*, the town of Brigid's well, which is still here. In the plain of Magh-Ai or Maghery-Connacht, Co. Roscommon, St. Brigid founded a monastery and dwelt for some considerable time. She also established different cells and convents in that district, according to the rule which she had formed. 'Post haec exiit S. Brigida cum suis ut perigrinaretur in provincia Conachtorum, et habitavit ibi in campo Haii, aedificans cellos et monasteria per circuitum' (see *Triad Thaum.*, Fourth Life of St. Brigid, Lib. i., c. 49, and Third Life, c. 94). The plain of Magh-Ai extended from near the town of Roscommon to the verge of the barony of Boyle, and from Strokestown westward to Castlerea. In this territory, Kilbride, a parish adjoining that of Roscommon, perpetuates in its very name the memory of her church; and within its area, in the demesne of Holywell, St. Brigid's Holy Well may still be seen.

1*st August*.—Baslic (from 'basilica;' shows antiquity of church): St. Sacel or Sacellus (Lat.) placed here by St. Patrick (*Tripartite*, Part II.). Colitur 1 Aug. See *Triad Thaum.*, p. 177.

16*th June*.—Boyle: St. Cethec, or Cethiacus, bishop (*Trip.*, Part II.). 16 Junii (*Mart. Tall.*, pp. xxvii., 5).

7*th July*.—St. Comgilla or Comgell, daughter of Dermot, placed there by St. Patrick (*Trip.*, Part II., which states she was monkess to Cethec). Feast July 7 (*Mart. Tall.*, pp. xxviii., 8*b*).

8*th March*.—St. Dachonna of Assylin, placed there by St. Columcille. Colitur 8 Mart. (*Calendar of the O'Clerys.* Feilire Aenguis).

O'Donovan (*Four Masters*, vol. iii., p. 162), and Reeves (*Adamnan*, p. 281) fell into an unaccountable error in making Dachona the son of Erc. According to the *Genealogies of Saints*, L.L., p. 348*b*, and the *Nemsenchas* (versified genealogies) (*Book of Ballymote*, p. 230*a*, 11 40-41), Dachona and Lugaid, and Bishop Cormac were sons of Echaid, son of Illand, son of Eogan (a quo Cenel-Eogain; L.L.L., *loc. cit.*, adds, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages).

The son of Erc, from whom the Cataract (Eas-Mic-n'Eirc) at present Assylyn, on the Boyle, about half a mile west of

the town took its name, was probably Echaid, the last of the Firbolgic kings, who was slain in the battle of Magh-Tuired, near Cong (*Annals of Ulster*, Ed. MacCarthy, vol. ii., p. 251, note 4.)

9th Feb.—St. Conell of Drum (Drumconnell, near Boyle). Colitur 7 Feb. See his life in AA. SS.

9th June.—St. Columcille (*St. Adamnan's Life of St. Columcille ; O'Donnell's Life of St. Columcille*).

26th July—Cloonturskert : St. Faithlec (Ware, *Mon.*, p. 607). Cluain-tuaisceirt (northern plain) -na-Sinna (of the Shannon), in the county of Roscommon, a parish near Lanesborough. St. Faithlec Colitur [Nescio] is the patron of the parish. His well is in the townland of Killaghy. The monastery was dedicated to St. Anne, (26th July) and inhabited by Canons Regular of St. Augustine.

27th July.—Kilgefin : St. Diraidh, or Diradius, founder of Eadardruim, in Tuath Ainlighe, O'Hanly's Country, now called Drumdaff, in the parish of Kilgefin. 27 July (*Mart. Don.*, AA. SS., p. 492).

St. Lalloc of Fairymount. And Patrick erected Ard Senlis (the height of the old fort). This was the place called Magh Nenta, now Farymount, in the parish of Kilgefin, barony of South Ballintober, and county of Roscommon. This is a very famous locality in ancient Irish history and romance. (*Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many*, Ed. O'Donovan, p. 6.) Here St. Patrick placed St. Lalloc. 'And Patrick came to Ard Sen-lis, ubi posuit Lalloc Sanctam et tenuit locum in Campo Nento.' (*Trip.*, Part II.) *Book of Armagh*, fol. 12c : 'Et venit P. in ard Senlis et posuit [ibi Sanctam L]alocam et tenuit locum in Campo Nento.'

9th June.—Drumcliffe : St. Columcille. In the *Martyrology of Donegal*, it is related that St. Columcille founded the monastery of Drumcliffe, and placed there St. Mothorian. (*Mart. Don.*, p. 165 ; Mothorae, June 9, *Mart. Tall.*, pp. xxvi., 25).

9th June.—St. Mothorae, its first abbot. Colitur 9 Junii (*Mart. Tall.*, pp. xxvi., 25).

27th April.—Elphin : St. Assicus, first Bishop and

Patron of the diocese. Colitur 27 Aprilis (*Mart. Tall.*, 26 April. See I. E. RECORD, May, 1902, p. 411, St. Assicus, by Rev. J. J. Kelly, D.D.)

17*th Sept.*—Creeve: St. Grellan, Patron of Hy-Many. From him the place was called Creeve-Grellan branch[ing tree] of Grellan; the most prominent feature being used to denote the tree. Colitur 10 Nov. (*Mart. Don.*). Ad orientalem plagam Magh Luirg. Floruit anno 590 (*Mart. Tall.*, p. 34. Life, AA. SS., 10 Nov.).

N.B.—November was lost from the *Mart. Tall.* before it was copied into the *Book of Leinster*. Kelly took it from the *Mart. Don.* (Kelly, p. 34).

23*rd Feb.*—Clooncraff (cluain-Creamha, *meadow of wild garlic*). St. Finnian of Clonard. *Life*, 23 Feb.

10*th Nov.*—St. Loeghaire. Colitur 10 Nov. (*Mart. Don.*; (*Mart. Tall.*, Kelly, 34; L. 6 p. of Clooncraff).

1*st Feb.*—Dysart: St. Brigid. The parish church was dedicated to St. Brigid.

17*th Sept.*—Dysart: St. Grellan. Moy Senchenoil, where the saint foretold the destruction of Kian and his Firbolgs, is situated on the banks of the river Suck, about half a mile south of Mount Talbot Bridge, in this parish. The people of the district still call the spot Moy Seimni.

1*st Aug.*—Geevagh: St. Ailbhe (Albaeus) priest, placed there (at Duma Graid) by St. Patrick (*Trip.*, Part II.). In the *Annals of the Four Masters*, Anno 545, is recorded the death of St. Ailbe, of Seanchu-Ua-Oiliolla. His well, Tubber Elive, is in the townland of Killamey, in the mountains of Geevagh.

Ailbe: Et venierunt [*sic*] per alveum fluminis Sinnae, qui dicitur Bandea ad tumulum Gradi (Duma Graid) in quo loco ordinavit Ailbeum Sanctum prespiterum.[1]

25*th July.*—St. James the Greater. His well, still called St. James's Well, in Shancough, is yet held in veneration. A patron was formerly held at it on St. James's day, July 25.

9*th June.*—Kilbegnet, Ballinakill, Kilcrone: St. Colum-

[1] *Book of Armagh*, fol. ii. c.

cille. In the centre of the parish of Ballinakill there is a very old church, still used as a burying place, called Kil-Colum, the church of St. Colum.

27th Jan.—St. Crone, virgin. Colitur 27 Jan. (*Mart. Tall.*, p. xiii., 9). Kilcrone, now belonging to Ballymoe, was formerly part of the parish of Drimatemple. Kilcrone, the church of St. Crone. In the *Martyrology of Tallaght*. at 27 January (*Book of Leinster*, 358 ; Kelly, xiii.), we have 'Crone insi Locha Croni,' Crone of the island of Loch Crone. Lough Crone is in Hy-Maine.

4th Feb.—Kilbegnet : St. Begnata. In the *Life of St. Cuan of Ahascragh* it is mentioned that he had a sister named St. Begnata, who seems to be the patron of Kil-begnet.

1st Feb.—Kilbride : St. Brigid's Church. She dwelt for some years in the plain of Roscommon, where she founded cells and convents. Within the parish of Kilbride, in the demesne of Holywell, her holy well may still be seen. (See *Ballintobber, ante* p. 45.)

16th June—Oran : St. Cethec (Lat. Cethegus) buried here. Colitur 16th June (*Mart. Tall.*). The well was blessed by St. Patrick, who founded at Oran a church called Cill-Garad, where Bishop Cethec was left and where he died. The words of the Latin *Tripartite* are : 'Ibi Cethegus, Episcopus ejusque sacrae reliquiae jacent.' Colgan thus explains the name : 'Huaran (Oran), sive Fuaran, idem Hibernis sonat quod fons vivus, sive frigida vel viva aqua e terra scaturiens.—A living fountain of fresh cold water bubbling from the earth.' St. Patrick loved this place very much. The *Tripartite* (Part II.) says :—

It was there that Patrick made the well the name of which is Uaran-garad, and he loved that water very much, *ut ipse dixit.*

> Dear Urain [cold spring]
> O cold spring I loved, loved for my good,
> Sad my lament, O dear God,
> That my drink is not from the beloved cold spring.[1]

[1] The peculiarity of the quatrain is to have the first line short.

The *Uaran* or *cold* [well] from which the place takes its name, is still held holy and frequented by pilgrims.

21*st July*.—Kilcorkey church of St. Curcach, St. Curcach. of Gregraighe (St. Corcasia, Lat.). 'Ita habet quatuor Martyrologia,' dicit Colganus, AA. SS., p. 564. She was the sister of St. Frigidian of Lucca. Colitur 21 Julii (*Mart. Don.*).

26*th April*.—Frenchpark : St. Donaldus, son of Crimthan, Bishop of Ailech Airtig (in the demesne of Frenchpark), a disciple of St. Patrick. (*Trip.*, Part II. See AA.SS., pp. 146 and 358.) Colitur 26 Aprilis (*Mart. Don.*).

5*th Aug*.—St. Comitius seu Comedius of Cloonshanville. See Jocelyn, p. 91.

17*th March*.—Kilglass and Rooskey : St. Patrick. The church of Kilglass was founded by St. Patrick (*Trip.*, Part II.).

3*rd Nov*.—Kilkeevan (Castlerea), St. Coemhan (Keevan). Colitur 3 Nov. Kilkeevan, Coemhan's church, where St. Patrick left Deacon Coemhan (*Trip.*, Part II.). In the apocryphal list of St. Patrick's household in the *Books of Leinster* and *Lecan*, etc., St. Coemhan is said to have been the chamberlain of St. Patrick. 'Sanctus Coemanus, de Killchoemain, Cubicularius.'

9*th Sept*.—St. Coelainn, Virgin. The Termon of [St.] Coelain (Termon Coelaine) now called Tarmon, in this parish, a mile north-east of the town of Castlerea. Her holy well, Tober-Coelain, is in the townland of Moore. Diseases of the eyes were cured there. In the townland of Moore are the ruins of a nunnery ; and in that of Termon (Coelaine) of a church only.

16*th May*.—Killian, Killroran, Ballygar : Cill Itain, as written by Duald Mac Firbis, Cella Sti Itheani, is so called from St. Ita, the foster-mother of Brendan : St. Brendan, whose festival is celebrated in this parish on the 16th of May. St. Brendan's well is here.

7*th June*.—Killucan : St. Lunicarnia. Colitur 7 Junii (AA. SS., p. 792).

19*th Feb*.—Croghan, Eastersnow, Killumod : St. Nuadha (pr. Nóah) of Lough Uama (Cavetown). (Disert Nuadhat, phonetically Ister Nuadhat = Eastersnow), Anchorite, also

Abbot of Armagh. Colitur 19 Feb. (*Mart. Don.* AA. SS., 19 Feb.) Died A.D. 812 (*Annals of Ulster*). Nuadus, de Loch Uama, Anachoreta, Abbas, et Episcopus Armacanus. AA. SS., p. 373. These parishes are now called the parish of Croghan.

6th Feb.—Kilnamanagh, Ballinameen, Kilcolagh : St. Dabonna. See *Life of St. Mel*, 6 Feb., AA. SS., Notes 19, 20. Colitur 6th Feb.

5th August.—Kiltoom : St. Feith. Colitur 5th August. Famore in this parish seems to be named from him. (*Mart. Tall.*, ed. Kelly, p. 33).

1st Feb.—Cam : St. Brigid. This parish was anciently called Cammach Brighidi, now Camma or Cam, the winding or crooked glen, a parish in the barony of Athlone, county of Roscommon, and diocese of Elphin. The old church, of this parish, which, as its name imports, was dedicated to St. Brigid, lies about six miles north-west from the town of Athlone. In the church of St. Brigid at Camma, the race of the O'Kellys of Hy-Many were baptized. In the *Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many*, one of the seven principal Coarbs of Hy-Many, there enumerated, is the Coarb of Camach Brighdi, where the people of Hy-Many are baptized. St. Brigid has the baptism of the race of Maine, and although the baptism may not be brought thither (to her church), her Coarb has the power of collecting the baptismal penny from these tribes ; and it (the money thus obtained) is divided into three parts, of which one-third is given to herself (*i.e.*, to her Coarb), one-third to Druim Drestan (now Drum, near Athlone), and one-third to Cluain Emhain (now Cloonown, the name of an old church and half-parish situated in the parish of St. Peter, lying along the Shannon, three miles to the south-east of the town of Athlone, in the county of Roscommon). The celebrated Holy Well of St. Brigid, Tober-Brighde, now generally called in English, Brideswell, is here. This was one of the most famous shrines in ancient Ireland. One of the most celebrated patron festivals was held at this holy well. Sir Randall Mac Donnell, the first Earl of Antrim, and his Countess,

came here as pilgrims, in 1625, as appears from an inscription left by him over the doorway of the old chapel. The well is still held holy. Pilgrimages are made, and patrons are held here.

At what point St. Brigid crossed the Shannon on entering Connaught cannot be determined; but it is certain that her pious labours were carried on principally, if not exclusively, in the plain of Roscommon, a territory roughly corresponding with that of Hy-Many, or O'Kelly's country. Throughout Magh-Finn, the southern part of this district (now the barony of Athlone), evidences may still be traced of her beneficent work, and of the singular veneration in which her memory was held in succeeding ages. The old church of Drum and that of Camach (now Cam), where the people of Hy-Many received the Sacrament of Baptism, were dedicated under her invocation; and the famous fountain, Tober-Brigdhe, or Brideswell, situated about five miles from Athlone, long continued to be the resort of pious pilgrims doing honour to the saint, and of afflicted persons trusting to the healing virtue of its crystal-clear abounding waters. Bredach, a part of this region lying east of the river Suck, was blessed in a very special way by the abbess; and the local chiefs, in grateful remembrance of this favour assumed the name of O'Maol-brighde, signifying thereby that they were the devotees or servants of Brigid. Under this title, proudly borne, the majestic chiefs of Bredach figure in song and story.[1]

In the village of Bredach, parish of Dysart, the ruins of their castle still remain. The following document shows the ancient fame of this celebrated sanctuary:—

Eme. et Reve. Dne. Clerus Secularis Regni Hiberniae supplicat humiliter S. S. ut dignetur concedere Indul. plen. pro qualibet eccl. parochiali dicti regni in die Patroni et dedicatione ejus ecclesiae: et si contingat ecclesiam esse destructam, supplicat ut dicta indulgentia lucrari possit in vinciniori capella.

In dioc. Elphinensi in Hib. est fons S. Brigidae dicatus, in paroecia loci de Camma, antiqua et devota populi frequentia percelebris. Ex privilegiis Urb. VI. fel. rec. concessa fuit Ind. plen. quotidiana cuilibet Xti fidelium visitanti talem fontem; quod privilegium duravit per annos 30. Limitatum fuit per successores Ro. Pontif. ad diem festum S. Brigidae, et feriam secundam Pentecostes, quo non obstante perseverat idem populi concursus, nec sibi persuadere potest talem indulgentiam esse abrogatam.

Supplicat igitur EE. VV. pro parte Cleri Secularis Hiberniae

[1] *Essays by Sarah Atkinson.* Edited by Lady Gilbert, p. 51.

quatenus pro consolatione pop. Xtiani Ind. plenariam pro qualibet Eccl. Parochiali ut supra et Indulg. Plenariam quotidianam pro fonte S. Brigidae.[1]

This petition was presented by the Irish Bishops through their agent, Dr. John Brenan, to the Congregation of the Propaganda. The Propaganda referred it to the Congregation of Indulgences. On September 3rd, 1670, the following decree was communicated to Dr. Brenan :—

Sacra Congregatio censuit concedi posse Indulgentiam plenariam. in Ecclesiis parochialibus Regni Hiberniae bis in quolibeanno, ut petitur, et in parochia loci de Camma dioecesis Elphinensis ter in quolibet anno ad annos triginta.[2]

On account of the length of time spent by St. Brigid in Elphin, and the many cells and monasteries founded there by her, there has always existed a special devotion to her through the diocese, and the saint was worshipped as a special patron of every church of the diocese. Colgan says :

In catalogo Ecclesiarum dioecesis Ailfinensis transmisso mihi a Reverendissimo Ailfinen. Episcopo, fratri Boetio Aegano, viro plane non tantum de Ordine nostro Seraphico, ex quo ad id munus assumptus est, sed et tota patria bene merito, reperio S. Brigidam in singulis harum Ecclesiarum tanquam loci Patronam coli.[3]

17*th Sept.*—St. Grellan. The inhabitants of those parts of Roscommon and Galway, which formerly comprised the territory of Hy-Many, or O'Kelly's Country, have always honoured St. Grellan as the special patron of their race and country. Hy-Many comprised the baronies of Athlone, Moycarnan, and part of Kilian, in the diocese of Elphin. It extended on the north from Ballymoe to Lanesborough, and through the barony of Athlone to Ahascragh and Caltra.

These are the parts of the diocese of Elphin in Hy-Many, which also extended into Clonfert and Galway. Hy-Many originally extended from Clontuskert, near Lanesborough, in the Co. Roscommon, southwards to the boundary of Thomond or the Co. Clare, westwards to Seefin and Athenry, in Co. Galway.[4]

[1] *Spic. Ossor.*, i., p. 503.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Triad. Thaum.*, Sept. Vit. S. Patr., pars. ii., p. 176, note 5.
[4] *Tribes and Customs of Hy Many*, Ed. O'Donovan, p. 4.

The race of Maine, both women and men, pay a *sgreaball caethrach* (tribute in sheep) to St. Grellan. St. Grellan presides over their battles, *i.e.*, the crozier of St. Grellan is borne in the standard in the King of Hy-Many (*Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many*, p. 81). Colitur 17th Sept. (*Mart. Tall.*, *Book of Leinster*, 362*f*, Kelly, xxxiv.).

9*th Feb.*—St. Cairech or Cairigia, sister of St. Enda of Arran, was regarded by the female branch of the O'Kellys as their special patron. Her monastery was at Cloonburren, on the banks of the Shannon, opposite Clonmacnoise. Seven garments are given by the queen to St. Cairech Dergain yearly, and a penny by every Hy-Manian daughter, along with the tribute to St. Ciaran (*Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many*, Ed. O'Donovan, p. 83). Colitur 9th Feb. Cairech of Dergan, (*Mart. Tall.*, p. xv.).

31*st March.*—St. Colman of Camma, near Kiltomb. Colitur 31 Martii. See AA. SS., p. 799. Colitur 31st March, Colman Cam-achaidh, winding field. (*Mart. Tall.*, *Book of Leinster*, 385*d*, Kelly, p. xxi.)

22*nd Feb.*—Bumlin, anciently Buimlinn, in which is Strokestown : St. Midabaria, the sister of St. Berach of Tarmonbarry, is the patron of this parish. See Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 344. Her old church of Bumlin and graveyard are still adjoining Strokestown.

17*th March.*—Kiltrustan : St. Patrick. His well is here in Tober-Patrick. The tradition is that St. Patrick founded the church of Kiltrustan. These parishes were in the ancient territory of Corcoghlan. The parish and church of Bumlin were called the prebend of Kilcoghlan.

30*th Sept.*—Loughlin, Lisacull : St. Mocona was placed over Clonard, anciently Cluain Ardne, in this parish. Colitur 30 Sept. (*Triad. Thaum.*, No. 115). He died in 713.

Kilrodan, anciently Cill Rodain, an old church in that part of Airteach, which now forms the parish of Loughlinn. Mochonna of Cluaine, Rodain, and Daigher of Cluain-acuir. (*Mart. Tall.*, *Book of Leinster*, 363*d*, Kelly, p. xxxv.).

1*st Feb.*—Kilsellagh is in this parish, in the townland of Stonepark. It was dedicated to St. Brigid, according to Dr. Beotius Egan, Bishop of Elphin. Her well is near the

old ruin. The noble priest, Rodanus, was placed over the church of Senchell Dumaigi (Kilrodan) by St. Patrick (*Trip.*, Part II.).

26th Feb., 11th Jan.—Ogulla, Kilcooley, Killukin: St. Ethnea, and St. Fidelm, or Fidelmia. Ogulla means the Tomb of the Virgins—Og-ullad, *virgin tomb;* so called from the saints Ethnea and Feidelm, daughters of Laeghaire, monarch of Ireland, converted, instructed, and baptized by St. Patrick, at the well of Ogulla, near Tulsk, beside the ruins and graveyard of Ogulla. St. Ethnea, colitur 26 Feb.; St. Feidelm, 11 Jan. The feast-days are different because the body of one of them, probably St. Ethnea, was removed to Armagh, probably on the 26th of Feb. See AA. SS., pp. 56 and 415. Fidelme, Virginis (*Mart. Tall., Book of Leinster*, 358*d*, Kelly, xii.). For an account of these holy virgins, see I. E. RECORD, Third Series, vol. ix., January, 1888, p. 31, *et seq.* 'Ethne and Fedelm,' by the Rev. J. J. Kelly, D.D.

4th July.—St. Bolcanus of Kilcooley. Colitur 4 Julii. Bolcanus in Kilchule (*Mart. Don.*), Kilchuile est Ecclesia parochialis dioecesisis Ailfinensis, in regione Siul Muiredhuigh: AA. SS., p. 378. July 4th, Bolcan in Cell-chule (*Mart. Tall.*, Kelly, p. xxviii.).

3rd April.—St. Benatius of Kilcooley. Colitur 3 April (*Triad. Thaum*, p. 178, note 109). The ruin and graveyard of Kilcooley are on the road between Tulsk and Strokestown. It was formerly a parish.

St. Felart (Latin) Felartus, bishop, on whose altar one of the patens made by St. Assicus was used, was placed by St. Patrick over the Domnach mor of Magh Sealga, at Carns near Tulsk and Rathcroghan. (*Tripartite*, Stoke's Edition, p. 109. See I. E. RECORD, May, 1902, p. 411, 'St. Assicus,' by Rev. J. J. Kelly, D.D.)

26th Dec.—Roscommon and Kilteevan: St. Coman. Roscommon, Coman's Grove, anciently Ros Chomain, *i.e.*, Boscus Comani, the town of Roscommon, which gives name to the county. His church and monastry stood in Church Street where the Protestant Church now is. In 1170 his relics were placed in a splendid shrine, by O'Carmacan, his

successor (AA. SS., p. 405). St. Coman's well, called Dabach Chomain (vat of Coman), is still in existence, and lies in a field to the east of the town, in the townland of Ballypheasant, still called the 'Hummaun Field,' Coman's field. There are wells dedicated to St. Brigid in the old castle of Roscommon, at Ballybride (Roscommon) and Ballinaboy (Kilteevan).

Feb. 1st.—Kilteevan: St. Brigid, the old church of Kilteevan, was dedicated to St. Brigid. Her well is near the church.

29th Aug.—St. John's, Killmaine, Killenvoy, Rahara: St. John the Baptist. The parish is so called (St. John's) from the fortress anciently called Rin Duin, the Point of the Dun or Fort, the name by which it is still known in the Irish language, though commonly anglicised Randown, and more generally called St. John's. It was the seat of a town, and a parish church and two monasteries, of which one was a priory for Knights Hospitallers or cross-bearers, founded, according to Ware, in the reign of King John. From the *Annals of the Four Masters* we learn that the celebrated Irish historian and topographer, John More O'Dugan, died among the monks of St. John the Baptist, in this monastery, in 1372. 'John More O'Dugan, a learned historian and ollav of Hy-Many, died, after the victory of Extreme Unction and Penance, at Rinn-duin, among the monks of St. John the Baptist' (*Anns. Four Masters*, vol. iii., p. 655). The other monastery was founded, under the invocation of the Most Holy Trinity, in the year 1215, by Clarus Mac Moylan O'Mulchrony, Archdeacon of Elphin, for Premontre Canons. The ruins of the church still remain.

17th Sept., 9th Feb.—St. Grellan and St. Caireach were patrons of all Hy-Many, extending in the diocese of Elphin, from Caltra to Lanesborough on the Shannon. See *Cam.*, p. 51.

15th Feb.—Tarmon Barry, the Termon or Sanctuary of St. Berach or Barry, who flourished about A.D. 580. He was of the tribe of O'Hanly or Kinel Dobtha. The ruins of his church, Kilbarry, still remain. Colitur 15 Feb. (*Mart. Tall.*, p. 3, *Mart. Don.*). Berech of Cluain Coirpthi (Kelly, p. xv.).

13*th June*.—Riverstown, Tawnagh, Dramcollumb, Kilross, Ballinakill : St. Cairell. St. Patrick founded a church in Tawnagh, where he left St. Cairell (*Triad Thaum*, p. 135). His memory is revered on the 13th of June (*Mart. Don.*). St. Patrick's well is in Tawnagh. A patron is held there on the 17th of March.

9*th June*.—St. Columcille. Drumcolum church was founded by St. Columcille.

17*th Feb*.—St. Finnian, abbot. Kilross or Sooey, was dedicated to St. Finnian of Clonard, who visited this parish. See AA. SS., p. 396, and *Mart. Tall.*, 15th or 25th September.

Ballinakill comprises Kilross and Ballysumaghan. There is a holy well in Ballinakill dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, where formerly a patron was held on the 8th of September. It is called Tober Lasra.

He (Patrick) went through the territory of Ui Oilell [*i.e.* Tirerril, Co. Sligo] and founded the free church in Tamhnagh.—Post haec autem posuerunt episcopum Cairellum juxta sanctam ecclesiam Tamhnagh, quem ordinaverunt episcopi Patricii, Bronus, et Biteus.[1]

19*th Feb*.—Tibohine : St. Baoithine (Bohene). The place was anciently called Teach-baoithine-Airtigh, Tibohine Artagh, *i.e.*, *house* (or church) *of Baoithine*, of the territory of Airteach. It is the name of a parish church in the diocese of Elphin. See the *Feilire of Aengus* at Feb. 19, where the church is described as lying to the west of Cruachan in Connaught : and the Irish *Calendar of the O'Clerys*, at the same day, where the saint is called Bishop Baoithin, son of Cuanach of Airteach. See also Colgan's *Trias. Thaum.*, page 370, col. i., notes 17, 18, 19, and *Acta Sanctorum*, pp. 369, 370. The parish is sometimes still called locally Airteach, but the territory of Airteach was more extensive than the present parish of Tibohine (*Annals of Four Masters*, vol. iii., p. 120, note *u*). 'St. Patrick founded a church here. And Patrick went afterwards to Drummut of Ciarraighe Airteach (now

[1] *Trip. Tria Thaum.*, p. 135.

Drummad) . . . and Patrick founded a church here, wherein is Conu, the wright, the brother of Bishop Sachell,' *i.e.*, of Baslick (*Trip.*, Part II.).

A scholion on Boethine in the (metrical) *Calendar of Aengus*, Feb. 19, states there were *three* (religious) *houses* of Boethin[e] : (1) Tech-Boethin[e] in Meath (Taughboyne) ; (2) Tech-Boethin[e] in Tirconnell (Taughboyne, Co. Donegal); (3) Tech-Boethine in Airtagh, west of Connacht (Cruachan Airtagh, or Tibohine, Co. Roscommon). A quatrain is added saying there were four of the name : Boethine, son of Brenaron, the second Abbot of Iona (of No. 2) ; B., son of Findach (Finda of Innisboheen, Co. Wicklow) ; B., son of Alla (whom the scholiast identifies with the B. given at Oct. 6, adding significantly *id nescio ubi est*) ; B., son of Cuana (of No. 1), according to the same unreliable authority. But as the local tradition relative to the feast is not open to question, we must conclude that the patron of Tibohine was B., son of Cuana, and assign Boethine, son of Alla, to Taughboyne in Meath.

J. J. Kelly.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SCAPULAR

A Criticism

NO one, I think, who has read with attention the articles on the Scapular contributed by Father Benedict Zimmerman to recent numbers of the I. E. Record [1] will be disposed to question either the industrious research of the writer, or the admirable candour with which he has presented the evidence. Whatever opinion may be formed as to his conclusions, even the least sympathetic critic must allow that the discussion has gained much from the new material which Father Zimmerman has brought to light. It is, indeed, partly because I have formed a high idea of the thoroughness with which the investigation of sources has been conducted that I venture to press the question: Can we with these facts before us regard the story of St. Simon Stock's vision as anything more than a pious legend? Are we justified in declaring that the unqualified promise of salvation made to those who wear the Scapular till death rests upon a basis which is historically sound?

If I am to compress my comments into the limits of a single article I must be chary of unnecessary preambles. Let me, then, begin at once with the earliest witness to the vision—Peter Swanyngton.

It is a little difficult to discuss Peter Swanyngton's testimony with the requisite brevity: first, because Father Zimmerman's presentment of the dates differs fundamentally from that of all previous writers; secondly, because, if he will pardon me for saying so, his account of the matter in 1904 differs in a very essential particular from the account which he gave in his first article in 1901. In 1901 this narrative of Swanyngton's was described as a *letter*. Father Zimmerman uses the phrase several times over. 'The result is best told in the following *letter* of Peter Swanyngton,

[1] February, March, and April 1904, and May, 1901.

the saint's secretary.' 'This *letter* was found in the reliquary of St. Simon Stock, at Bordeaux, in the seventeenth century.' 'The *letter* in question is undated.' 'How was it that the writer of our copy of Peter Swanyngton's *letter* put the date 1251, and inserted the name of Innocent IV. ?'[1]

But, in 1904, we hear no more of the 'letter' of Swanyngton, but the document is now a *chapter* in the Life which he wrote in 1305, 'when he was about 70 years old.'[2]

It was at Bordeaux, we are assured, in or after the year 1305, that 'he wrote a life of St. Simon Stock, from which *the two chapters* translated by us have been taken.'[3] In other words, we are told that this document was drawn up at least fifty-four years after the date which the writer himself affixed to it. Father Zimmerman will not think me captious, I hope, if I suggest that there is a good deal of difference between the evidential value of a letter dictated the day after the event and a narrative compiled fifty years later. Neither does it add to our confidence in the authenticity of the document that the writer should have pretended he was quoting the words of an actual contemporary letter, when he was in fact doing nothing of the kind.[4]

But this is not the only difficulty. Let me state one or two others.

I. Father Zimmerman admits that Swanyngton writing in 1305, at the age of seventy, assigns this most consoling vision, with a whole train of other events which depended upon it, and in which he personally took an active part,

[1] I. E. RECORD, 1901, vol. ix., pp. 401, 403, 405, 406.

[2] Page 149. References without further indication refer to the articles in the I. E. RECORD for February, March, April of 1904.

[3] *Ib.*

[4] Those who know something of the working of the Society for Psychical Research will best judge of the suspicion with which the narrative of an apparition would be received which, instead of depending on a letter written the following day, proved on inquiry to have been first committed to paper fifty years afterwards, and to contain errors of fact of the most startling nature. Is it asking too much that before preaching to the faithful so momentous a promise as that attached to the Scapular we should submit it to the ordinary tests enjoined alike by prudence and historical criticism ? If St. Simon Stock had ever been canonized, or if his cause had been examined into and reported upon by the Roman authorities, the matter would be somewhat different. But we know that in the case of St. Simon even this guarantee is entirely absent.

to the year 1251, instead of 1262, which is the correct date.[1] But in 1251 Swanyngton would only have been sixteen years old. Surely when he wrote the Life he would have had some idea of his own age, and he would have known whether he was sixteen or twenty-seven at the time when he acted as 'the saint's secretary, and probably also his confessor.'[2] And this reckless inaccuracy occurs in a formal document deposited in the saint's shrine!

II. That Swangnyton should have invented a 'Dean of St. Helen's at Winchester'[3] and have wrongly supposed that the Winchester foundation took place immediately after the vision,[4] may be more easily conceived, but it is possible that he should have been wildly at sea as to the identity of the Pope he travelled so far with St. Simon to visit?[5] The Pope whom he actually names was not even the immediate predecessor of the Pope whom he ought to have named.[6]

III. The whole chronology, in fact, is a hopeless muddle. Father Zimmerman's explanation removes some difficulties, but only to create others. According to him the vision took place on July 16th, 1262. Now, the story supposes that the vision occurred to console the Carmelite brethren at a time of great persecution.[7] But in July, 1262, the trouble was over,[8] and the reigning Pope Urban IV. had already issued his most important bulls in favour of the Order. According to Swanyngton's narrative our Lady told St. Simon to appeal to the Pope, whom she named. But the Pope who was to publish the decisive Bull in favour of the Order was not Urban, but Clement IV., elected in 1265.[9] If our Lady really named the Pope who was finally to silence their

[1] Page 146.
[2] I. E. Record, 1901, vol. ix., p. 403.
[3] Page 147.
[4] *Ib.*
[5] I. E. Record, 1901, vol. ix., p. 404.
[6] Page 152.
[7] *Cf.* I. E. Record, 1901, vol. ix., p. 401. Father Zimmerman speaks of the Special Chapter convened and the three days' fast enjoined at this time of trial.
[8] I. E. Record, vol. ix., pp. 399, 400.
[9] Page 152. When this was issued St. Simon Stock was already dead.

detractors, the identity of the next occupant of the Chair of Peter must have been known to the whole Carmelite Order through St. Simon's letter, two years before his election.

In any case, if the mental infirmities of Peter Swanyngton in his old age were such as to lead him into these serious errors about names and dates—errors which are not disputed—what can possibly be the value of his testimony regarding the vision. He would be the very type of those well-meaning but imaginative enthusiasts, with whom most of the extravagant legends of the Middle Ages may be assumed to have originated.

And now, what does the extrinsic evidence tell us of this document which is put forward as the earliest and most authentic account of the vision vouchsafed to St. Simon Stock ?

In the year 1642 a famous and somewhat sceptical French scholar, J. Launoy, published an attack on the Carmelite Scapular and the Sabbatine Indulgence. His principal argument against the former was the absence of all contemporary testimony. No mention was made of it, he asserted, though in this particular he afterwards owned his mistake, before the time of Palæonydorus, at the end of the fifteenth century. Launoy's attack must have excited considerable attention, for three separate replies were issued in quick succession. All of them took up this point of the early evidence for the vision, but Father John Chéron capped the efforts of his *confrères* by the production of a document calculated to silence all cavillers. He professed to print the text of the very letter written by the Saint's own secretary, at Cambridge, the day after the apparition. Strange to say, up to that moment, as Father Zimmerman admits, we have not a hint of the existence of any such contemporary account. Neither Bale in England, nor Trithemius abroad, to say nothing of the numerous Carmelite annalists, were acquainted with Swanyngton's Life of St. Simon Stock, though they mention Swanyngton and specify his writings. What is still more strange, although the appearance of this *Deus ex machina* was hailed by Launoy and others with ill-concealed derision, the Life has

never been given to the world from that day to this. Father Papebroech asked to be allowed to print it in the *Acta Sanctorum*, but this was refused, and in the end he seems to have convinced himself on Carmelite testimony that there never was any *Life*, but only the narrative of the vision and subsequent miracle which Chéron had already published.[1]

Father Zimmerman, however, believes in the existence of a Life, although he allows that it (the Life by Swanyngton) 'does not seem to have been much read, for it has never been quoted nor so much as mentioned.[2] He adds that 'it is a matter for deep regret that Chéron did not publish it at some other time. After 1650 he contributed some important chapters to Lezana's fourth volume of the *Carmelite Annals*, but Swanyngton's Life of St. Simon, which would have found its proper place there, was not among them.'[3] One would have thought that Father Chéron's superiors might have insisted, but even his religious brethren seem to have found him a very queer fellow. 'He suffered from a narrowness of mind which caused great discomfort to his province, and disedification of the faithful, besides embittering many years of his own life.'[4] Strangest of all, even in Father Daniel a S. Maria's great collection of documents, the *Speculum Carmelitanum*, which was published a few years after Chéron's death, and which specially undertook the defence of the Scapular, nothing but what is derived from Chéron's own pages is said about this priceless testimony of Swanyngton's. So far as I can learn, no human eye but Chéron's is known to have rested on the copy found, or alleged to have been found, with St. Simon Stock's relics.

I hope, then, that I shall not be thought needlessly sceptical if I submit that to accept such a document as evidence would be to ignore the first principles of historical criticism.

[1] See note at the end of *AA. SS.*, May vol. vii., p. 790, where Papebroech quotes the authority of the Carmelite Philip a Visitatione; and *cf.* Papebroech, *Responsiones*, vol. ii., p. 378. Personally I agree with Papebroech that there was no life by Swanyngton; but I argue *ad hominem* in the present article.

[2] Page 149.

[3] Page 150.

[4] *Ib.*

The document professes to be what it is not; it is grossly inaccurate in names and dates; it was first heard of three hundred years after the death of its supposed author; it was brought to light by a person who was very far from being unbiassed or disinterested; it was never submitted to any kind of expert criticism; it disappeared unaccountably when its publication was demanded. That Father Chéron deliberately sat himself down to forge a purely fictitious document I do not suggest; but that having come across some sort of account a century or more older than his time, he chose to assume that it was a contemporary narrative, attributed it to Swanyngton,[1] and manipulated it in accordance with this idea, seems to me in the highest degree probable.

I do not wish wantonly to re-open old sores, but it is essential to my argument to point out that the historical sense among the Carmelites of Chéron's time was simply non-existent. To say they were uncritical would be a very feeble description of their mental attitude. No one who has not read it can conceive the kind of charges contained in the *Exhibitio Errorum* (by Father Sebastianus a S. Paulo) which they presented to Pope Innocent XII. in 1693 to denounce Father Papebroech. It is not merely that they accuse him of impiety for rejecting the antiquity of the Carmelite traditions with the whole train of extravagant legends about Elias and the community of Mount Carmel, which even the staunchest champions of the Order will not now attempt to defend; but there is not one of the very moderate concessions made by the Bollandist to the exigencies of rational criticism which is not represented as a disloyalty to the Church and the Holy See. Father Papebroech admits the spuriousness of the Donation of Constantine and of the Forged Decretals. He treats the story of Pope Sylvester, the Acts of St. George and of many other martyrs as largely fabulous. He doubts the authenticity

[1] Nothing could be more likely than that some brief mention of Swanyngton (who, after being a doctor at Oxford in the days of Simon Stock, came to Bordeaux and died there) should have survived among the Carmelites of Gascony.

of certain relics and so forth.[1] These were the crimes with which the Bollandist was charged. There is not nowadays a professor in any Catholic seminary in the world who would not support Father Papebroech in almost every point there alleged against him, nay, who would not often go much further; but these opinions were vehemently denounced at Rome in the *Exhibitio Errorum* as disrespectful to Christ and our Lady, and as dangerously compromising the honour of the Holy See, the dignity of the College of Cardinals, and so forth. But if this was the tone which prevailed among the most learned Carmelites of the seventeenth century, what are we to think of the fourteenth, of the time in fact when the legend originated?

Let me return, however, for a moment to the supposed testimony of Peter Swanyngton. There is one feature which seems to me to betray unmistakably its relatively late origin. I refer to the date: 'From Cambridge the day after the Division of the Apostles, the 17th of the kalends of August.'[2] *i.e.*, July 16. If we look at the old Carmelite Breviaries, for instance that printed at Venice in 1504, we shall find that on the 16th July was observed a certain 'solemn commemoration of our Lady,' which, having continued to our own day, is now commonly known as the Scapular feast. Father Zimmerman has discussed this matter with his usual candour,[3] and he has saved me the trouble of proving by argument that when this feast was first instituted we find no kind of reference made in it to the Scapular Vision. Lezana believed that it commemorated

[1] I give one illustration. Under the first heading, which runs: 'Exhibentur ea quae Papebrochius effutit contra historiam Vitae Christi Domini,' we find the following charge: 'Ex meris conjecturis impugnat literas capituli Antwerpiensis de Praeputio Domini Antwerpiam transmisso.' Papebroech had had the audacity to question the authenticity of this relic, and had declared the supposed letter of the Chapter of Antwerp to be spurious.

[2] Father Zimmerman is not the first to suspect that the whole subscription must be read continuously. Father Papebroech also prints it so in his *Responsiones*, vol. ii., p. 379. As he had not before him the facts which show the date it bears to be impossible, and as by his Superior's wish he tried to be conciliatory to his opponents as far as he could, he seemed willing, in 1693, to treat Swanyngton's account as a genuine document, and to accept the authenticity of the vision.

[3] Pages 229-232.

a confirmation of the Rule under Honorius III. in 1226, but Father Zimmerman shows that no such feast was known in the Order until about 1387, when it appears as a *commemoratio solemnis S. Mariæ*. For a long time after this, there is not, I repeat, the slightest hint to connect the 16th of July with St. Simon Stock's vision, but eventually the idea somehow was started that it was on this Carmelite feast of our Lady that the great Scapular promise was made,[1] and strange to say, when Father Chéron produces the contemporary letter of Swanyngton, it is found to bear this very date. The year, though Father Zimmerman admits this to be woefully wrong, is the year which was very commonly assigned to the vision when Chéron's book appeared ; the Pope, also wrong, was nevertheless the Pope whose name Chéron's contemporaries expected to find there ; the day was exactly the day assigned by the late historians of the Order whom Chéron had read, and coincided with an ancient Carmelite feast of our Lady ; and yet, strange to say, this was a feast which only began to be kept a hundred years after St. Simon's death. All this is very wonderful, and hardly less wonderful is the quite unnecessary mention of the 'Division of the Apostles.' Why should Swanyngton mention this ? 'The feast of the Division of the Apostles was not kept by the Carmelites until a much later period.'[2] There is no mention of it in Carmelite books until 1340, but in the sixteenth century it appears in all the Breviaries of the Order.

'Much, but not everything,' says Father Zimmerman,[3] 'depends upon the question whether Swanyngton's report is authentic or not. If not, we have still almost contemporary evidence in the account given by Sibert de Beka of St. Simon's vision and in an extract from William de Coventry.' Father Zimmerman assumes that Bale, in MS.

[1] See the useful little collection of Carmelite tracts printed at Cologne at the beginning of 1643, of which the first is Trithemius' *De Ortu et Progressu*. pp. 382, 383. Though the book bears the date 1643, it is entirely made up of pieces previously printed and belonging to a somewhat earlier time. It almost certainly cannot have borrowed from Chéron, whose book only appeared towards the close of 1642.

[2] Page 143, note.

[3] Page 148.

Harley, 3838, has preserved for us Sibert's actual words; but this, it seems to me, is in the highest degree improbable. No one who looks carefully at the account in question, which is chapter xviii. of Bale's *Heliades*, can fail to notice that the chapter forms part of a continuous and even narrative extending through the book. It is not at all a patchwork of extracts.[1] Bale is obviously the writer throughout, but at the head of each chapter he mentions one or more of the books he has consulted. Here we find :—

Cap. 18. A Virgine deipara monitus, Symon adversus procerum infestationes ab Innocentio remedia sumpsit. Ex Siberto de Beka.

This citation of authorities merely corresponds to what would now be indicated in a reference in a footnote. The very next chapter, which flows on without a break, is said to be : *ex Bostio et Burello* ;[2] but in the middle he quotes by name from Nicholas Cantilupe, and he ends with some remarks which are, if I mistake not, entirely Bale's own. They belong, of course, to the period before his apostacy, and form an interesting commentary on the abuses then prevailing in the propagation of the Scapular devotion.

Nec aberant qui hocgaudentes indusio, variis fuere sanati languoribus. Sed hæc an hominum fidei an vestis sanctimoniæ potius tribuenda sint ceteris relinquo. Certe res est miratu digna. Sed proh dolor, nostris iam diebus in miram superstitionem verterunt omnia. Salutem non solum sibi promittunt pessimi nebulones, in sola specie religiosi, sed et aliis, quæstus gratia, quotquot in mortis articulo fuerint contecti habitu. Tam sancta nulla est et iusta institutio, quæ, non renovata, temporis iniuria (? injuriam) [non] patiatur vel grandia incommoda, et per improbos homines malum non sortiatur exitum.[3]

If this observation is not Bale's, but taken from Bostius

[1] Many of Bale's MSS. are mere commonplace books, into which he has copied short passages from different chronicles which passed through his hands. The *Heliades*, carefully transcribed by a friend in a 'printing hand,' is quite different in character. I had copied out this and one or two other chapters to show the evenness of the narrative, but they are too long for insertion here.

[2] In some cases three authorities are named at the beginning of a short chapter. Surely Father Zimmerman will not contend that the text which follows is carefully pieced together out of the actual words used by all three.

[3] Harl. MS. 3838, f. 19.

or Burellus, whose names are cited in the heading to the chapter, the protest is only the more worthy of notice. But even Bale, when he wrote the *Heliades*, seems to have entertained no disloyalty to the Church or to his own Order. However, for the moment, my point is that if Sibert de Beka and William of Coventry are appealed to as witnesses, we cannot trust the text, for we only know them through extracts made in the fifteenth century or later. The men who made these extracts were devoid of all critical sense. If any detail in the accounts before them had conflicted with the story as it was told in their day, they would have felt no scruple in suppressing it, or changing the wording. No wonder that in substance the accounts of the vision are found to agree.

None the less, accepting our witnesses as we find them, I fail altogether to see that Swanyngton's version is notably more sober, as Father Zimmerman suggests, than that of Sibert or the rest.[1] Very much the contrary. The few additional words which Sibert introduces in our Lady's promise are absolutely immaterial, mere verbiage which does not arrest the attention for a moment. On the other hand, Swanyngton tacks on a long and wonderful narrative of the miracle at Winchester, which is found nowhere else. Is this the sort of detail which later writers would have omitted if Swanyngton's account had been known to them ? But what is still more noteworthy, in the version which Father Zimmerman believes to be Sibert's highly decorated elaboration of the primitive record, our Lady is made to promise salvation to him who dies in the habit, '*if only he be worthy*.'[2] ('In hoc quisquis morietur, modo eo dignus, æternum non sentiet ignem.') The promise in Swanyngton is absolutely without condition. Are we asked to believe that of these two accounts, both supposed to be mediæval, the cautious and qualified form belongs to the later accretions of the legend, while the unconditional promise is to

[1] It will be remembered that Father Zimmerman argues that the reason why Swanyngton's history was quite forgotten is due to the fact that it is less highly coloured than that of Sibert or the later chroniclers.

[2] See I. E. RECORD, 1901, vol. ix., p. 403.

be regarded as authentic and primitive ? This must surely be considered a very exceptional inversion of the usual order.

What, then, is the true history of the Scapular ? Lack of space will not allow me to develop many points which I should be glad to dwell upon, but I will try to state briefly certain facts which the extant evidence seems to me to establish beyond dispute. In many details I am glad to find that Father Zimmerman's views do not seem very far removed from my own.

The first suggestion of any special privilege being attached to the wearing of the Carmelite habit, in whole or in part, cannot be traced further back than the fourteenth century. Unfortunately, we only know these early accounts at second hand, but they seem to have agreed in relating that St. Simon Stock, the English General of the Order, somewhere about the year 1250 had a vision of our Lady, who presented him with ' the habit ' of the Carmelites, and promised that all who died in that habit should not suffer eternal flames. The annals of most religious Orders contain some similar tradition, generally founded on an apparition, more or less vaguely attested, and promising salvation to all who persevere in the Order until death. Father Zimmerman says that such a tradition existed among the Benedictines, the most ancient of cenobites. Analogous revelations are also piously credited among many of the more modern Orders, such as, for instance, the Society of Jesus. It is to be noted then, that if, in the fourteenth century such a privilege was believed to attach to the Carmelite habit, it was in no sort of way the exclusive prerogative of the Carmelites. So far as the world at large was concerned, we hear much more of it in connection with the Franciscans.[1]

[1] In the answer to *Jacke Upland* (see *Political Poems*, Rolls Series, ii., p. 82) such a claim is distinctly repudiated in the case of the Dominicans and the Austin Friars, but the writer professes uncertainty whether this virtue attaches to the Franciscan 'habite,' or 'whether the carmes of their *copes* maynetenen siche an errour.' *Note bene* that here, in 1401, the privilege in the case of the Carmelites is held to belong to their 'copes;' *i.e.*, their distinctive white mantles. The writer knew quite well what a 'scapelarie' was (see *ib.*, p. 71); but it is the *cope* he mentions. As will be pointed out further on, wherever we can be sure of the authentic early text, we find that it was not the Scapular, nor the habit in general, but the cope, *i.e.*, the mantle, which was supposed to be privileged.

The Wickliffites were never weary of making this claim of the Mendicant Orders the object of their attacks, but it is nearly always the Friars Minors who are prominently mentioned.

> Isti fratres predicant per villas et per forum
> Quod si mortem gustet quis in habitu Minorum.
> Non intrabit postea locum tormentorum
> Sed statim perducitur ad regna cœlorum.[1]

But while this idea of the virtue of the religious habit as a protection against hell fire was very widely spread and attached to other Orders besides the Carmelites,[2] there were two special reasons why among the Carmelites any such vision as that attributed to St. Simon Stock should have taken deep root in the pious traditions of their Institute. In the first place, in 1287, they had changed what was most distinctive in their religious dress, and this seems to have been very generally made a subject of reproach against them.[3] Even a hundred years later it was not forgotten. A satirical poem of about 1382 speaks thus :—

> Si legas a sæculo non erat inventum
> A quibus hæc religio cepit fundamentum ;
> Pollimitum primitus habebat indumentum ;
> Sed cur hæc [? hoc] despicitur est magnum portentum.
> With an O and an I, fuerunt *pyed freres*,
> Quomodo mutati sunt rogo dicat Pers.

The *pollimitum indumentum* is, of course, the striped cloak or *carpeta* which the Carmelites wore in the time of St. Simon Stock.[4] They used to be known as 'pied friars,' *i.e.*, friars streaked black and white, and suggestive of a magpie.

It is obvious that to those who twitted them with the change in their attire, it was very convenient to reply

---

[1] *Political Poems* (Rolls Series), i., p. 256.

[2] I cannot for the moment put my finger on the references, but I am practically certain that many stories belonging to the twelfth century, and earlier, might be quoted of laymen who in their last moments wished to be clothed in the Benedictine or Cistercian habit.

[3] See Father Zimmerman's quotation from the *Osney Chronicle*, p. 209.

[4] See pp. 15, 16. Forgetful of this fact, an account of the vision, copied by Bale, in MS. Harl., 1819, fo. 131b, says : 'Ante enim illud tempus fratres Carmelitæ sola veste et chlamyde alba utebantur.'

that their religious dress had been given them by our Lady herself; and an interval of thirty years or more between the supposed date of the vision and the assumption of the white mantles would not have caused much difficulty in that uncritical age. Sibert de Beka, always supposing, as I feel myself bound to do, that Swanyngton's account is spurious, supplies the earliest known mention of the vision, and of him Father Zimmerman says: 'Sibert evidently mixed up the question of the Scapular with that of the mantle.'[1] Precisely so. The question of the mantle was then all-important, but there is no satisfactory evidence that the question of the Scapular, as such, was ever even heard of until some time later. As long as we have not before us contemporary manuscript authority, we can place no confidence in the appearance of the word *Scapulare* in the extracts made at a later time. Father Zimmerman himself concludes that our Lady's promise 'has reference to the habit in general and not to the Scapular in particular.'[2] This alone, we might think, is a sufficiently startling admission for those who have been accustomed to accept the account of the Scapular given in so many works of devotion. How can we infer with any confidence that the promise of assured salvation made to those who have faithfully worn till death the habit of a religious Order, submitting thereby to the innumerable deprivations which the mere wearing of such a habit entails—how can we safely infer, I ask, that the promise will be extended to all who only fulfil their part in the compact by a sort of legal fiction, wearing, at no inconvenience to themselves, two tiny morsels of cloth under their dress? Is not this almost a *reductio ad absurdum* of all that such a condition legitimately implied when it was first made. But even Father Zimmerman's interpretation does not seem to me to go sufficiently far. All the evidence suggests that so far as there is any historical foundation for

[1] Page 210. It is most significant that the little collection of papers of 1643, already mentioned (Trithemius, *De Ort.*, etc., pp. 82, 83), supposes two distinct visions of St. Simon Stock—one about the habit, the other about the promise of salvation.

[2] Page 215.

the vision, we must believe that it was the *signum*, or distinctive livery of the Order that our Lady brought to St. Simon, and this, as Father Zimmerman seems to allow, was the mantle, at that time striped black and white. I believe that the idea of the fourteenth century is accurately represented by the verses :—

> Si ordinis in signo moritur quis, jure benigno
> Solvitur a pœnis, fruiturque locis peramœnis.[1]

Now the *signum* is the mantle. The Chapter of London, held in 1281, before the change of garb, enacts :—

> Frater professus habeat unam carpitam (quod est nostræ religionis *signum*) non de peciis consutam, sed contextam, et habeat septem radios tantum, ut simus uniformes.[2]

Father Zimmerman tells us that the mantle was given at profession with the words, 'Accipe hanc cappam nostræ religionis signum.'[3] If at this date the distinctive badge of the Order was believed to be the brown *Scapulare*, and it was supposed that this latter was brought by our Lady to St. Simon Stock, how could the white mantle so early and so continuously in the most official documents be called the *signum nostræ religionis* ?

But besides the banter excited by their exchange of the striped mantle for a white one, there was another misunderstanding which greatly worried the Carmelites during the first century of their existence. This was the reluctance which the people showed to call them by their title of *Ordo B. Mariæ*, the Order of our Lady. Whether this was in any way due to the foundation of the Sevites (Servants of Mary), or whether the other Orders resented the implication that our Lady was not their patroness in the same degree, certain it is that the Carmelites showed themselves extremely tenacious of the designation, and consequently had every motive for welcoming and propagating a legend, which con-

[1] Daniel, *Vinea Carmeli*, quoted from Leersius († 1483), who himself takes it from an older source.
[2] Papebroech, *Responsiones*, ii., p. 182.
[3] Page 212, note.

stituted our Lady in a special way their patroness. *Piers Plowman's Crede* says of the Carmelite friars :—

> They maketh them *Mary's men* so they men tellen,
> And laieth on our Lady many a long tale.[1]

But a century earlier than this, to wit in 1287, at the very time that the Carmelites first adopted the white mantle, Sifrid von Westerburg, Bishop of Cologne, granted an indulgence to all partisans of the friars (*eorundem Fratrum fautores*) and to all who helped to retain for them the title of *fratres B. Mariæ* or *fratres Dominæ Nostræ*.

Cum dilecti nobis fratres, Ordinis B. Mariæ de Monte Carmeli ex indultis Pape et ex ordinatione sui generalis capituli stripeticum pallium ob indecentiam clericalis habitus deposuerint, *album cappam pro signo sue religionis* assumendo . . . commendamus ut faciatis eos suo proprio titulo fratres B. Mariae seu fratres Dominæ Nostræ vulgariter appellari.[2]

This early document makes it quite clear that the white mantle was then held to be the *signum* of the Carmelite Order. If anyone objects to me that St. Louis of France, together with Edward II. and a number of other illustrious persons, secretly wore this *signum* (*clam detulit hoc signum*),[3] I fear that I must say roundly that I do not credit a word of it. There are few persons of whose life we know more intimate details than St. Louis. I believe I am right in saying that there is not a trace of anything of the sort in the narrative of de Joinville and others who knew him most intimately. Father Zimmerman cites Nicholas Cantilupe for these facts, adding that Bale preserves a lengthy writing of this Carmelite author 'which hardly adds much to our knowledge.' Perhaps we may safely gather one thing from the lengthy writing in question, and that is that it would hardly be possible to find, even in the Middle Ages, a more credulous person than Nicholas Cantilupe. He gravely

[1] *Piers Plowman's Creed*, ll. 48, 49.

[2] H. H. Koch, *Die Karmeliten Kloster des Niederdeutschen Provinz*, 1889, p. 23. Koch believes that they had no Scapulars in the beginning of the Order.

[3] Page 226.

tells how the ancient religious of Mount Carmel were visited by our Lady, when she was a little girl in the courts of the Temple :—

> Carmelitæ ceteris religiosis cunctis et singulis speciositate tituli excellentiores . . . non solum meruerunt visitari a gloriosa Dei Genitrice Maria, ipsam angelo ad Montem Carmeli de Templo ducente, in ætate ut reor novem annorum, etc.[1]

But they were also visited by St. Joseph, our Blessed Lord, and other illustrious Biblical personages. Cantilupe's testimony regarding the wearers of the Scapular is probably of precisely the same critical value as his writing in praise of the Carmelite Order.

It would be interesting if Father Zimmerman would make a little more clear for us the exact epoch at which the wearing of two small pieces of brown cloth first came into fashion, and was treated as an outward sign of participation in the spiritual privileges of the Order. We have a very valuable account preserved to us of an early confraternity erected by the Carmelites in Florence at the close of the thirteenth century.[2] I cannot in their statutes find the slightest trace of any wearing of habit or Scapular. Even in Bale's time (*circa* 1525) his manner of speaking of those 'rascals, religious only in outward appearance, who not only promise themselves salvation, but for the sake of gain, promise it to all others also, who, in the moment of death, are covered with the habit' ('quotquot in mortis articulo fuerint contecti habitu') seems quite inconsistent with the idea of any general adoption of the two little fragments of cloth.

For the rest, I am quite content to leave these difficulties for the candid consideration of Father Zimmerman, and others of my readers. They may be inconclusive, but they seem to me, at any rate, to recommend a certain reserve in proclaiming on our Lady's authority, that the wearing of our familiar Brown Scapular may be regarded as a sure

[1] MS. Harl. 1819, fol. 155.

[2] Piccini, *Libro degli Ordinamenti della Compagnia di S. Maria del Carmino*, scritto nel 1280. Bologna, 1867.

pledge of salvation. That the simple faith of the people, who in all piety and sincerity embrace such devotions, is very pleasing to God and often most strangely rewarded by Him, I should not dream of questioning. But this does not justify us, the clergy, in attributing historic certainty to traditions which cannot fairly meet the test of honest criticism. Indeed, I feel sure from the tone of Father Zimmerman's articles that he himself is not more anxious to champion the cause of the Scapular than to acknowledge frankly the difficulties which beset the whole subject.

Upon the Sabbatine—or should we not now say the 'Subitine'—Indulgence, Father Zimmerman seems to me to have stated all the facts which are of substantial importance; and widely as my conclusions differ from his, the divergence between us is rather a matter of first principles than a subject for discussion. I will only mention in addition to the many other improbabilities of the story, that if, as he admits,[1] *subito* and not *sabbato* is the true reading, it is difficult to see why our Lady should have talked Italian to a French Pope (John XXII.). Is there any other language besides Italian in which *subito* means 'immediately'?

HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

[1] Page 345, note.

DOCUMENTS

CATHOLIC CLERICAL MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION

THE second annual meeting of the Central Council of the Catholic Clerical Association of Managers of Irish National Schools was held in Dublin on June 14th.

Present :—Right Rev. Dean Byrne, V.G., P.P., Dungannon, in the chair ; Right Rev. Monsignor M'Glynn, V.G., P.P., Stranorlar ; Very Rev. J. Curry, V.F., P.P., St. Mary's, Drogheda ; Right Rev. Monsignor Murphy, D.D., V.G., P.P., Maryborough ; Very Rev. Canon O'Donnell, P.P., Fairview, Dublin ; Right Rev. Monsignor Keller, V.G., P.P., Youghal ; the Ven. Archdeacon Hutch, V.G., P.P., Midleton ; the Ven. Archdeacon Kinane, V.G., P.P. Cashel ; Right Rev. Monsignor M'Loughlin, V.G., P.P., Roscommon ; the Ven. Archdeacon Kilkenny, V.G., P.P., Claremorris ; Very Rev. T. Curran, P.P., Moycullen, Co. Galway.

Reports were received from the Provincial Councils of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam.

The following are the objects, constitution, and rules of the Association :—

(*a*) The objects of the Association are the safeguarding of Catholic Education, the advancement of Primary Education, and the protection, generally, of Catholic Clerical Managerial interests in Ireland. It is also intended that the Association will aid in improving the religious, intellectual, social, and financial condition of National School teachers.

(*b*) Its constitution has been outlined in the following resolutions adopted unanimously by the Bishops of Ireland on the 8th October, 1902 :—

' 1°. An Association of Clerical Managers of Schools shall be formed in every diocese forthwith, membership to be open to every Clerical Manager in the diocese.

' 2°. The members of each Diocesan Association will elect three representatives as members of a Provincial Association, which will meet quarterly.

'3°. Each Provincial Association will elect three delegates to constitute a central body, which will meet in Dublin once a year at least.

'4°. Each Association, Diocesan, Provincial, and Central, will elect its own chairman and secretary.

'5°. The Secretary of each Association will, in case of urgency, convene a meeting of the Association on the requisition of four members.

'6°. Seven members shall form a quorum for a meeting of the Central Association.'

It was unanimously agreed, at the last meeting, that the word 'quarterly' in paragraph (*b*) 2°, be changed into 'twice a year,' if the Bishops of Ireland approve of the change.[1]

It was also agreed that the rules made on November 17th, 1903, and published in the I. E. RECORD of December, 1903, for the working of the Catholic Clerical Managers' Association, be so altered as to read as follows:—

(*b*) 1°. An Association of Catholic Clerical Managers of National Schools shall be forthwith formed with branches in every Diocese, membership to be open to every Catholic Clerical Manager in the Diocese.

2°. The members of each diocesan branch shall elect three representatives every three years, commencing from Easter, 1903, to form a Provincial Council, which will meet soon after Easter each year, and again when they may determine.

3°. Each Provincial Council shall elect at its first meeting after Easter, every three years from Easter, 1903, three delegates to form a Central Council which will meet, at least, every June.

4°. Each branch and each council shall elect its chairman, secretary, and treasurer for three years at its first meeting after Easter every three years, from 1903.

5°. The secretary of each branch or council shall, in case of urgency, convene a meeting of the branch or council on the requisition of four members.

6°. Seven members shall form a quorum for a meeting of the Central Council.

(*c*) For the effective working of the Association, it was resolved:—

1°. That the members annually subscribe five shillings each

[1] Their Lordships have assented to this change.

towards the funds of the Association, such payments to be made before the 30th April, in each year.

2°. That the Diocesan Treasurers collect the annual subscriptions in their respective dioceses; and after paying diocesan Expenses, forward the surplus to their respective provincial treasurers, who will forward half the aggregate of surpluses to the central treasurer.

3°. That the Diocesan Secretaries furnish the Provincial Secretaries with a list of all the members of the Association in their dioceses who have paid their annual subscription before the 30th April, 1904, and that the Provincial Secretaries be asked to forward an authenticated copy of such list to the Central Secretary. The list being once compiled, alterations by omissions or additions are to be notified to the Provincial Secretary by the Diocesan Secretaries before the 30th of each April, and to the Central Secretary by the Provincial Secretaries before each 31st May.

4°. That the Central Secretary and Treasurer issue conjointly a certificate of annual payment and of membership to the Provincial Secretaries for distribution through the Diocesan Secretaries, amongst the members in each diocese.

5°. That an entry of a member's name on the list of the Association be a *sine qua non* to the consideration of any grievance under which he may labour, unless by special resolution of the Council.

6°. That, in due time, a seal be provided for the Association, and all official documents be stamped with it.

The following resolutions were subsequently adopted :—

'1. That the resolutions of the Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam Provincial Councils approving of the resolutions of November 17th, 1903, agreed to by the Central Council, be entered on our minutes.

'2. That while we regret the errors into which Mr. Dale, a stranger to the country, was betrayed, both from a too limited observation of our schools, and from his having to rely for many facts on very unreliable information, we do not think too much prominence can be given to the conclusions at which he has arrived from his own direct and careful examination of the teaching in the different classes of schools in Ireland. He saw several schools conducted by religious, and his report on these

schools—the schools in which Irish Catholicism has fullest scope and freest expression—puts them, though the worst paid, amongst the best, the most progressive, and the most formative in the whole country. We, therefore, claim equal financial treatment for them in recognition of services rendered and work accomplished.

'3. That we call upon the Government to devote, without further delay, the residue of the Equivalent Grant, due to Ireland under the Irish Development Fund Act, exclusively to the purposes of primary education, as has already been done with the corresponding grants in England; and we press this claim upon the Government not only as a matter of simple justice, but of urgent necessity, owing to special need of assistance for primary education in Ireland, in consequence of the exceptional circumstances of the country.

'4. That we cannot conceal our surprise at the financial extravagance which characterises the Board of National Education in Ireland in the maintenance of the Model Schools, and we believe that the monies which might be economised in this department, together with a portion of the Equivalent Grant, ought to be devoted to providing a fund which would supply two-thirds of the amount requisite for the proper up-keep and heating of primary schools, the remaining third to be provided by the managers.

'5. That we are unanimously and most strongly opposed to the imposition of a local school-rate in Ireland as being not only an unnecessary, but moreover an unjust and oppressive burden upon an impoverished and already over-taxed country.

'6. That for the preservation of the faith and morals of the children confided to our pastoral care, we are determined to resist by every means in our power all changes in the system of primary education in Ireland which may tend towards secularism, which violate the natural rights of parents in the education of their children, and which have not the full sanction of the Irish Bishops.

'7. We are of opinion that some system should be devised for the co-ordination of primary, secondary, and technical education in Ireland, and that prizes and scholarships should be provided to enable students of exceptional ability to devote themselves to higher studies, and thus utilise, for the benefit of the country, talent that might otherwise be dormant. We,

at the same time, emphatically declare that we shall resolutely oppose any plan of co-ordination which would concentrate the control of our primary schools in a Castle Board or under governors irresponsible to the Irish people.

'8. That we recognise cheerfully the invaluable services of the Catholic National Teachers of Ireland in the work of religious education, and we rejoice that the friction between them and their clerical managers has disappeared. As their Protestant fellow-teachers have emphasised their position of hostility to our managerial authority by their action immediately on the Starkie slander being uttered, we warn the Catholic teachers against being unduly influenced by them. So long as our teachers respect our present rights, which give them greater security than other civil servants possess in any civil department in the world, we heartily wish them success in their efforts at improving their status financially, educationally, and otherwise; and we will extend to them, as we have always done, whatever help it is in our power to give.

'9. That a committee of three be appointed to report on the character and suitability of the books, etc., in use in our schools, and to make such recommendations as they deem desirable. That Monsignor Murphy, Maryborough; Canon O'Donnell, Fairview; and Canon M'Geeney, Crossmaglen, be appointed to constitute this committee.

'10. That we recommend for use in all our Catholic schools the "readers" and other educational publications issued by Irish publishing firms, and approved of by our Committee.

'11. That we approve of the bi-lingual system being put into operation in all bi-lingual districts, and we express an ardent desire that Irish be taught in all the schools throughout the country.

'12. That we consider it our duty to give, in the name of all the Catholic Clerical Managers of Ireland, the most emphatic contradiction to the statement made in the House of Commons and elsewhere that "for the repair and up-keep and heating of their schools in Ireland there is no fund whatever, and that it has to be done by the unfortunate teacher out of his own miserable pittance." This statement, in its latter part, we emphatically declare, as far as the vast majority of our schools is concerned, to be utterly untrue and misleading.

'13. That our honorary treasurer and honorary secretary

be empowered and requested to get the Irish Catholic Clerical Managers' Association into shape on the lines laid down for it by the Bishops of Ireland, and to have enrolled in it all the Catholic Clerical National School Managers of the country.'

'MOTU PROPRIO' OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. ON A VATICAN EDITION OF LITURGICAL BOOKS

PIVS PP. X.

Motu Proprio

DE INSTRUENDA EDITIONE VATICANA LIBRORUM LITURGICORUM JUXTA MELODIAS GREGORIANAS

Col Nostro *Motu proprio* del 22 novembre 1903 e col susseguente Decreto, pubblicato per nostro ordine dalla Congregazione dei Sacri Riti l' 8 gennaio 1904, abbiamo restituito alla Chiesa Romana l'antico suo canto gregoriano, quel canto che essa ha ereditato dai padri, che ha custodito gelosamente nei suoi codici liturgici e che gli studî più recenti hanno assai felicemente ricondotto alla sua primitiva purezza. A fine però di compiere come è conveniente, l'opera incominciata e di fornire alla Nostra Chiesa Romana ed alle Chiese tutte del mendesimo rito il testo comune delle melodie liturgiche gregoriane, abbiamo decretato d'imprendere coi tipi della Nostra Tipografia Vaticana la publicazione dei libri liturgici contenenti il canto della sacrosanta Chiesa Romana da Noi restituito.

E perchè ogni cosa proceda con piena intelligenza di tutti coloro che sono o sacranno chiamati da noi ad offerire il tributo dei loro studî ad un'opera di tanta importanza, e il lavoro proceda con la debita diligenza ed alacrità, stabiliamo le norm seguenti :

(*a*) Le melodie della Chiesa, così dette gregoriane, saranno ristabilite nella loro integrità e purezza secondo la fede codici più antichi, così però che si tenga particolare conto eziandio della legittima tradizione, contenuta nei codici lungo i secoli, e dell'uso pratico della odierna liturgia.

(*b*) Per la speciale Nostra predilezione verso l'Ordine di S. Benedetto, riconoscendo l'opera prestata dai monaci benedettini nella restaurazione delle genuine melodie della Chiesa Romana, particolarmente poi da quelli della Congregazione di Francia e del Monastero di Solesmes, vogliamo che per questa edizione, la redazione delle parti che contengono il canto, sia

affidata in modo particolare ai monaci della Congregazione di Francia ed al Monastero di Solesmes.

(*c*) I lavori così preparati saranno sottomessi all'esame ed alla revisione della speciale Commissione romana, da noi recentemente a questo fine istituita. Essa ha l'obbligo del segreto giurato per tutto ciò che riguarda la compilazione dei testi ed il corso della stampa ; il quale obbligo dovrà estendersi anche alle altre persone fuori della Commissione, che fossero chiamate a prestare al medesimo fine l'opera loro. Dovrà inoltre procedere nel suo esame con la massima diligenza, non permettendo che nulla sia pubblicato, di cui non si possa dare ragione conveniente e sufficiente, nei casi dubbî, chiedendo il parere di altre persone, fuori della Commissione e della Radazione, che siano riconosciute valenti in questo genere di studî e capaci di pronunciare un giudizio autorevole. Che se nella revisione delle melodie occorressero difficoltà per ragione del testo liturgico, la Commissione dovrà consultare l'altra Commissione sotrico-liturgica, già precedentemnte istituita presso la Nostra Congregazione dei Sacri Riti, in guisa che ambedue procedano concordi in quelle parti dei libri che formano oggetto ad ambedue comune.

(*d*) L'approvazione da darsi da Noi e dalla nostra Congregazione dei Sacri Riti ai libri di canto così composti e pubblicati sarà di tal natura, che a niuno sarà piu lecito di approvare libri liturgici, se questi, eziandio nelle parti che contengono il canto, o non siano del totto conformi all'edizione pubblicata dalla Tipografia Vaticana sotto i Nostri auspicî, o per lo meno, a giudizio della Commissione, non siano per tal modo conformi, che le varianti introdotte si dimostrino provenire dall'autorità di altri buoni codici gregoriani.

(*e*) La proprietà letteraria dell'edizione Vaticana è riservata alla Santa Sede. Agli editori e tipografi di ogni nazione, che ne faranno dimanda e che sotto determinate condizioni offriranno sicura guarentigia di saper ben condurre il lavoro, accorderemo la grazia di poterla riprodurre liberamente come loro meglio aggrada, di farne estratti e di spargerne ovunque le copie.

Così, con l'aiuto di Dio, confidiamo di potere restituire alla Chiesa l'unità del suo canto tradizionale in modo rispondente alla scienza, alla storia, all'arte e alla dignità del culto liturgico, per quanto almeno consentono gli studi odierni e reservando a Noi ed ai Nostri successori la facoltà di altrimenti disporre.

Dato in Roma presso S. Pietro, il 25 aprile 1904, festa di S. Marco Evangelista, del Nostro Pontificato l'anno primo.

PIUS PP. X.

COMMISSIONE PONTIFICIA PER L'EDIZIONE VATICANA DEI LIBRI LITURGICI GREGORIANI

MEMBRI DELLA COMMISSIONE :

Revmo. D. Giuseppe Pothier O.S.B., Abate di Saint-Wandrille, *presidente*.

Mons. Carlo Respighi, Ceremoniere pontificio.

Mons. Lorenzo Perosi, Direttore perpetuo della Cappella Sistina.

R. D. Antonio Rella, di Roma.

R. P. D. Andrea Mocquereau O.S.B., priore di Solesmes.

R. P. D. Lorenzo Janssens O.S.B., rettore di S. Anselmo *de Urbe*.

R. P. Angelo De Santi S.I.

Prof. Barone Rodolfo Kanzler, di Roma.

Prof. dott. Pietro Wagner, di Friburgo (Svizzera).

Prof. H. G. Worth, di Londra.

CONSULTORI DELLA COMMISSIONE :

R. D. Raffaello Baralli, di Lucca.

R. D. F. Perriot, di Langres.

R. D. Alessandro Crospellier, di Grenoble.

R. D. Renato Moissenet, de Dijon.

R. D. Normanno Holly, di New York.

R. P. D. Ambrogio Amelli O.S.B., priore di Montecassino.

R. P. D. Ugo Gaisser O.S.B., del Collegio greco di Roma.

R. P. D. Michael Horn, O.S.B., del Monastero di Seckau.

R. P. D. Raffaele Molitor, O.S.B., del Monastero di Beuron.

Prof. Amedeo Gastoué, di Parigi.

'MOTU PROPRIO' OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. ON THE CODIFICATION OF THE CANON LAW

Motu Proprio

DE ECCLESIAE LEGIBUS IN UNUM REDIGENDIS

PIUS PP. X.

Arduum sane munus universae Ecclesiae regendae ubi

primum, arcano divinae Providentiae consilio, suscepimus, praecipua Nobis mens fuit et quasi lex constituta, quantum sinerent vires, instaurare omnia in Christo. Hanc voluntatem vel primis encyclicis Litteris ad catholici orbis Antistites datis patefecimus ; ad hanc veluti metam omnes animi nostri vires hactenus intendimus ; huic principio coepta Nostra conformanda curavimus. Probe autem intelligentes ad instaurationem in Christo ecclesiasticam disciplinam conferre maxime, qua recte ordinata et florente uberrimi fructus deesse non possunt, ad ipsam singulari quadam sollicitudine studia Nostra animumque convertimus.

Equidem Apostolica Sedes sive in Oecumenicis Conciliis sive extra Concilia nunquam intermisit ecclesiasticam disciplinam optimis legibus instruere pro variis temporum conditionibus hominumque necessitatibus. At leges, vel sapientissimae, si dispersae maneant, facile ignorantur ab iis qui eisdem obstringuntur, nec proinde, uti par est, in usum deduci possunt. Hoc ut incommodum vitaretur, atque ita ecclesiasticae disciplinae melius consultum esset, variae sacrorum canonum Collectiones confectae sunt. Antiquiores praetereuntes, commemorandum heic ducimus Gratianum, qui celebri *Decreto* voluit sacros canones non modo in unum colligere, sed inter se conciliare atque componere. Post ipsum Innocentius III, Honorius III, Gregorius IX, Bonifacius VIII, Clemens V cum Ioanne XXII, Decessores Nostri, Iustinianeum opus imitati pro Iure romano, Collectiones authenticas Decretalium confecerunt ac promulgarunt, quibus postremis tribus cum Gratiani Decreto vel hodie *corpus* quod dicitur *iuris canonici* praesertim coalescit. Quod quum Tridentina Synodus et novarum legum promulgatio impar reddiderint, Pontifices Romani Gregorius XIII, Xystus V, Clemens VIII, Benedictus XIV, animum adiecerunt sive adornandis novis corporis iuris canonici editionibus, sive aliis sacrorum canonum Collectionibus parandis ; quibus novissime Collectiones authenticae decretorum accesserunt sacrarum quarumdam Congregationum romanarum.

Verum per haec si quid allatum est quo pro temporum adiunctis difficultates minuerentur, rei tamen haud satis prospicitur. Ipsa namque Collectionum congeries non levem difficultatem parit ; saeculorum decursu leges prodiere quamplurimae, in multa congestae volumina ; non paucae, suis olim aptae temporibus, aut abrogatae sunt aut obsoleverunt ; denique

nonnullae, ob immutata temporum adiuncta, aut difficiles ad exequendum evaserunt, aut communi animorum bono minus utiles.

His incommodis pro nonnullis iuris partibus quae urgentioris erant necessitatis, occurrere curarunt ex Decessoribus Nostris praecipue Pius IX et Leo XIII s. me., quorum alter per Constitutionem '*Apostolicae Sedis*' censuras coarctavit latae sententiae, alter leges de publicatione ac censura librorum temperavit per Constitutionem '*Officiorum et munerum*;' et normas constituit Congregationibus religiosis cum votis simplicibus per Constitutionem '*Conditae a Christo.*' At illustres Ecclesiae Praesules, iique non pauci etiam e S.R.E. Cardinalibus, magnopere flagitarunt ut universae Ecclesiae leges, ad haec usque tempora editae, lucido ordine digestae, in unum colligerentur, amotis inde quae abrogatae essent aut obsoletae, aliis, ubi opus fuerit, ad nostrorum temporum conditionem proprius aptatis; quod idem plures in Vaticano Concilio Antistites postularunt.

Haec Nos iusta sane vota probantes ac libenter excipientes, consilium cepimus eadem in rem tandem deducendi. Cuius quidem coepti quia Nos minime fugit quanta sit amplitudo et moles, idcirco motu proprio, certa scientia et matura deliberatione decernimus et perficienda mandamus quae sequuntur:

I. Consilium, sive, ut aiunt, *Commissionem* Pontificiam constituimus, quam penes erit totius negotii moderatio et cura, eaque constabit ex nonnullis S.R.E. Cardinalibus, a Pontifice nominatim designandis.

II. Huic Consilio ipse Pontifex praeerit, et Pontifice absente, Cardinalis decanus inter adstantes.

III. Erunt praeterea iusto numero Consultores, quos Patres Cardinales e viris canonici iuris ac theologiae peritissimis eligent, Pontifice probante.

IV. Volumus autem universum episcopatum, iuxta normas opportune tradendas, in gravissimum hoc opus conspirare atque concurrere.

V. Ubi fuerit constituta ratio in huiusmodi studio sectanda, Consultores materiam parabunt suamque de ipsa sententiam in conventibus edent, praeside illo, cui Pontifex mandaverit Consilii Cardinalium esse ab actis. In eorum deinde studia et sententias PP. Cardinales matura deliberatione inquirent. Omnia denique ad Pontificem deferantur, legitima approbatione munienda.

Quae per has Litteras a Nobis decreta sunt, ea rata et firma volumus, contrariis quibusvis etiam speciali aut specialissima mentione dignis minime obstantibus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum XIV Cal. April. die festo S. Iosephi, Sponsi B.M.V., MDCCCCIV, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

PIUS PP. X.

INDULGENCES FOR THE TERTIARIES OF ST. AUGUSTINE

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM

SUMMARIUM INDULGENTIARUM, PRIVILEGIORUM AC INDULTORUM TERTIARIIS SAECULARIBUS ORDINIS EREMITARUM S. P. AUGUSTINI TRIBUTORUM

I.

INDULGENTIAE PLENARIAE

(*A*) Tertiariis ex utroque sexu vere poenitentibus, confessis ac S. Synaxi refectis :

1°. Die ingressus in Tertium Ordinem ;

2°. Die professionis ;

3°. Die 5 Maii, anniversario Conversionis S. P. Augustini, dummodo Professionem renovaverint ;

4°. Quoties potioris vitae studio per octo dies continuos spiritualibus exercitiis vacaverint ;

5°. Semel in mense, die cuiusque arbitrio eligendo, si per integrum mensem singulis diebus per duos horae quadrantes mentali orationi dent operam ;

6°. Quo die ad concionem menstruam, seu *conferentiam*, convenerint.

(*B*) Iisdem Tertiariis, si confessi et S. Communione refecti ad mentem Summi Pontificis oraverint, sequentibus diebus festis, quibus Absolutionem Generalem, seu Benedictionem acceperint ; nempe :

1°. Nativitatis D. N. I. C.
2°. Epiphaniae ,,
3°. Paschatis ,,
4°. Adscensionis ,,
5°. Pentecostes ,,
6°. Feria V in Coena Domini,
7°. SSmi. Corporis Christi,

8°. Nativitatis B. M. V.,
9°. Annuntiationis „
10°. Purificationis „
11°. Assumptionis „
12°. B. M. V. de Consolatione,
13°. Dominica I. Adventus,
14°. „ I Quadragesimae,
15°. „ IV „
16°. „ IV Octobris,
17°. Dedicationis S. Michaelis Archangeli,
18°. Nativitatis S. Ioannis Baptistae,
19°. SS. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli,
20°. S. Patris Augustini.

(*C*) Iisdem Tertiariis, si uti supra dispositi, Ecclesiam ubi sedes Sodalitii est constituta devote visitaverint, diebus festis sequentibus :

1°. In omnibus Dominicis Quadragesimae,
2°. In omnibus diebus sabbatis infra annum,
3°. In festo SSmae. Trinitatis,
4°. SSmi. Cordis Iesu,
5°. Immaculatae Conceptionis B. M. V.,
6°. S. Familiae Iesu, Mariae, Ioseph,
7°. SS. Angelorum Custodum,
8°. S. Fulgentii Ep. Conf. Ord. (19 Ian.),
9°. S. Guillelmi Conf. Ord. (6 Fer.),
10°. B. Christinae de Spoleto Virg. Tertiariae Ord. (14 Februarii),
11°. B. Iuliae a Certaldo Virg. Tert. Ord. (24 Fer.),
12°. S. Possidii Ep. Conf. Ord. (17 Maii),
13°. B. Luciae Amerinae Virg. Tert. Ord. (17 Iul.),
14°. S. Alipii Ep. Conf. Ord. (16 Aug.),
15°. S. Antonini Mart. Ord. (5 Sept.),
16°. B. Alfonsi de Orozco Conf. Ord. (19 Sep.),
17°. S. Gelasii Pont. et Conf. Ord. (20 Nov.),
18°. Omnium Sanctorum Ord. (13 Nov.),

(*D*) Iisdem Tertiariis morituris si uti supra dispositi, vel saltem contriti, SSmum. Iesu nomen ore, si potuerint, sin minus corde, devote invocaverint.

II.

INDULGENTIAE PARTIALES :

(*A*) *Centum annorum et totidem quadragenarum :*

1°. In festo Inventionis et
2°. Exaltationis S. Crucis ;
3°. S. Ioannis Baptistae ;
4°. Omnium Sanctorum.

(*B*) *Septuaginta annorum et totidem quodragenarum :*

1°. In omnibus festis D. N. I. C. quae in universa Ecclesia celebrantur,

2°. In omnibus festis B. Mariae V., ab universa Ecclesia pariter celebratis,

3°. In festis Apostolorum et Evangelistrarum.

Dummodo dictis diebus corde saltem contriti ac devote Ecclesiam Ordinis vel altare Sodalitii visitaverint et aliquo temporis spatio oraverint.

(*C*) *Tercentorum dierum* quoties aliquod pium opus pietatis vel charitatis corde saltem contriti exercuerint.

III.

INDULGENTIAE STATIONALES.

Diebus Stationum in Missali Romano descriptis iidem Tertiarii, si Ecclesiam in qua sedes Sodalitii est constituta visitaverint ibique ad mentem Summi Pontificis oraverint, easdem indulgentias consequuntur, quas lucrarentur si Ecclesias Urbis in eodem Missali recensitas praefatis diebus personaliter visitarent, dummodo alia pia opera praescripta exercuerint.

IV.

INDULGENTIAE SEPTEM ECCLESIARUM URBIS.

Tertiarii, qui septem Altaria in Ecclesiis Ordinis S. Augustini vel Sodalitatis ad hoc designata visitaverint, easdem indulgentias lucrantur, quas consequerentur visitando septem Ecclesias Urbis.

V.

INDULGENTIAE PRO RECITATIONE
CORONULAE B. M. V. DE CONSOLATIONE :

1°. Tertiarii quoties integram coronulam corde saltem con-

trito ac devote recitaverint, lucrantur indulgentiam *centum dierum* pro qualibet oratione Dominica, vel Angelica salutatione.

2°. Quoties vero eadem coronula recitetur (*a*) in Ecclesiis ubi Sodalitas sedem habet ; (*b*) in festo B. M. V. Matris Consolationis, aut in singulis diebus octavae eiusdem festi, Tertiarii lucrantur pariter pro quolibet *Pater* vel *Ave* indulgentiam *bis centum* dierum.

3°. Tertiarii qui coronulam quater in hebdomada recitare solent, plenarium indulgentiam semel in anno, die eorum arbitrio eligenda, lucrari valent, dummodo vere poenitentes et confessi S. Synaxim sumpserint atque eandem coronulam recitaverint.

4°. Item plenariam lucrantur Tertiarii, qui per integrum mensem quotidie praedictam coronulam recitaverint, simulque intra eundem mensem die cuiusque arbitrio eligenda, vere poenitentes, confessi ac S. Mens arefecti ad mentem Summi Pontificis oraverint.

Omnes et singulae indulgentiae hucusque relatae, excepta tamen plenaria in mortis articulo lucranda, sunt etiam applicabiles animabus defunctorum in purgatorio detentis.

VI.

PRIVILEGIA.

1°. Sacerdotes Tertiarii ad quodlibet altare missam celebrantes, gaudent indulto privilegiati personalis tribus in qualibet hebdomada diebus, dummodo pro alia die simile indultum non obtinuerint.

2°. Missae omnes, quae in suffragium Sodalium defunctorum celebrantur sunt semper et ubique privilegiatae.

VII.

INDULTA.

1°. Tertiarii degentes in locis ubi nulla extet Ecclesia Ordinis S. Augustini lucrari valent omnes indulgentias quas consequerentur dictam Ecclesiam visitando, si caeteris iniunctis operibus positis, Ecclesiam ubi Sodalitas sedem habet, vel, hac etiam deficiente, Parochialem suam Ecclesiam visitaverint.

2°. Tertiarii, si sint infirmi vel convalescentes, nec commode possint e domo egredi, recitando quinquies *Pater* et *Ave* et orando ad intentionem Summi Pontificis, lucrari possunt easdem indulgentias ac si personaliter Ecclesiam Ordinis vel Sodalitii visitaverint, caeteris tamen conditionibus adimpletis.

3°. Teritarii, qui in Collegiis, Seminariis, aliisque communitatibus degunt, lucrari valent indulgentias Sodalitati proprias privatam respectivae domus Sacellum loco Ecclesiae Ordinis vel Sodalitii visitando, caeteris adimpletis conditionibus.

DECRETUM.

Quum per Decretum huius S. C. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliq. praepositae diei 18 Iulii 1902, undequaque abrogatis omnibus Indulgentiis, quibus Tertiarii saeculares cuiusvis Ordinis, ob communicationem cum primo et secundo Ordine respective perfruebantur, Supremis Moderatoribus religiosorum Ordinum proprium Tertium Ordinem habentium praescriptum fuerit, ut novum Indulgentiarum Indicem pro suis Tertiariis saecularibus proponerent ; Prior Generalis Ordinis Eremit. S. Augustini tali mandato obtemperans novum praedictum Indicem elaboravit, illumque huic S. C. humillime subiecit ; quae ahdibita etiam quorumdam ex suis Consultoribus opera, illum ad examen revocavit. SSmus. vero D. N. Pius PP. X, in Audientia diei 28 Augusti 1903, audita de his omnibus relatione facta ab infrascripto Card. Praefecto, ex Indulgentiis in supra proposito Elencho enumeratis, eas, quae olim Tertiariis directe tributae fuerunt, benigne confirmavit, alias vero, loco earum, quibus vi communicationis gaudebant, clementer est impertitus ; simulque mandavit ut in posterum praedicti Ordinis Sodales Tertiarii in saeculo viventes earum tantummodo participes evadant Indulgentiarum, iisque potiantur privilegiis et indultis, quae in praedicto Elencho recensentur. Quam concessionem eadem Sanctitas Sua perpetuis quoque futuris temporibus valituram esse voluit, absque ulla Brevis expeditione. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis die 5 Septembris 1903.

A. Card. Tripepi, *Praefectus.*

L. ✠ S.

Pro R. P. D. Francisco Sogaro, Arch. Amiden., *Secret.*
Iosephus M. Canonicus Coselli, *Substit.*

RENEWAL OF FACULTIES TO IRISH BISHOPS

Beatissime Pater :

Michael Cardinalis Logue, Archiepiscopus Armacanus, totius Hiberniae Primas, ad pedes Sanctitatis Tuae provolutus,

humiliter petit renovationem facultatis quam alias obtinuit die 29 Aprilis 1894 ad quinquennium, pro omnibus Hiberniae Episcopis, dispensandi cum propriis subditis in Collegio Maynutiano et in Coll. S. Patritii apud Lutetiam Parisiorum ad sacros ordines promovendis, super interstitiis et super defectu unius anni aetatis ad presbyteratum requisitae.

Ex Audientia SSmi. habita die XXX Maii 1904.

SSmus. Dominus Noster Pius Divina Providentia PP. X referente me infrascripto S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Secretario, benigne adnuere dignatus est pro gratia renovationis, iuxta preces, in forma et terminis praecedentis concessionis ad aliud quinquennium.

Datum Romae ex Aed. S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide die et anno praedictis.

ALOISIUS VECCIA, *Secrius.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

HORAE SEMITICAE. Nos. III., IV. Acta Mythologica Apostolorum. Cambridge University Press. 1904.

THAT indefatigable scholar, Mrs. Lewis of Cambridge, has just published a collection of these apocryphal stories in Arabic, together with an English translation. As her title indicates she prefers to call them *mythological*. This is largely a matter of taste, but the learned editor unconsciously offends Catholics by what she says repecting the deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament. It may be well to state that it is an error to think that they are apocryphal. They are equal in origin and in authority to the rest. And all these inspired books are immeasurably superior to the counterfeit productions that go under the name of 'The Acts of Matthew, The Preaching of Andrew,' etc. It is not enough to say, as Mrs. Lewis does in her preface, page xv.: 'The Apocrypha of the Old Testament bear some sort of relation both to the Hebrew canonical books and to historic fact, whereas in these legends the Apostles of Him Who never wrought a miracle merely for effect are degraded to the level of the heathen wizards for whom we are so frequently told that they were mistaken.' However, this erroneous notion is not originally hers. It is one of the many that are taught by the communion to which Mrs. Lewis belongs. This appears to be the only blemish in her book, and nothing more than a casual remark, so we are glad to dismiss it, and to direct our attention to the numerous excellencies and advantages.

These so-called 'Acts of the Apostles' in their original Greek have been edited by Tischendorf and other eminent critics; in their Syriac version by Dr. Wright; and in their Ethiopic by Malan and Budge (see Bardenhewer, or Charles). Only a few fragments of the Coptic and the Arabic translations were known. But Mrs. Lewis now publishes a complete Arabic one. There is, she says, internal evidence that it was made from an earlier Coptic one. Its discovery is one of the many she has made in her visits to the East. The MSS. used for the present edition are preserved in the convent of *Deyr-es-Suriani* (St. Mary, the Mother of God), Egypt; the Convent of

St. Catherine, Mount Sinai, etc. Besides the legends about Apostles properly so called, her volume contains 'The Martyrdom of St. Luke,' and that of St. Mark. Also two legends from a Vatican MS., and an appendix of palimpsest fragments (Syriac) entitled the 'Acts of Judas Thomas.' In addition to this the editor gives photographs of a page respectively of each MS. Needless to say her Introduction and Notes supply the student with all the information he can desire.

R. W.

COMPENDIUM SACRAE LITURGIAE JUXTA RITUUM ROMANUM (cum Appendice de Jure Ecclesiastico particulari in America Foederata vigente). Actore P. Inn. Wapelhorst, O.F.M. New York, Chicago: Benziger Bros. 1904. Price 10*s. net.*

FOR clearness, conciseness, accuracy, and comprehensiveness we do not think that Wapelhorst's Compendium of the Liturgy has been surpassed. Most willingly, then, do we extend a warm welcome to the sixth edition, just published, which has been carefully revised in accordance with the most recent resolutions of the Sacred Congregation of Rites. How quite up to date it is may be inferred from the fact that it contains extracts from the *Motu Proprio* issued by the reigning Pontiff as late as January last, and embodies decrees of even a later date. The plan of the present edition is in substantial agreement with that of its predecessors, if we except that some of the notes, originally arranged in an Appendix are now worked into the context, while the decisions of the Congregation of Rites are quoted, not from the *Gardellini*, but from the new authentic collection made under the auspices of the late Pope.

Those not familiar with the work may be told that it consists of three parts, one of which covers the Sacrifice of the Mass, the second the Divine Office, and the last the Roman Ritual. Each of these sections comes in for as much attention as may be reasonably expected in a book that professes to be only a Compendium. The rite and the method of performing it are fully explained; and occasionally very valuable information is given about the mystical significance of many ceremonies, especially those of the Mass. Here and there, too, we find statements of great archæological interest about the

origin of certain rites. The book, we feel, will be not only a useful, but an almost indispensable addition to the library of every priest who desires a handy manual embracing the entire Liturgy.

BREVIARIUM ROMANUM. Sumptibus. Dublini: M. H. Gill et Filiorum. 1904.

WE have much pleasure in bringing under the notice of the Irish clergy this admirable pocket edition of the Breviary, which has just been published by Messrs. M. H. Gill & Son, at 18*s.* and 20*s.*, according to the binding. We are quite convinced that the new Breviary will rival in popularity the edition of the *Horæ Diurnæ*, published by the same firm not long ago. In size, arrangement, and price it could scarcely be excelled. It has also the great advantage of having all the new offices of our Irish saints well and correctly printed. One misses, of course, the red lettering of other editions; but those who have become accustomed to the *Horæ Diurnæ* of the same firm will not hesitate to avail themselves of the other advantages which this edition gives them.

The volume for each quarter of the ecclesiastical year is so arranged as to contain *all Offices*—whether of the General Calendar or of the Irish Supplement—that *can be transferred* to that quarter from any previous quarter or quarters. Two volumes (not always consecutive) or even three volumes (as in 1897, 1892, 1889, etc.) of other editions (including the latest and best) would be not infrequently necessary, where one volume of this edition will suffice. And this need for two or more volumes is likeliest to occur in the months usually available for a holiday.

The Psalms of Matins *for all other Offices*—whether of the General Calendar (excepting, for obvious reasons, the Tenebrae Offices), or of the Irish Supplement—are, when special, given *almost in full*, all Psalms (excepting a few of unusual length) being repeated unless they occur consecutively or almost consecutively elsewhere. Nothing of this kind is attempted in even the best rival editions.

The greatest pains have been taken to facilitate the making of *Commemorations*: the Antiphon and Versicle are given in full in cases presenting special difficulty, and are suggested by the opening words in all other cases. In the longer Offices the

Oratio is given at first Vespers as well as at Lauds. Great pains have also been taken to reduce to a minimum the need for such troublesome rubrical directions as the following: Homilia de Comm. Evang. [25] *cum* ℟℟. *de Comm. Pont.* [72]; or for such *references to references* as: Omnia ut in I. Vesperis præter sequentia.

All the new Offices (1904) for the Patron Saints of the dioceses of Ireland are inserted in their proper places in the Irish Supplement, and are of course repeated in the volume for each quarter to which they are transferable.

The Offices of the Crown of Thorns and of the Passion, and the Votive Office *de præcepto* of the Blessed Sacrament, are not always given in Continental Editions of the Breviary in the form sanctioned for Ireland. This defect has been guarded against.

We have no hesitation in recommending this Breviary, which Dr. Magrath has taken such pains to make perfect, and which is published by an Irish firm which deserves every encouragement in this kind of work.

J. F. H.

AL-MACHRIQ. Beyrouth. 1904.

THE May number of this Arabic periodical is appropriately dedicated to one theme, that of the Immaculate Conception. One of the articles deals with the dogma as testified to by the Oriental rites, another with the Maronite tradition respecting it, and so on. It is pleasing to know that in the countries where the faith was first preached, the memory of the Blessed Virgin's incomparable honour has been so well preserved. Among the many excellent productions of the Jesuits' Oriental Press, this periodical deservedly holds a high place.

R. W.

SPIRITUAL DESPONDENCY AND TEMPTATIONS. By Rev. P. J. Michel, S.J. Translated from the French by Rev. F. P. Garesché, S.J. New York: Benziger Bros. Price 5s.

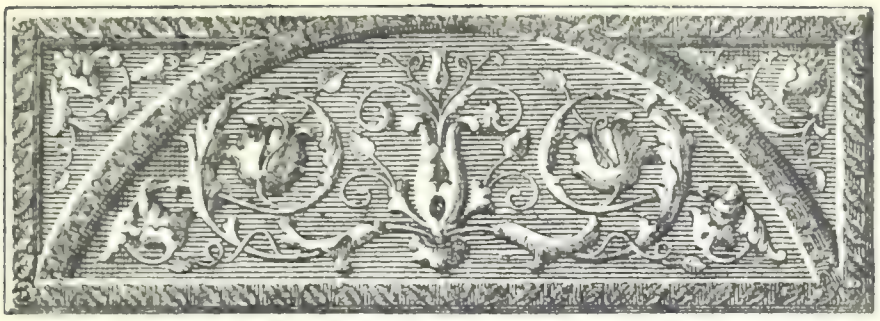
IN the words of the Editor of this volume, 'the work appears to be specially intended for the instruction of persons living in religious communities, and for seculars aiming at perfection; but in this age of indifference and discouragement

all who profess the true Faith may here find no little help to undeceive them in their errors, and to strengthen them against the wiles of self-love.' It is often the lot of the director of souls to meet with persons afflicted with spiritual dryness and despondency, who require to be braced up for the struggle for salvation by the supernatural stimulants of hope and confidence in the Divine goodness. For such as these, excellent remedies against this specious sort of temptation, and invaluable incentives to greater trust in God, will be found in this book.

PSALMORUM SYNOPSIS. Fr. Cornely, S.J. Paris: Lethielleux.

THIS little work ought to be useful to many of those who are bound to recite the Psalms day by day. It contains, first, a short description of the authorship, scope, and time of composition of the Psalm, and then a synopsis of its contents. Many questions, of course, regarding the Psalter in general are not touched on here. The reader who desires to know Father Cornely's views on the subject will find them in his *Hist. et Crit. Introductio.* The present work is for more practical purposes, and is intended to serve as a companion to the Breviary.

E. N.



'SCALE OF THE CREATOR'S SIDEREAL KINGDOM'

But remember every grain of sand,
Wherever salt wave touches land;
Number in single drops the sea,
Number the leaves on every tree;
Number earth's living creatures, all
That run, that fly, that swim, that crawl;
Of sands, drops, leaves, and lives, the coun.
Add up into one vast amount;
And then for every separate one
Of all these, let a flaming sun
Whirl in the boundless skies, with each
Its massy planets, to outstretch
All sight, all thought, for all we see
Encircled with infinity,
Is but an ISLAND.

—ALLINGHAM.

WHEN last December a paper appeared from my pen, entitled, 'Our Isolation in Sidereal Space,' I expected it to be my last contribution on the subject matter of the noble and ennobling science of Astronomy in the pages of this ecclesiastical monthly. It has occurred, however, to me since, that I carried my readers nearly to the top rung of the aerial ladder and then failed to plant them on the apex. Step by step, through several articles, we mounted together through space. Starting with our own proximate solar and planetary system, we overstepped the Neptuan boundary and plunged beyond it into a vast sidereal void of interstellar space. Then, nothing daunted by the

weird, dark, orbless desert, and uncheered by sun, stars, or even moonlight, onward we went, crossed the isolation boundary and reached the first 'fixed' star or rather sun, after traversing some 25 billions (25,000,000,000,000) of miles, a distance so great that a ray of light, though travelling incessantly at the rate of 186,000 miles per second, requires about 4¼ years to reach the retina of our terrestrial eye. To stop here and to make no further attempt to sound the heights and depths of the sidereal kingdom, would seem like halting just when the study becomes most interesting, not to say, fascinating to a studious mind. In fact, I must hold myself consciously wrong in saying we had reached the upper rung of the celestial ladder; as this paper will, I trust, make clear. Those who read the paper to which I have referred,[1] without which this one will be scarcely intelligible, could not refrain from nursing in their mind one deep attractive thought, viz., if our isolation in space from all the other myriads of sidereal systems, whose sentinels in the starry skies night after night, mark their actual existence, is so vast, so extensive, and so thrilling, what is to be said of the further interstellar space beyond the next system, of which Alpha Centauri is the nearest outpost, and the next, and the next, and so on, until we are lost in the labyrinthal dimensions and stupendous scale of the whole sidereal kingdom of our God?

As the eloquent astronomer of the Cincinnati Observatory so aptly puts it :—

> Standing on the verge of the planetary system, we find ourselves surrounded by a multitude of shining orbs, some radiant with splendour, others faintly gleaming with beauty. The smallest telescopic aid suffices to increase their number in an incredible degree, while with the full powers of the grand instruments now in use, the scenes presented in the starry heavens become actually so magnificent as to stun the imagination and overwhelm the reason. Worlds and systems, and schemes and clusters, and universes, rise in sublime perspective, fading away in the unfathomable regions of space, until even thought itself

[1] I. E. RECORD, vol. xiv., Dec., 1903.

fails in its efforts to plunge across the gulf by which we are separated from these wonderful objects.[1]

Yes; and he might have added: 'and the gulf which separates each one from another.'

How can we gauge this complex congeries of systems? If from our own solar system to the very next fixed star or sun, we find the distance so tremendous that it justly merits the term of 'sidereal isolation,' may not the same feature characterize the very next system, and the next and so on, until the conclusion is forced upon our bewildering mind that the whole sidereal kingdom is made up of a series of stellar universes, superposed and aligned, as it were; each of them forming a sort of stellar island in the vast ocean of sidereal space? Hence the question, How are the stars distributed throughout the realms of space? Are they indifferently scattered in all directions, irrespective of magnitudes and distances; or are they grouped together into magnificent systems, which I have likened to islands in an ocean? This thought or nomenclature is not my own. It is, however, to my mind the most apt idea of the Germans. Their great and illustrious countryman, Sir William Herschel, attempted to solve the problem. For myself, I am much affected to the stellar island view, regarding each system as a distinct universe, subject to the great gravitational law of creation; and *all combined* constituting what I prefer to term God's Sidereal Kingdom. The idea (to me) seems sublimely simple, and more in accordance with the rule and thumb of the Divine Hand. And to my mind, I repeat, no one of all the astronomers has more beautifully presented this view than Professor Mitchell. Again he says in the same lecture:—

When we shall have travelled outward from our own sun and passed in a straight line from star to star, until we shall have left behind us, in grand perspective, a series of 500 suns, we then stand on the confines of our own great cluster of stars. All *behind* blazes into the light of countless orbs, scattered in

[1] *The Planetary and Stellar Worlds*, by Professor O. M. Mitchell. Lecture ix.

wild magnificence, while all *before* us is deep, impenetrable, unbroken darkness. No glance of human vision can pierce the dark profound. But, summoning the telescope to our aid, let us pursue our mighty journey through space ; for in the distance we are just able to discover *a faint haze of light*—a minute luminous cloud which comes up to meet us, and towards this object we will urge our flight. We leave the shining millions of our own great cluster far behind. Its stars are shrinking and fading ; its dimensions are contracting. It once filled the whole heavens, and now its myriads of blazing orbs could almost be grasped with a single hand. But now look forward. A new universe of astonishing grandeur, bursts on the sight. The cloud of light has swelled and expanded, and its millions of suns now fill the whole heavens. We have reached the clusterings of twelve millions of stars. Look to the right, there is no limit ; look to the left, there is no end. Above, below, sun rises upon sun, and system on system, in endless and immeasurable perspective. Here is a new universe, as magnificent, as glorious as our own—a new Milky Way, whose vast diameter the flashing light would not cross in a thousand years. Nor is this a solitary object. Go out on a cold clear winter night, and reckon the stars which strew the heavens, and count their number, and for every single orb thus visible to the naked eye, the telescope reveals a *universe*, far sunk in the depths of space, and scattered into vast profusion over the entire surface of the heavens. Some of these blaze with countless stars, while others, occupying the confines of visible space, but dimly stain the blue sky,[1] just perceptible with the most powerful means that man can summon to the aid of his vision.[2]

Thus does Professor Mitchell help us to realise what I call the island universes of the great sidereal kingdom. Ultimate proof could only come with an immense increase of optical power. The tiny haze of nebulous light we catch in a telescope of low power, when submitted to the penetrating power of greater telescopes, reveals that the little fleecy incandescence is made up of distinct and separate stars—aye, a veritable cluster of suns. Now we know the space-penetrating power of the instruments we are using, and we know also that, if this penetrating power be one hundred times greater than the naked eye, then the clusters we are looking at must be one hundred times more distant

[1] Blue (?) rather black at night, or in ether.—E. A. S.
[2] Mitchell's *Planetary and Stellar Worlds*, Lecture ix.

than our naked eye could reach—a distance so great that it may take the light of one of those component stars a hundred thousand years to reach our terrestrial globe. While we also know that the nebulæ—other clusters—are so far away that no extant telescope, however large and powerful, could alter the appearance of the nebular haze and fail to resolve it into stars. *Each of these nebular patches may be a distinct and separate system—one of the 'island universes.'* The same able American astronomer writes :—'I have examined a large number of these mysterious objects, floating on the deep ocean of space, like the faintest filmy clouds of light. No telescope, however great, can accomplish *the slightest change* in their appearance.'[1] And yet, remember, Herschel computed that the power of his great reflector (nothing compared with Lord Rosse's) would follow one of the star clusters, even if it were plunged so deep in space that its light would require 350,000 years to reach us. Probably the Rosse telescope would penetrate *ten times* further.

The distances of some hundred stars have been measured: of these, one fourth present to us reliable parallaxes. But, when we come to compare these measured stars—distance with distance—their magnitudes do not seem to classify their distance. And yet we find the famous Struve, estimated that the *mean* distance of stars of the 1st magnitude was about 986,000 times the radius of the earth's orbit (or about 93 billion miles) ; so that their light would take some 15½ years to reach us. While stars of the 2nd magnitude would require 28 years to send their light ; and of the 3rd magnitude, 43 years ; while the 9th magnitude would have a light passage of 586 years. I suppose these estimates were based on a light velocity of 12,000,000 of miles per minute.[2] Learned and celebrated as Struve was (and no one calls this in question), I feel loath to endorse his estimates, for two reasons.

Firstly, the number of stars whose parallaxes have been attained, even in our days, with any degree of certainty,

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] If so : it is much too great. The modern computation is something over 186,000 miles per second or about *eleven millon* miles per minute.

is too small to be able to strike a reliable mean distance for the different magnitudes, as the following Table will help to show.

Secondly, an analysis of this Table, consisting of about a score of the most reliable measured stars does not actually seem to bear out his calculation. Of course, I stand for correction.

The following I submit as a Tab'e of some measured stars :—

Name of Star	Approximate Magnitude.	Distance.	Light Passage.
α Centauri	1	25 billion miles	$4\frac{1}{4}$ years
Procyon (Canis Minoris) ..	1	60 ,,	10 ,,
Altair (Aquilae)	1	80 ,,	13 ,,
Fomahault (Piscis Australis)	1	147 ,,	25 ,,
Aldebaran (Tauri)	1	180 ,,	30 ,,
Castor (Geminorum) ..	1	320 ,,	54 ,,
Australe (α Crucis) ..	1	383 ,,	64 ,,
Ungula (β Centauri) ..	1	417 ,,	70 ,,
Regulus (Leonis)	1	639 ,,	109 ,,
Arcturus (Bootis)	1	737 ,,	125 ,,
Antares (α Scorpii) ..	1	900 ,,	150 ,,
Rigel (Orionis)	1	1918 ,,	320 ,,
Spica (α Virginis)	1	2130 ,,	362 ,,
α Cassiopeiæ	2	486 ,,	81 ,,
β Cassiopeiæ	$2\frac{1}{2}$	118 ,,	20 ,,
Polaris (α Ursae Minoris) ..	3	282 ,,	47 ,,
η Cassiopeiæ	4	118 ,,	20 ,,
μ Cassiopeiæ	6	324 ,,	54 ,,
61 Cygni	6	53 ,,	8 ,,
1830 Groombridge ..	$6\frac{1}{2}$	435 ,,	$7^{2}\frac{1}{2}$,,
ϵ Draconis	8	57 ,,	$9\frac{1}{2}$,,

The first thirteen stars of the above Table rank as *first* magnitude stars. According to Struve the mean average of their light passage (and consequently distances) would be $15\frac{1}{2}$ years ; but if we tot up the light passages (years) of these 13 stars and then divide the quotient by 13, we get an average of about 100 years instead of $15\frac{1}{2}$; and it must be borne in mind that there are not more than a score of 1st magnitude stars, all told. Then if we take the three stars, α and β Cassiopeiæ with Polaris—all about the second magnitude—we get an average of 50 years light passage,

instead of Struve's estimated 28 years. Although, perhaps, in the latter case the small number of stars chosen are too few to strike a fair average. Nevertheless 50 to 28 is no small disproportion.

Again, a glance at the above Table also shows a marked diversity, even between stars of equal magnitude (brightness being taken as the standard). For instance, while Castor of the twins—(a 1st magnitude star)—sends us his light in 54 years, so does μ Cassiopeiæ, though the latter is a star of about the 6th magnitude (the faintest that can be seen with unaided vision): while Procyon—another star of the 1st magnitude—has a light passage of 10 years, Antares, of similar magnitude, wants about 150 years to reach us by his light. And yet again we have two other first magnitude stars (Rigel and Spica) requiring 320 and 362 years for their light passages. Against this compare the smallest star on the list (ϵ Draconis), occupying only 9½ years.

In a word, the Table shows what I have always held since I got any grasp of Astronomy, that the stars are distributed through space irrespective of size and distance; and that it is dangerous to conclude that the brightest stars are always the nearest, or that the small specks of astral light necessarily connote that such stars are themselves diminutive. Canopus, the brightest star of the southern hemisphere, with a mass (weight) a million times our own sun, is nevertheless, so distant that the latest calculation assigns it a parallax of 0″.001, which would make it about nineteen thousand billion miles distant and requiring a light time of over 3,000 years.

But to return to the view or opinion upon individual isolation of systems and island universes, the Table shows a remarkable disparity of distances between the score of measured stars, ranging from a four years' light passage up to 360. Moreover, even of the very few, some 3 or 4, whose light passage is much about the same, we cannot conclude that these are not perfectly isolated from one another; inasmuch as, though equally distant *from us*, they may be by no means equally distant *from one another*. We must not forget that (to us) the heavens are spherical, and that all

these stars have far different declinations and right ascensions (in geographical language, latitudes and longitudes). The well known star, Polaris, always over head, is much about the same distance from us as Pollux of the Twins, and yet they are so far from one another that, while we can *always* see the former, we cannot get a look at the other for three months of the year, in our latitude.

An illustrious astronomer—not long deceased—beautifully presents this thought (though for another object), when he writes :—

> In the *solar* system we are presented with a finite number of bodies placed within a region of unoccupied space ; bearing a very large ratio to the dimensions of the solar domain. In the *sidereal* system we seem to be presented with a finite number of such suns, forming a cluster, which is surrounded on all sides by unmeasured depths of space. Assuming our system to form one of a finite number of similar systems, separated from each other *by distances bearing a very large ratio to the dimensions of each*, and that thus a system of a higher order is formed, which again forms one of a finite number of similar systems, and so on continually, *the dimensions of each system of whatever order being always* VERY SMALL IN COMPARISON *with the distance separating it from its neighbours*,—then there would no longer result as a necessary consequence even an appreciable illumination of the whole heavens.[1]

This learned astronomer does not wish it to be understood that he supports this hypothesis, but he advances it for the purpose of meeting a difficulty sometimes raised concerning the illumination of sidereal space. I quote him, not as favouring my view, but as presenting it in a clearer way than I may be able.

There is another very important consideration which naturally suggests itself in studying the above Table, viz. :—whether these stars or suns, especially those of the 1st magnitude, are to be put down as being of similar size, volume, mass or weight? Want of clearness on this point often occasions confusion in the mind of non-astronomers. Now, it is necessary first to bear in mind that the astronomical standard or basis of *magnitude* is not *size*, but *brightness*.

[1] *The Universe*, by R. A. Procter, p. 67.

In other words, according to the *degree of brightness*, the stars are classified under magnitudes. I am not saying that I approve of this method. We have to accept it as a fact. Now, with very little reflection we can see that brightness does not depend upon size (hence magnitude), volume or weight. If we put a large iron globe (say a foot in diameter) into a furnace, and bring it out when glowing red hot, we know that in a dark room this would radiate a certain amount of light ; but a very small bulb of electric light would produce a much greater illumination. Not only some stars or suns may present a much larger illuminating surface, but may also enjoy much higher powers of inherent luminosity. I have never accepted brightness in the stars as a standard either of their magnitude or of their nearness. Hence I derived no small satisfaction in reading a paper in the February number of *Knowledge*, from the able pen of Professor Gore, wherein, writing on this very subject, he tells us that :—

1°. Ungula (*ε Centauri—the 8th on my Table*) has probably a mass (weight) 855 times greater than *our sun* ;
2°. Aldebaran (*α Tauri*) is 882 times heavier than our sun ;
3°. Rigel (*β Orionis*) has a *volume* 52,000 and a *mass* 20,000 times greater than our sun ;
4°. Antares (*α Scorpii*) is 12,000 times *brighter*, and Pollux (Geminorum) 100 times *brighter* than our sun. (Remark this does not mean size or weight.)
5°. Canopus, called the ' Lamp of the South,' is probably equal in mass to one million of our suns.[1]

An astronomer regards our earth as a pigmy amongst the other planets of our system, how will he now regard our *sun* amongst the other suns of the sidereal kingdom ?[2] In support of my contention, the same learned professor admits in the same paper, that the hypothesis (viz., that the stars are in general of approximately equal size and brightness) has never had any real evidence to support it, and that

[1] I find in my note book that it would require 216,000 suns to make such a globe as Canopus.

[2] Guilleman tells us that if Sirius, the flaming Dog-star, so glorious in our winter evenings, took the place of our sun, we should receive 94 times more light.—*The Sun*, page 17. *More modern authors give twice this estimate.*

'*modern researches have proved that they differ greatly in absolute size, and also in intrinsic brilliancy of surface.*'[1]

Passing, then, from the particular to the general, what does the title I have given to this paper import ?

The stars are suns of varied size and brightness and probably centres of *planetary* systems, as our sun is the centre of our own. These solar systems are but members of what the ancients designated 'constellations.' These are like 'islands,' in an æthereal sea. The 'milky ways,' and resolvable nebulæ 'form island universes ;' while all these together, stars, suns, constellations, systems, clusters, milky ways, and nebulæ, constitute the ONE GRAND SIDEREAL KINGDOM OF THE OMNIPOTENT CREATOR.

All are governed by the same laws of centrifugal and centripetal motion ; *all* are subject to sidereal and planetary evolution ; *all* revolve around their own respective centres of gravity ; each system or 'island universe' in revolution, too, around some one grand centre. (Is that the *locale* of Heaven ?) The apex of our own sidereal centre we may be able to approximate ;[2] that of the whole sidereal kingdom —I make bold to write—NEVER !

There are *mysteries* of Astronomy, as there are *mysteries* of nature. They may be mysteries to the end. 'So far shalt thou go : but no farther.' Nevertheless, like the heavens themselves, they 'show forth the glory of God' and declare the work of His hands. *Vale!*

E. A. SELLEY, O.S.A.

[1] *Knowledge*, Feb., 1904.

[2] Our solar system is calculated to be travelling towards the constellation of the Lyre with a velocity of about 12 miles per second.

BOSSUET AND RICHARD SIMON

Quis enim doctus pariter vel indoctus, cum in manus volumen assumpserit et a saliva quam semel imbibit viderit disceptare quod lectitat, non statim erumpat in vocem me falsarium, me clamitans esse sacrilegum, qui audeam aliquid in veteribus libris addere, mutare, corrigere ?—HIERON. *Praef. in Evang. ad Damasum.*

BOSSUET'S last years were full of conflict. He had, indeed, been often engaged in controversy with the Protestants, and had taken a prominent part in the defence of Gallicanism ; but in these discussions he had always maintained the character of being a man of moderation, more anxious to convince than to crush his opponents. Far different were the disputes which embittered the latter part of his long life. He still defended the Church against the fanatical Jurieu and the philosopher Leibniz ; but now he attacked the Jansenists for refusing to submit to authority, and the Jesuits for tolerating pagan rites. In answer to Padre Caffaro he wrote a treatise condemning the theatre ; and the gentle Malebranche was warned that the great prelate was writing against him. Then there came the unhappy rupture with his friend Fénelon over the mystical writings of Madame Guyon. But in Bossuet's own eyes all these were as nothing compared with his dispute with Richard Simon. 'I find him as much excited about this affair as about any other,' writes Abbé Ledieu ; 'his zeal is aroused whenever it is mentioned. He says that it is of greater importance than any affair that he has hitherto been engaged in ; more important even than that of M. de Cambrai (Fénelon), because it has to do with a book written for the people.' And Bossuet himself, writing to a brother bishop, says :— 'The spirit of infidelity is gaining ground in the world every day, as you have often heard me observe. But it is worse at present, because it is the Gospel itself which is made use of for the corruption of religion. I can only thank God that at my age He has left me strength enough to resist this torrent.'

I.

From his boyhood the study of the Holy Scriptures had been Bossuet's delight. Though he was familiar with Homer and Virgil as few scholars have been, yet it was from the Sacred Writers that he drew his highest inspiration. When he came to know them almost by heart he still read them over and over again, always noting in the margin any point of doctrine or morals suggested by the text. He was fond of telling his friends, in the words of St. Jerome to Nepotian, never to let the Divine Book out of their hands. In the Old Testament he gave special attention to the Psalms and the Prophets ; but the New Testament as a whole, and especially the Gospels, were his favourite reading. Our Lord's character and personality ; His discourses and miracles ; the various circumstances of His life and death—all of these, as recorded by the Evangelists, were to him the subject of most minute study. On every journey, however short it might be, he took his Testament with him, and when he reached home he sat down to write out the thoughts which had struck him. At all his residences— at the court, in Paris, and in the country—a Bible and a Concordance stood on his desk. 'I could not live without them,' he used to say. The result we know by his writings. Not only are they full of happy quotations, but their whole language is saturated with the Scriptures. Anyone who reads his *Elevations sur les Mystères*, or his *Méditations sur l'Evangile*, to name no others, will see how deeply he was penetrated with the words and the spirit of Holy Writ.

It should be borne in mind that it was the Vulgate and the Vulgate alone that Bossuet studied. The original Hebrew and Greek had little interest for him. He was not even concerned with the different readings of the Latin edition. The ordinary text was good enough for him. If the original Greek did not contain the Heavenly Witnesses, so much the worse for the original Greek, and an additional proof of the superiority of the Latin. Any attempt at textual criticism would have seemed in his eyes to degrade the Sacred Writings to the level of Aristophanes and Terence.

His views are summed up in the twenty-seventh chapter of the second part of his *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle* :—

> God has always observed this admirable order : to cause that events should be recorded at the time when they took place or while the memory of them was still fresh. In this way the persons who knew the events wrote them down ; those who followed them received the books which bear witness to the events ; and pious posterity has preserved them. In this way was formed the collection (*corps*) of the Holy Scriptures, Old as well as New ; Scriptures which were looked upon even from their origin, as true in all things, as given by God Himself, and also preserved with such great devotion that it would have been looked upon as impious to change a single letter. And so they have come down to us, always holy, always sacred, always inviolable ; preserved in the one case by the constant tradition of the Jewish people, and in the other by the tradition of the Christian people, all the more certain because it has been confirmed by the blood and the martyrdom both of those who wrote these Divine Books and of those who received them.

Next to the Bible the Fathers were Bossuet's favourite study. During the six years that he spent at Metz he devoted himself to a thorough course of Tradition. With his tastes for pulpit oratory we can be sure that he gave much attention to the sermons of St. John Chrysostom, whom he ever regarded as the first of the Church's preachers. Origen's profound learning, the nobleness of his style, and the candid character of all his writings had a great charm for him. Indeed he sought to imitate the great Alexandrian in his own commentary on the Canticle of Canticles. Tertullian, too, had much influence upon him, especially in his earlier sermons. He often took some epigrammatic saying of the old Apologist and made it a sort of text for his discourse. Besides these he read St. Athanasius, St. Gregory Nazianzen, and St. Bernard—the latter very carefully at the time of the Quietist controversy. But it was St. Augustine whom he studied above all the other Fathers. He kept a complete copy of his works at each of his residences. The splendid Benedictine edition was set apart for his use at Meaux, and was covered with his notes, commentaries, and reflections. A smaller copy in octavo, containing some of his favourite works, was for use while travelling. When

he had to preach he always called for his Bible and St. Augustine. And not only was the saint his master, but he was also his guide. We can see how Bossuet, especially in his *Promesses faites a l'Eglise*, constantly refers to the conduct as well as the teaching of his wise model.

The Bible and St. Augustine—these were the two chief factors in the making of Bossuet. They were a part of his very self. To fail in reverence for them, to seek to undermine their authority, stirred him to the depths of his soul. When this was done, not by a heretic, not by a layman, but by one of God's own priests, then he felt that God would demand from his hand the souls of his brethren if he did not sound a loud note of warning. It seemed to him that a traitor like Alcimus had arisen within the Church, and that the people would say, as they had said of old :—'One that is a priest of the seed of Aaron is come, he will not deceive us.' And that when they found that they had been betrayed, 'fear and trembling' would fall upon them, and they would cry out :—'There is no truth nor justice among them : for they have broken the covenant and the oath which they made.'[1]

II.

On Holy Thursday, in the year 1678, Arnauld, the famous chief of Port Royal, sent to Bossuet the Table of Contents and the Preface of a forthcoming work by the Oratorian Richard Simon, entitled, *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*. Arnauld had an old grudge against Simon, for the latter had ventured to criticise the *opus magnum* of the Port Royalists, *La Perpétuité de la Foi*. Bossuet was horrified at what he read. The new work treated of the authorship and text of the different books of the Old Testament ; the various translations and the principal commentators. Moses was declared not to be the author of the Pentateuch, but only of the laws contained in it ; the narrative portions were the work of annalists, and the whole was put together at a comparatively recent date. And so with some of the

[1] 1 Mach. vii. 14-18.

other books. We have just seen what Bossuet thought of the exact transmission of every word of Holy Scripture; yet in this Preface he read :—

The great changes which have taken place in the copies of the Bible since the originals have been lost, destroy entirely the principle of the Protestants and the Socinians who have only these same copies to consult. If the truth of religion had not remained in the Church it would not be safe to seek it at the present day in books which have been subject to so many changes and have depended in so many things on the will of copyists. It is certain that the Jews who copied out these books took the liberty of adding or omitting certain letters as they thought fit; and yet the meaning of the text often depends upon these letters. To this may be added the uncertainty of the Hebrew grammar, or rather of the Hebrew language, which has never been able to be perfectly restored since the time it was lost.[1]

The book had received high approbation; it was already printed off, and was to be out at Easter. There was not a moment to lose. Notwithstanding the sacredness of the day, Bossuet hurried off to the Chancellor, Le Tellier, to warn him of the impious character of Simon's labours. Immediately the chief of the police was summoned and ordered to seize the whole impression, amounting to 1,300 copies. At first it was hoped that the History might appear when purged of its errors. Simon himself declared that he was ready to make any changes that Bossuet desired. But further examination proved that it was full of 'principles and conclusions pernicious to the Faith,' and the 1,300 copies were consigned to the flames.[2]

This was a severe blow to Simon. Nevertheless he seemed to submit with a good grace. He had many inter-

[1] It should be noted, however, that in this same Preface Simon rejects Holden's view that inspiration is restricted to certain portions of Holy Scripture. 'Besides leading to dangerous consequences, this opinion is entirely opposed to the teaching of the New Testament which recognises that the whole of Scripture is prophetic and truly inspired. This is why I have thought it my duty to lay down principles which attribute to the Prophets, or to persons directed by the Spirit of God, all that is contained in the Sacred Books, even the very changes, except such as have been due to lapse of time and the negligence of the copyists.'

[2] Six copies are said to have escaped destruction, one of which is now in the British Museum. It has no title-page, but contains some interesting MS. notes giving its history.

views with Bossuet, and by his advice completely altered the character of the incriminated book. The Bishop, however, urged him to desist from the study of the Bible and to devote his undoubted knowledge of the ancient tongues to translating the writings of the schismatical Greeks against the Church. This would be of great service to theologians, as they were often ignorant of the arguments of their opponents. But such drudgery was not at all to Simon's taste. He continued his Scripture studies in the same spirit as before. Seven years later (1685) the same History which Bossuet had suppressed was brought out in Holland, without any corrections. He next gave his attention to the New Testament, and published successively :— *Histoire Critique du Texte du Nouveau Testament* (1689) ; *Histoire Critique des Versions du Nouveau Testament* (1690) ; *Histoire Critique des Principaux Commentateurs du Nouveau Testament* (1693) ; *Nouvelles Observations sur le Texte et les Versions du Nouveau Testament* (Paris, 1695). It would not be possible within the space of a short article to give a complete account of Simon's views on the text, the translations, and the commentaries of the New Testament. We are here concerned only with his relations with Bossuet. We shall gather, however, from the passages to which exception was taken, the chief novelties of his treatment.

Bossuet read with growing indignation these different volumes as they appeared. The third of the series, the *History of the Commentators*, roused him to fresh action. He could not now summon to his aid the chief of the police, for Simon took care to have his books published abroad. Happily for us, he made use of his own powerful pen, and the result was his *Défense de la Tradition et des Saints Pères*. In a preface, full of scathing denunciation, he points out that the title of Simon's book is a fraud. The innocent would expect to find in it some account of the lives, the character, and the genius of the Fathers who have expounded the Holy Scriptures. Instead of this, says Bossuet, the author takes occasion to insinuate Socinian views about the Divinity of our Lord, and to bring out the discrepancies between

the Fathers of the East and of the West, notably between St. John Chrysostom and St. Augustine, touching the doctrine of Grace. 'Such books,' he observes, 'are widely circulated because they are forbidden, and because they contain doctrines which cannot be approved of; because those who dissent from received opinions affect an air of being persons of ability and learning; and because those who forget that liberty is not licence, praise the authors for being liberal-minded and free from common prejudices. In addition to these qualifications, the author of this particular work boasts of being a critic; that is to say, he weighs words by the rules of grammar, and he hopes to impose upon the world and to decide matters of faith and theology by his knowledge of Greek and Hebrew.' Bossuet divides his *Défense* into two parts; in the first he exposes Simon's attacks on Tradition and the Church's authority generally; in the second he deals with his errors concerning Original Sin and Grace.

On the first head no less than seven charges are brought against Simon. First, he had declared that Tradition had 'varied' (a terrible word in Bossuet's eyes) in the matter of Grace at the time of Augustine; next, that it had been wrong in maintaining the same absolute necessity for Holy Communion as for Baptism; thirdly, he had denied that our Lord's discourse in the sixth chapter of St. John referred to the Blessed Eucharist; fourthly, under pretext of upholding Tradition, he had explained away those very passages of Holy Scripture on which Tradition laid most stress; fifthly, he had destroyed the authority of the Catholic Church without which there could be no tradition at all; sixthly, he had disparaged theology—not only that of the Schoolmen but also that of the Fathers, even of the earliest times; lastly, and worst of all, he had taken the line of the Socinians and infidels in weakening the proofs from Prophecy—a line most opposed to tradition and the whole spirit of Christianity. All these charges are set forth at length with abundant quotations, and then Bossuet concludes:—

> Whoever wishes to become a skilled theologian and a solid interpreter of Holy Scripture should read and re-read the

Fathers. He may find in the modern writers more treatment of details; but very often in a single book of the Fathers he will meet with more principles and more of the first savour of Christianity, than in many volumes of these new interpreters. . . . If he should grow weary of reading matters which have little bearing on the manners and errors of our day, let him remember that in the days of the Fathers these very passages had their effect, and still produce great fruit in those who study them; because, after all, these great men were fed on the pure wheat of the elect, the pure substance of religion; and because being full of the primitive spirit which they received in abundance from the very source, what they give forth is more nourishing than the products of subsequent thought. This is what our critics do not feel; this is why their writings, composed with the license of innovators and drawn from their thoughts, only tend to weaken religion, to encourage error, and to produce contention.

These are grave charges to make against a Catholic writer. There can be no doubt that Simon exalts the Greek Fathers, especially St. John Chrysostom, at the expense of the Latins, especially of St. Augustine. According to him, no purely Latin Father, that is, one who was not familiar with Greek, could possibly be a sound commentator on Sacred Books the originals of which are in Greek. His animus against St. Augustine is displayed throughout. He dismisses with contempt many of the Scriptural arguments on which the saint mainly relied in his disputes with the Pelagians. So again of St. Augustine's treatise on the Trinity Simon remarks, 'he is not always exact in his choice of the different readings, because he was not sufficiently versed in criticism, and this makes some of his proofs feeble; whereas the Greek Fathers fall into this far more rarely.' The saint's Harmony of the Gospels is also severely handled: 'Obliged as he was to deal with many facts which required very extensive learning, it was not possible for him to be equally successful in all . . . As he did not know enough Greek to read the works of the ancient commentators he could consult only those which had been translated into Latin.' Again: 'This Father is not always happy when he meddles with criticism.' Moreover, he accuses him of being himself an innovator and

of not following the traditional interpretation of leading passages of Holy Scripture. Thus, in his famous controversy with St. Jerome, touching the rebuke of St. Peter by St. Paul, St. Augustine claimed the right of going straight to the text, ignoring the commentators :—

> Verumtamen ipse mihi pro his omnibus, imo supra hos omnes, Apostolus Paulus occurrit ; ad ipsum confugio, ad ipsum ab omnibus qui aliud sentiunt literarum ejus tractatoribus provoco. Ipsum interrogans interpello. . . . Ego magis credo tanto Apostolo in suis et pro suis literis juranti, quam cuiquam doctissimo de alienis literis disputanti.[1]

True, Simon says in a later work (*Nouvelles Observations*) :—' I have not intended to diminish in any way the authority of St. Augustine, whom I have always acknowledged to be the most skilful theologian of Churches of the West.' But even this praise contains a sneer ; for in Simon's eyes skill in theology was a positive disqualification for the true interpretation of the Scriptures. St. Jerome, St. Hilary, St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, and even his favourite, St. John Chrysostom, are treated with scant respect. As for St. Thomas Aquinas, he says :—' His Commentary on St. Paul is the work of a skilful theologian, but a sholastic ;' and again, ' he is not absolutely a skilful theologian, but a skilful scholastic theologian, who treats a great number of questions which are of no use except in the schools, and who departs sometimes from the true meaning of St. Paul.' On the other hand a considerable portion of Simon's book is devoted to heretical commentators, especially Pelagius and Socinus. He seems just as anxious to make the most of the good qualities of these as he is to expose the defects of the Fathers.

Non nostrum tantas componere lites. It would be presumptuous to step in between such mighty combatants ; but a careful study of their writings would lead to the conclusion that while Simon gave his adversary ample provocation, Bossuet allowed himself to be carried beyond the bounds of legitimate criticism. We have seen that Simon

[1] Ep. 19 *ad Hieron.*

was wanting in that reverence which should be always observed towards venerable authorities even when these authorities are in the wrong. He was out-spoken where he should have been reticent. But he was far from making any attack on the Church itself. His treatment of St. Augustine was, no doubt, due to his desire to lessen what he considered to be the excessive respect paid to the saint by Arnauld and the other Port Royalists. His insisting on the importance of a knowledge of the original Hebrew and Greek texts of Holy Scripture, is now a common-place. It would be admitted by many Catholic scholars that the Schoolmen did not excel in exegesis. And as regards heretical authors, he could appeal to the maxim, *Fas est et ab hoste doceri.* Here is what he says of Pelagius :—

> If we put aside what concerns Grace and some other points which are known to everybody, Pelagius followed the common belief of the Church which he even vigorously defended against the heretics. His Commentary on St. Paul deserves to be read apart from its errors. In this matter we need not display more delicacy than St. Cyril of Alexandria, and some other ancient Fathers, who have made good use of the commentaries of heretics, and have even preserved them from oblivion. The Greek compilers of what are called *Catenae* did not exclude heretical books. Hence the name of Pelagius which has become odious, ought not to deter us from reading his Commentary where he gives proof of his skill. Cassiodorus has given it the title of *Subtilissima Scholia.* . . . He is not a heretic in all the places in which he does not agree with St. Augustine ; otherwise we should have to accuse of heresy the majority of the ancient doctors of the Church. I even believe that Pelagius composed his Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul before he was declared an innovator.

We need not follow the discussion through the long second part of Bossuet's *Défense*, where he openly accuses Simon of being a Pelagian. There is no doubt that the latter by his attacks on St. Augustine, and by his insisting on the differences between the teaching of the Eastern and Western Doctors on Original Sin and Grace, gave some colour to this accusation. But here, again, he is far from denying any article of the Church's belief, and is concerned only with the various patristic interpretations of passages

of Holy Scripture. In those days it was the custom to brand one's adversary as a Jansenist or a Pelagian, as the case might be, and then he was supposed to be demolished. It should be noted that though Bossuet began his *Défense* in 1693, he did not finish it until just before his death; and it was not published until 1753, when Simon had been long in his grave.

III.

Simon's three books on the Text, the Versions, and the Commentators of the New Testament led up to the great work of his life: *Le Nouveau Testament traduit sur l'ancienne édition Latine, avec des remarques litérales et critiques sur les principales difficultés.* This was published at Trévoux, in 1702, with the approval of censors nominated by Cardinal Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, and by Bossuet. The censors, after having kept it for a whole year, declared over and over again that it was an excellent book, and that they would uphold it as though it were their own work.

But Bossuet himself was not deceived by this report. He naturally viewed with suspicion anything coming from the pen of the author of the series of volumes on the Old and the New Testaments; especially a translation with notes which would in all probability repeat the errors of the earlier works. He submitted it to a severe examination, and found that his suspicions were only too well grounded. In a letter to the Archbishop of Paris he declared that it contained 'almost throughout, errors, truths weakened, bad commentaries after bad commentaries substituted for the text, thoughts of men instead of those of God, an astonishing contempt for the expressions consecrated by the usage of the Church, and, finally, distortions such as cannot be concealed without prevarication. No fault of this sort can pass as trivial, since it has to do with the Gospel, which should not lose an iota or a single one of its characteristics.'

He conferred with the censors and with Simon's friends in the hope of getting them to induce him to make a thorough

revision and correction of all his works. They naturally did not take Bossuet's view of the case ; they replied that it would not be difficult to make the translation perfect 'provided that the author was not treated with harshness or in a domineering spirit.' Simon himself declared that he was ready to profit by Bossuet's suggestions 'if they appeared to him to be justified.' This did not satisfy the Bishop, who now resolved to issue a solemn condemnation of the new translation. But before doing so, he awaited the action of Cardinal Noailles, whose business it was to take the initiative in such a matter. At the beginning of September the Cardinal sent him a copy of the proposed censure of the work. Bossuet of course approved, but thought that the terms of the document were not sufficiently severe. It was read in all the churches of Paris on September 24, 1702. Five days later Bossuet signed a similar *Ordonnance* forbidding the book in the diocese of Meaux.

But an unexpected difficulty arose. The printer wrote to say that he had received an order from the Chancellor not to go to press until he had the approval of a doctor of theology ! This time the Chancellor was not Bossuet's old friend Le Tellier, who had destroyed Simon's work on the Old Testament, and whose funeral oration he had preached sixteen years ago. Pontchartrain now reigned in his stead. Under five successive chancellors the Bishop had been allowed to print his writings without any of the formalities usually required. But now, in his old age, after all his great services to Church and State, he was to be compelled to submit an act of episcopal jurisdiction to the judgment of a simple priest ! And at this very time the Chancellor granted permission to Simon to print and publish an attack on Cardinal Noailles. No wonder that Bossuet's indignation knew no bounds. He first made a dignified protest to Pontchartrain, and finding this without effect he begged the Cardinal to bring the matter before Mme. de Maintenon and the King. He also addressed a lengthy memoir to his majesty, and asked for a special audience, which was granted on November 18. Louis XIV., possessed as he

was in an eminent degree of the kingly quality of tact, found himself called on to decide between a high official who was upholding the royal authority, and a venerable ecclesiastic who was accused of infringing it. It is not possible for us here to go into the different arguments urged on each side, and to follow the various stages of the discussion. Suffice it to say that the three parties concerned were ordered to confer together in the hope that they would bring the matter to a friendly conclusion. The meeting lasted for four hours, but Pontchartrain still insisted on his rights. Then the King (or was it Mme. de Maintenon ?) decided that the Chancellor must give way. Bossuet, at the Cardinal's suggestion, modified the wording of his *Ordonnance* and the permission to print was granted without any further formalities. Simon at once undertook to answer, but now the Chancellor refused to allow him to publish. The ex-Oratorian saw that nothing could be done. 'We must let the good man (*le bonhomme*) die,' he brutally said, 'he won't last long.'

Not satisfied with his Pastoral Letter against the new translation, Bossuet issued two *Instructions* dealing with it in detail. Though his main contentions against Simon are correct, and though these *Instructions* are full of patristic and Scriptural learning and display much of his old brilliancy and vigour, yet they show signs of decaying power. There is a want of arrangement and a needless repetition, so that it is not easy to give an analysis of their contents. The charges against Simon are directed partly against his translation and partly against his notes. We can dismiss the latter at once by observing that his offences are precisely the same as in his *History of the Commentators* : a weakening or a rejection of traditional interpretations, continuous hostility to St. Augustine, and marked partiality for heretical writings. As regards the translation itself, Simon, while maintaining the advantage of translating from the Vulgate rather than from the original Greek text, widely departs from it as often as he pleases. He omits, he inserts, he modifies, and sometimes even without any authority from the original. Misleading notes

may do a deal of mischief, but they are of small importance compared with tamperings with the Sacred Text itself. Bossuet goes through one book after another and shows how Simon over and over again fails to give a faithful rendering. But we had better read the Bishop's own words :—

I am very glad that the author has himself seen some of his faults, and I only wish that he would tell the public so. We are waiting for his declaration on the censure pronounced with such authority in the city where his book had its chief sale. He has delayed too long in giving his submission. . . . Let him become for the Gallican Church a second Leporius, to gladden and edify the whole Church by the retractation of his errors. Far from meaning to injure him by giving him this advice I am trying, on the contrary, to inspire him with sentiments worthy of a priest, and to make his learning more profitable to the Church. And since it is evident that he has brought these condemnations upon himself by being secretly attached to authors whom he dares not name, I hope that he will publicly renounce these blind guides by whom he has been led into the pit ; and that he will help us in the future to disabuse those who may still be prejudiced in their favour.

It is enough for me to have shown that the author does what he pleases with the text of the Gospel, without authority or rule ; that he has no regard for Tradition, and that he everywhere despises the law of the Council of Trent which obliges us to follow Tradition in the interpretation of the Scriptures ; that he only shows himself to be learned by continual and dangerous singularities, and that he never ceases to substitute his own thoughts for those of the Holy Ghost ; that his criticism is full of trifles, and moreover, is rash, ignorant, untheological ; and that instead of reconciling the holy doctors and establishing the uniformity of Christian teaching all over the world, he stirs up a latent quarrel between the Greeks and the Latins in matters of the greatest importance ; and that finally his criticism tends to weaken the doctrine and Sacraments of the Church, and to obscure the proofs of them against heretics, especially against the Socinians—furnishes them with replies even to what he himself has said against their errors—and opens a wide door to every sort of novelty.

Rome now took up the matter. Simon's *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*, his *Histoire Critique du Texte du Nouveau Testament* and his *Histoire Critique des Versions du Nouveau Testament* had already been condemned

but strangely enough his *History of the Commentators* had escaped. A decree dated March 11, 1704, placed his *Nouveau Testament* on the Index of Prohibited Books. By this time Bossuet was on his death-bed, and a month later (April 12), he went to his rest.

T. B. SCANNELL.

THE BLACK CASTLE OF WICKLOW—II

OF the trial before the High Court I have to remark that it compares but unfavourably with other trials before the same court owing to lack of precision in the indictment. Notes in the same scrawl remain of many of these in which prisoners stand charged with murder, and in every case, with the exception of that with which we are more immediately concerned, the names of those alleged to have been murdered appear in the charge, or if the names are not all given, the number of parties alleged to be so murdered is indicated. Another peculiarity of his case : Dr. Edmund O'Reilly was not tried by himself, but with one Edmund duff Birne, one of those who were drinking with Joyce in the Castle on the day of the tragedy. The following is the form in which the charge appears on the notes in the T.C.D. MS., F. 4. 16 [1] :—

At y^e^ High Court of Justice
at Dublin
Sept. 6, 1653

Charge :

Edmund Reyly
(priest Viccar Gen^ll^)
Edmund duffe Birne
} 10^ber^ 29, 1645

for
y^e^ murder at y^e^ black
castle of Wickloe[2]

And, contrary to the general practice, no name of any

[1] I endeavour to reproduce the notes in the original form, without paraphrase or addition, and in the same orthography. Matter interlined on the notes I place within square brackets.

[2] There must have been other trials on same charge. There is an entry of 'guillty' against Dermot McDonagh Beirne. This note appears at the top of the page : 'See y^e^ Triall of Chr. Toole, etc. Sep. 1, 1653.'

one supposed to be murdered appears in the finding at the conclusion of the trial.

At ye private debate, Sept 7, 1653 Edmund duff Birne for ye murder at ye black castle of Wickloe	GUILTY
Edm. Rely (priest) for ye murder at ye black castle of Wickloe—*as Accessory*	GUILTY

Such is the MS. note of the finding—the term 'Verdict' does not appear.

In Miss Hickson's work (ii., p. 229) the record appears in this form :—

VERDICTS

Edmund Reilly, a priest,	GUILTY
Edmund Duff Birne,	GUILTY

And again on pages 234-5 :—

September, 1653

Edmund Reilly, a priest, for murders at the Black Castle of Wicklow, on Dec. 29th, 1645, GUILTY.
Edmund Duffe Birne, for same, GUILTY.

In neither of which the original entry 'As Accessory' finds place ; and the order of the names is inverted, conveying the idea that the priest was a principal actor in the commission of the crime. Altogether different is the actual finding, which is further discounted by the belief then insisted on, that the priests were accessory to every crime committed in Ireland in those times. Indeed no other finding were possible without upsetting the theory on which the then government was founded and carried on.

The evidence on which Father O'Reilly was brought in 'as accessory' to an undefined murder (not 'murders') is

such as would satisfy those, and those only, who were well satisfied from the beginning that there was a priest in the crime, if anything of the kind were committed. It is no more than a blend of the loosest hearsay with the most audacious and palpable perjury. Nearly thirty persons were—either at the trial or before it—examined in the matter; but only some of these are marked as 'present' at the hearing in open court. Those not so marked were, I have no doubt, represented by their examination perviously taken *in camera*. Such 'evidence' plays an important part in the Cromwellian State Trials as reported in the MS. notes from which I quote; and it is upon such reckless testimony that the charge of massacre rests.

1. The first witness called, by name Luke Birne, must have been a mere 'deponent,' not being marked 'present,' and his statement shows, perhaps, why he was not brought face to face with the accused. One assertion of his is enough. He says, '*y^t^ Rely advised him to kill all the English about him.*' Father O'Reilly had excommunicated this witness for living in adultery.

2. The second witness, Hugh M'Laughlin Birne—also an absentee—could only say, '*Reported* y^t^ Edmund duff Birne and others principal actors in y^e^ murder.'

And being further examined—'*Heard* that Edm. duff Birne, etc., actors in that murder; *heard* that Rely continued at Ashpole's house at Wickloe [untill y^e^ night] of 8th day, and that some of y^e^ murderers were in his company before y^e^ action. He believeth y^t^ Rely had a hand in y^e^ murder, for reasons aforesaid.'

Father O'Reilly produced a witness to prove he was at Rathdown (ten miles north of Wicklow) same day, and came that night to Wolverstown's house at Newcastle.

The next witness is the first marked 'present.' He is vague about the time of meeting Father O'Reilly at Ashpole's house in Wicklow:—

4. *Peter Wickham* (p'sent):[1]

Y^t^ he being then high sheriff of Wickloe, & at Ashpole's

[1] 'Present in court, swears' (H.). The only word in the MS. is 'p'sent.'

house at Wickloe did se Edm Rely, y^t^ he the exa'at ordered the empanelling a Jury for enquiry of y^t^ murder, y^t^ saying they were murdered Rely sayd *w' great hurt was there if ye churls were burnt accidentally.*[1] Told by y^e^ Inhabitants of Wicklow y^t^ Edm. Rely did lye at Ashpole's house aforesaid all y^e^ night y^t^ y^e^ s^d^ murders were comitted; y^t^ Edward Birne y^e^ foreman of y^e^ said Jury saying it was murder, he was put out, & another put into his place; y^t^ Edm. Rely being one of y^e^ Com^rs^ for y^e^ County *refused to deliver the Castle of Wickloe to y^e^ English, for it would be (said he) a charge to y^e^ country to keep it*;[2] heard that Rely was present when Edw Birne was removed from y^e^ Jury as aforesaid, y^t^ y^e^ said Birne said so to y^e^ exa'at, & so comonly reported.[3]

In his defence, O'Reilly makes it clear enough that this Edward Birne was put aside as one suspected of treachery, one who had already committed himself to a decided opinion on the merits of the case.

5. *Edward Birne* (p'sent):

Y^t^ he was foreman of y^e^ Jury, y^t^ being of opinion y^t^ it was murder, he was sent for by Edm. Rely [one of y^e^] Com^rs^ for y^e^ County of Wickloe, & demanded why he thought it murder, & he gave his cause of knowledge therein; he was by y^e^ said Rely, and y^e^ rest of y^e^ Com^rs^, put out of y^e^ jury; y^t^ this inquiry was 2 or 3 days after y^e^ murder; y^t^ another foreman was put into his place. Reported y^t^ Edm duff Birne y^t^ murder, Reported that Rely was an adviser in that murder, & a contriver of it before y^e^ fact.

Reported—by whom? Further examined, this Edward Birne adds that 'he was committed 24 hours,' and

being released, y^t^ he with Peter Wickham desired Edm. Rely & to [p'mit] y^e^ persons murdered to be buried, offering 20s. for each of them; they refused (bec. they were heretiques) in the church or churchyard; y^t^ Rely ordered y^e^ exa'at to imprisonment as aforesaid.

7. Thomas Sherin, servant to Edward Birne, repeats the latter statement. Andrew Kerny[4] *heard* that 'Rely said y^t^ Joice and y^e^ rest should not be buried in y^e^ church.'

[1] Underscored on the MS. notes.
[2] Underscored on the MS. notes.
[3] He *heard* this. He, as sheriff, ought to know as much as anyone about this matter.
[4] Kenny (H.). Neither Sherrin nor Kerny marked 'p'sent.'

Coole Toole (p'sent) :

Heard that Edm. Duff Birne, etc. actors in y^e^ murder at black Castle in Wickloe, & y^t^ Edmund Rely should say y^t^ *they had little to do who inquired after y^e^ murder of churles*,[1] meaning y^e^ Com^rs^ taking examinations concerning y^t^ business ; and y^e^ Rely was busy in demolishing y^e^ castle of Wickloe, y^e^ exa'at not hearing of any direction he had for so doing.

Much stress was laid on the circumstance that O'Reilly had caused the walls of the Castle to be pulled down (about ten months after the alleged murders), but, as he pointed out in his defence, that matter was not in question. In further examination Coole Toole added :—

Heard that Edm. Rely did stand by, & se the Castle of Wickloe demolished : heard that Edmund Rely did find fault with y^e^ exa'at and others *for being inquisitive after y^e^ said murder, & that they had little to do.*[2]

11. One Nicholas Pasmere, also an absentee 'witness,' is made to say :—

Y^t^ he dwelling at Wickloe ('in 10^ber^ 1645' *scored out*) Edm. Rely comanded y^e^ exa'at & others [about 6 or 7 weeks after][3] to breake downe y^e^ Castle of Wickloe on paine of hanging ; y^t^ y^e^ said Rely used to lodge at Thomas Ashpole's house in Wickloe, w^ch^ Ashpole was agent or proctor to y^e^ said Rely ; & y^t^ y^e^ said Rely was as Governor when y^e^ Inquest was taken concerning y^e^ said murder : y^t^ Edw. Birne the foreman of y^t^ Jury was soon after comitted by Edm. Rely, but wherefore y^e^ exa'at knoweth not.

Further examined, Nich. Pasmere said that while demolishing the Castle walls,

Hugh McPhelim Birne demanding who put them on worke and theire saying father Rely, he forbid[4] them on with the design, but next day Rely did put them on work again.

13. *Tirlagh McDermot Birne* (p'sent) :

y^t^ he did se y^e^ Castle of Wickloe on fire, & about a month

[1] Underscored on the MS. notes.

[2] Underscored on the MS. notes.

[3] Mark the shuffle to bring the pulling down of the walls into more immediate sequence with the 'murder.'

[4] Miss H. prints 'forced,' which evidently does not hold with what follows.

after reported y^t^ Edmund duffe Birne, etc., actors in y^e^ murder, y^t^ Edward Birne who had been foreman of y^t^ Inquest was about a week after comitted to y^e^ Castle of Arckloe, but for w^t^ cause, he knoweth not.

14. *Loughlin Quin* (p'sent):

Aboute a weeke after y^e^ murder Caher Cullen told y^e^ exa'at y^t^ Edm. Rely & Luke Tooles sonnes were y^e^ principal men y^t^ caused y^e^ murder, etc [Cullen & others] told him y^t^ *y^e^ said Rely had share of armes, amunition, & goodes w^ch^ were in y^t^ castle,*[1] & comonly reported y^t^ y^e^ said Rely caused y^e^ castle to be demolished, & caused a cesse on y^e^ country for y^e^ charge of y^t^ worke.

15. *Loughlin Quin*, further examined:

[About a moneth after y^e^ murder] Thomas Ashpole, then proctor to y^e^ said Rely told y^e^ exa'at y^t^ Edm. Rely was in his, y^e^ said Ashpole's house y^t^ day y^t^ y^e^ murder was comitted, & y^e^ Rely did then & there p'mise y^e^ said murderers *y^t^ he would absolve them if they would kill all in y^e^ said castle,*[2] Who did kill accordingly, & y^t^ y^e^ said persons did after told y^e^ said Ashpole y^t^ they would not have done it . . .[3] comand of y^e^ said Rely & y^t^ y^e^ said Rely promised them absolution, & y^t^ y^e^ exa'at ('said Ashpole' *erased*) did se y^e^ said Rely putting his foote on severall places of y^e^ wall of y^e^ castle, did order and direct y^e^ pulling y^e^ same down, & y^t^ y^e^ exa'at was told it by ('others named' *erased*) James McBrian Birne, y^t^ Gerrot Toole & Tibbot Toole told him that they would not have comitted y^e^ said murder, & burnt y^e^ castle, but that *they were set on by Edm. Rely*,[4] who promised absolution for y^e^ same, y^t^ *Edm. Duffe Birne were actors.*[5]

The foregoing is deserving of particular attention as admirably illustrating the character of the 'evidence'

[1] Underscored on notes. The Cullen here mentioned is apparently the one put to death by Luke Toole, as related in Father O'Reilly's information (I. E. RECORD, July, 1904, pp. 36-9). It is seldom we get at the source of a deponent's information, and in this case the informant was dead when his name was used.

[2] Underscored on the MS. notes.

[3] 'But by' (H). This is doubtful, only a conjectural reading. In this passage the hearsay is carried to the third or fourth degree. The witness swears to what Ashpole told him of what O'Reilly said to the murderers, and what the murderers did and said in consequence. This is the 'notable thief' mentioned in the defence.

[4] Underscored on the MS. notes.

[5] Underscored on original. To keep the murder to the front the order of events is inverted. The 'burning' was the cause of the 'murder.'

received even in the High Court of Justice to bring home charges of serious crime against the 'rebels.'

16. *Phelim McTirlagh Birne* (p'sent):

Yt ye next day after ye murder he did overtake Edm. Rely & others going towards Wickloe, who being told of the murder by one they mett ye said Rely seemed to wonder at it. Reported in ye country yt ye said murder was contrived in ye house of Thomas Ashpole, & yt Edmund Rely was one in the plott; heard yt Edm Rely ordered and prayed for ye demolishing ye Castle of Wickloe, also heard yt some of ye Actors in yt murder did after some (*illegible*) yt murder, among whom Edmund duff Birne was one. Reported[1] that none durst act such a murder if Edm. Rely had not an hand in it, he being so leading in ye country. Heard yt Edm. Rely was ye day of ye murder is ye towne of Wickloe & yt ye night he went to Christopher Wolverstown's house, & ye next day returned to Wickloe.

Precious evidence all this! No better is the testimony of the Wolverstons, of which Miss Hickson makes so much.

17. *Christopher Wolverstowne* (p'sent):

Yt ye night ye black castle was burnt Edm. Rely did lodge in ye exa'ats house at Newcastle, & having discourse ye next day with ye said Rely, both going towards Wickloe, he the exa'at did percieve yt Rely was no way troubled at the news then brought him of ye said murder, & yt late in ye night of ye murder ye said Rely did come [from Wickloe[2]] to ye exa'ats house, & yt comonly reported yt ye said Rely had a hand in ye advising and furthering ye said murder, & he heard told yt Rely seeing a piece of pork at ye fire he said it was like Joice his breech, & ye exa'at beleeveth ye actors would not have don yt murder but by countenance of Rely, yt this was a comon report; yt ye exa'at's daughter observing Edm. Rely to speak much of Joice she told the exa'at she belleved he was troubled with Joice.

We may see in this how witnesses were pressed to answer questions so as to fall in with the prosecutor's theory. Nor is it likely that they used the expressions here attributed to them, or that they mentioned the Vicar-General as 'Edmund Rely.' We have got, not the statements of the examinants, but a synopsis, translated to fit in with the

[1] By whom?

[2] Interlined.

cant of the time. We may particularly suspect the written version of conversations repeated, after long interval, at second-hand, or in more remote degree.

18. *Mary Wolverstowne* (p'sent) :

Y^t reported that Christopher Toole, etc., was an actor in y^e murder of y^e black castle, & she telling Edmund Rely of y^e murder at Wickloe, he said it was accidentall, & she pressing the contrary he said [angerly] *w^t have you to do to be so curious as to inquire after such things*.[1] Told by her daughter [Margaret Wolverstowne] y^t, discoursing of y^e murder, y^e said Rely said *there was more adoe about y^r roasting of a company of churles than about y^r committal of y^r good Lo : Herbert then comitted at Dublin*.[2] And her said daughter told her y^t a peece of porke roasting at y^e fire and blistered, y^e said *Rely said it looked like John Joice his breech* ; y^t her said daughter was a Nunne.

No way wonderful if Father O'Reilly found it necessary to rebuke this witness and others. He could understand how much mischief might be done at such a time by a woman's foolish babbling ; and Mrs. Wolverston has made it pretty clear that she was not over-burthened with good sense, notwithstanding that 'her said daughter was a Nunne.'

19. *Lewis Davys* :

Y^t Father Rely & others of the clergy did put Tibbot Toole on the murder of Wickloe, in w^ch they were actors w^ch the said Toole told this exa'at, he being then a proctor in y^e [3] of Wickloe.

This witness widens the charge, bringing in 'others of the clergie,' on equally good grounds, no doubt.

20. *Richard Quin* (p'sent) :

Edm. Duff Birne [etc.] said to be actors, y^t he went first to y^e castle to Joice, drinking with him till night, y^t y^e next day Edm. Rely came to Wickloe ('but' *struck out*) reported that [he said] *it was little hurt y^r y^r churle was burnt*, meaning John Joice ; y^r exa'at was one of the Coroner's Inquest : y^t Thomas Ashpole told him ('at Rich Quin's . . .' *struck out*) then of the

[1] Underscored on notes.
[2] Underscored on notes.
[3] 'County' (H.). The reading is uncertain.

persons who did y^e^ murder, who had beene [in the] said Ashpole's house, (' y^t^ Rely was at Wickloe the day of y^t^ murder' *struck out*).

Strange that we get no information from this witness about what occurred in the Castle, only that he 'was drinking with Joyce till night.' There is distinct allusion here to one 'murder,' and no other in connection with the attempt, whatever it was, upon the Castle.

21. *Edm. Walsh*:

Y^t^ Edmund Quin (priest) told y^e^ exa'at y^t^ Edmund duff Birne, etc. were drinking with John Joice in y^e^ castle of Wickloe who made much of them, on y^e^ day of y^e^ murder, y^t^ y^e^ murderers did frequent y^e^ company of Edm. Rely, who never questioned them though he had power in y^e^ county, nor were they excommunicated by him or any other; y^t^ Edmund Duff Birne being charged by the exa'at with that murder, said he made some of y^e^ clergie acquainted with it, but w^ch^ of them he would not tell.

22. *Dermot McWm. Toole* (1st exam.):

Y^t^ Tibbot Toole told him y^t^ Edm. Rely did put him on to y^e^ murder. The exa'at said y^t^ Edm. Rely was like enough to charge him with it, to w^ch^ Tibbot said he feared him not, he being in as deep as any, y^t^ he did advise to it.[1]

23. (2nd exam.) No note.

24. *Brian Birne*:

Heard y^t^ Edm. duff Birne were (*sic*) drinking in y^e^ Castle of Wickloe y^e^ day of y^t^ murder. Reported y^t^ Edm. Rely was y^e^ chiefe adviser & procurer of y^e^ said murder to be comitted, & for demolishing y^e^ castle y^t^ no more English garrison should be there.

Then was put in:—

25. A warrant signed by Edm. Rely & other Com^rs^ (he first subscribing) for raising y^e^ power of y^e^ country if neede be, for obedience to y^t^ order.

Said warrant appears to have been very remotely, if at all, connected with the subject of inquiry.

[1] 'To *it*.' To what?

The accused parties were allowed, or required, to give evidence, probably in the expectation that they would incriminate each other.

26. *Edm. duff Birne*, the prisoner (his exam.) :

Yt 2 dayes 'for' ye murder he discoursed with Tibbot Toole & others [at a place called Clova (?)] concerning that business, & ye day of ye action he was in ye castle.

27. (2nd exam.), Yt he with ye rest were drinking till night at ye Castle of Wickloe, & yt all being made prisoners[1] exa'at being above stairs heard a noise belowe, and going down saw Joice and ye rest murdered ; yt he asking ye rest who brought him into ye action, how they durst enter on yt action, they answered yt *they were warranted by* [*one of*] *the chiefest men in ye country, viz., Fa. Edm. Rely*, & yt after ye exa'at told Rely yt Lt Genl Birne had sent to seise on him *Rely answered he neede not feare, I'll warrant you ;* this was in ye garden at Balligarry.

The Simon Ashpole, so frequently mentioned, had, it appears, in the meantime gone over to the enemy's camp, and had 'reformed' his name as well as his religion. It is significant how little this man, who had been in the Vicar-General's service can do for the prosecution :—

28. *Simon Archpole* ('Ashpole' first written, *struck out*) :

Yt he was clearke & register to Fa. Edm. Rely when ye murder was at Wickloe ; heard yt some of ye murderers came to Rely to be absolved for ye fact, & yt he did absolve them, yt ye castle pulled down about a month after ye murder.

29. *Henry Heny* (p'sent) :

Reported yt Edm. duff Birne, etc., was of ye actors in ye murder of Wickloe Castle, yt Edm. Rely was in Wickloe ye weeke yt ye murder was acted, yt Rely ('said to be' *struck out*) at ye demolishing ye castle, this ye sumer after ye murder.

30. *Edm. Rely* (ye prisoner) examined :

Yt Tibbot Toole and Edm. duff Birne coming to him to be absolved for ye murder of black castle he refused, it being forbidden by ye Canon[2] lawe ('ye both . . .' *struck out*), etc.

[1] How vague! Surely the prisoner was able to give a clearer account than we have here. 'All being made prisoners' reads like the story of the Kilkenny cats.

[2] Miss H. prints 'common.'

It must have been late on that day (September 6th) when this stage of the trial was reached. On Father O'Reilly's application the hearing of his defence was adjourned to the next day. As will be seen, he made very good use of the interval.

The Prisoner's defence.

Edm. Rely :

He demanding time for his defence untill ye next day, it was granted notwithstanding yt it was not usual, ye evidence of ye Commonwealth having been opened.

The 'latitude' spoken of by Miss Hickson would, after all, appear to be of a rather restricted order : the prisoner having been on the spur of the moment called upon to make his defence, and reply to the mass of allegations sprung upon him without previous intimation, obtained adjournment to next morning.

At ye High Court
of Justice at Dublin,
Sep. 7, 1653
The Defence of Edmund Rely
(priest)

1. He takes exceptions to ye testimony of Luke Birne as being an enemy to him, yt he the prisoner did not [1] se him at ye beginning of ye rebellion, he being at Dublin resident at yt time.

Yt he excomunicated ye said Birne living in Adultery, & not for such acts as is alleged.

2. To ye 2nd witnesse Hugh M'Laughlin, of ye prisoner being at Ashpole's house ye day of ye murder—

Nich. FitzGerald, produced by ye prisoner :

Yt he is not certain of ye day of ye murder, & yt Edm. Rely was then at Rathdown 10 miles from Wickloe, yt ye night before ye murder he came to ye house of Mr Wolverstowne at Newcastle, ye exaat being then in his company, & was his attendant at Masse ; yt he did heare Edm. Rely excomunicate ye actors in ye murder about a moneth after.

[1] 'Note' (H.).

3. *To Mr. Wickham's Exam.* :

Denieth y^e^ hearing of anything of Joice his murder till then.

Y^t^ contradicted [spoken by Wolverstowne] of his being at Wickloe y^e^ night of the murder.

Denieth y^e^ refusall of y^e^ delivery of Wickloe Castle to Ormond.

Y^t^ he was a friend to Joice and did him good offices.

Denieth saying *No matter* ('to Edw. Birne' *struck out*) if y^e^ churls were *burnt accidentally.*

4. *To Edward Birne & his comittal :*

Y^t^ he was not comitted for y^e^ cause, but y^t^ he was charged with sending his servant Sherin weekly to Dublin with Rabbets [1] & for giving Intelligence, so he was comitted.

Denieth y^t^ Edward Birne was removed from y^e^ Jury.

Richard Quin produced by y^e^ prisoner :

Who having beene of y^t^ Jury saith he did not se any put of y^e^ Jury, or put in on y^e^ putting any out.

Peter Wickhame :

He was not present at y^e^ first Inquest.

Ja Birne (y^e^ exam. offered by Mr Atturny) :

Y^t^ he was Coroner & apointed a Jury, of w^ch^ Edw. Birne was foreman, y^t^ he being of a different judgment from others, he was called before Edm Rely and others of y^r^ Com^rs^, & put out & another put in his place, being Walter Birne or Richard Quin.

The prisoner allegeth y^t^ Ja Birne had y^t^ information from Edward Birne.

Laboureth to weaken Edw. Birne's testimony by denying his offering money for y^t^ buriall as was said, & if false in that, not to be beleeved in other things ; y^t^ Edw. Birne beareth malice to him y^e^ prisoner, adjudging against him in a matrimonial cause, & living viciously in adultery ; y^t^ y^e^ prisoner put him out of employment.

5. *To Thomas Sherin :*

He was servant to Edw. Birne : he speaks to y^e^ money offered for buriall.

6. *To Andrew Kerny :*

All but heare say.

[1] 'Billets' (H.).

7. *To Coole Toole :*

As to ye demolishing of ye Castle, he saith nothing—is nothing now in question.

Yt much inquiry was made after ye murderers, whom they well knew, & might as well have seized them ; this was ye fault he found in it—making adoe about nothing, not doeing therein what should have been done.

Denieth his finding fault with him or any for being inquisitive after ye murder.

8. *To Nich. Pasmere :*

As to the demolishing of ye Castle, it was not begun till 9 months after ye murder & not altogether till March following. (Se infra 28.)

Rich. Quin, p'duced by ye prisoner :

Yt ye demolishing of ye castle was in October after ye murder, wch was in 10ber before ; his cause of knowledge yt he was portreeve of Wickloe, & questioning Tho : Ashpole's absence fro court he excused himselfe in beeing then overseer of ye work for pulling downe ye castle of Wickloe.—Se Hen Heny 29.

9. *To Laughlin Quin :*

Saith he is a notable thief, & for a fact of ye kind ye exaat caused him to be bound with withes, but after upon mediation released him ; and on that account to feign all that he saith. Denieth that of ye spoil.

10. *To Simon Archpole :*

Yt leaving his religion to please ye enemy, he speaks against the prisoner, being a priest.

Denieth ye giving 3li, or any money towards ye demolishing ye Castle.

Ye prisoner saith yt he engaged for Tho. Ashpole who promised to pay 3li to Nicholas Pasmere for breaking ye Castle.

11. *To Phelim McTirlagh Birne :*

Denieth ye contriving ye murder.

12. *To Edm. duffe Birne :*

Yt he did not speake with those yt acted ye murder of Toole's sonne.

Yt if they said they had allowance from him, why did not

Edm. duffe Birne ask himselfe y^e^ question, oft seing him, to be assured before believing it.[1]

Edm. duffe Birne now saith y^t^ he confessed to Edm. Rely y^t^ was in y^e^ action of y^e^ black castle but not in y^e^ blood there spilt, & that Edm. Rely there absolved him and enjoyned him penance, by saying some prayers and fasting. Rely denieth this y^t^ he said *I'll warrant you*. If he sayd it, it was because Hugh McPhelim did never punish any one for any crime.[2]

Mr. Atturny offered in further evidence y^e^ exam of

Teige McMorogh Birne:

Y^t^ shortly after y^e^ murder Edm. Rely did send warrants for demolishing y^e^ Castle of Wickloe.

John McCaher Birne:

Heard by comon report y^t^ y^e^ castle puld down by direction of Edm. Rely.

Edm. Rely the prisoner's defence to this:

Y^t^ it was no difficult matter to demolish y^e^ wall of y^t^ castle [next y^e^ sea] being of clay and stone, easily cast downe & not needing much labour.

13, 14. *To Christopher Wolverstowne & his wife:*

Denieth his coming from Newcastle to Wickloe, but from Rathdowne on y^e^ other side of Newcastle.

15. *To Lewis Davys:*

Y^t^ w^t^ Toole said in it was false.

16. *To Rich Quin:*

Y^t^ he did speake y^t^ of *churles*, etc. to render y^e^ others secure[3] y^t^ he might gain opportunity to prosecute them more freely.

17. *To Edm. Walsh:*

Denieth keeping company with the murderers; y^t^ they might

[1] This shows the worth of those hearsay pretences so enforced against Father O'Reilly.

[2] Referring to this, Miss Hickson says (ii. 227, *note*) that 'the admission of Father Reilly that the Irish Lieutenant-General never punished murderers is noteworthy, for more reasons than one.' But Father O'Reilly does not say 'murderers'; and the note is not a verbatim report.

[3] Meaning, perhaps, to throw the murderers off their guard.

be in the place where he was, but yt not implying his conversing with them.

yt he did excomunicate all ye actors in yt murder.

yt it was a simple question of Edm. Walsh to ask, Wold you do such an action without advice of ye clergy.

Ye Lord President: But such things done by advice of ye clergy; as in powder treason; and this warre is called bellum religiosum.[1]

Edm. duffe Birne (ye prisoner) demanded of yt discourse, saith yt he had discourse with Edm. Walsh, but doth not remember ye particulars, & yt he did never speake personally with any of ye clergie in yt business, but yt he was told so by Tibbot Toole, etc., yt they had spoken with clergy. Denieth ye excomunicating him.

Rely said yt ye excomunication was at Masse. He produced *Alson Browne*, for witness, who saith yt she was present in Wickloe when Edm. Rely spake publiquely agt yt murder of Wickloe, & he would go to Kilkenny to have ye others excomunicated.

Richard Quin (p'sent) being vouched by ye said Alson Browne, yt he was then present & heard wt she declared, he saith he remembers it not.

Coole Toole (p'sent) saith yt he did not hear of any such excomunication.

A letter from Kil . . . without date offered by Edm. Rely in court & reade.

Yt he did excomunicate those yt burnt ye castle of Wickloe. This with another Inke & (I think) hand (*sic*).

18. *To Dermot McWilliam Toole:*

If Tibbot Toole said so, it is false, using ye names of persons in Spaine.[2]

19. *To Brunne* (sic) *Birne:*

but by report, & yt (he said) privately.

John Birne } said in . . .[3] that they did not hear of
Hugh Birne } any excommunication.

Sr Robt Talbot (p'sent):

Yt on ye treaty of peace, he being one of ye Comrs for it,

[1] How, then, could they avoid finding the priest at least accessory to murder?

[2] Miss H. has 'illegible' in place of latter clause. I find the words 'in Spaine' rather distinct.

[3] 'Court' (H.). May be 'ansr to.'

Edm. Rely did write to y^e^ Com^rs^, y^t^ if a course were not taken for punishing y^e^ murder at Wickloe, God would not prosper them. Alsoe at Kilkenny Edm. Rely did sollicit p'ceedings in it, who gave comissions for inquiry of it.[1]

Ca. John Bellewe's letter offred by Edm. Rely in court, dated 12 June, 1652, mentioning y^t^ Rely was y^e^ greate presenter of y^e^ murder.

Nich. FitzGerald, produced by y^e^ prisoner :

Y^t^ y^e^ prisoner did speak with Nic. Plunket y^e^ lawyer to prosecute y^e^ murder.

Tirlogh Rely :

Y^t^ Edm. Rely did write by y^e^ exaat to Mr. Beling concerning y^t^ murder as Rely told him, w^ch^ leters de delivered y^e^ same yeare y^t^ y^e^ murder was comitted.

Heard of others y^t^ y^e^ murderers were excomunicated.

That he was beneficial to y^e^ English and not a murderer of them :

M^r^ Pemberton, *M^r^ Allen*,[2] concerning M^r^ Walworth a minister.

p'served a Trumpet—

p'served Simon Bellewe—

p'served George Greene, M^r^ Willings, and y^e^ English about Carnewe.[3]

p'served an Englishman at Arckloe.

A° 1646, at Wickloe he preserved a boy.

A° 1646, p'served some in a frigate y^t^ was cast on y^e^ coast of Wickloe.

p'served an Italian chirurgeon coming from Dublin.

p'served a Dane coming from Dublin.

p'served Christopher Fitz W^ms^ & a boate at Wall (?) belonging to Alderman Preston.

p'served some carrs of a company going to Wickloe.

p'served vnto one a cowe taken from him.

p'served M^r^ Cornewall minister—

p'served Henry White, a minister at Arckloe.

p'served another old minister—

p'served M^r^ Conway a minister—

p'served M^r^ Robert Conway.

Courteous to L^t^ Col lent him his shirt,[4] and gained him y^e^ best respite he could.

L^t^ Mason had respite, his meanes.

[1] Miss H. has 'illegible,' but prints all the words.
[2] Miss H. omits this name.
[3] 'Illegible' (H.). I have no doubt about this name.
[4] 'Sword' (H.). The name I cannot fix with any certainty.

Capt Hewetson, being wounded, & after died, would have buried him (' but ' *struck out*).

(' Sent by ye exa'at ' *struck out*) p'served one yt had beene otherwise hanged at Bellewhill.

brought to Dublin from Trim Mr Ro. Lett's children.

p'served two soldiers of ye name of Roper, ye..... of.....

2. Edmund duff. Birne's defence.

yt he was with yt p'ty, but in ye murder.

Tirlagh McDermot Birne

(This now offred by Mr Atturny)

Yt Edw. Birne ye foreman of y' Jury found it murder. But after it was found chance-medley, & so delivered in writing to ye Coroner.

The result of ' ye private debate ' on the second day of the trial has been already produced in form as on the notes. It could hardly be expected that judges brimming over—as was the Lord President—with belief in the bloody designs of Popish priests, could hold the prisoner to be guiltless of implication in a murder supposed to be committed within his jurisdiction. There is no evidence to show that Joyce's death was any other than ' chance-medley ; ' and there is no certain indication of any other death on that occasion.

There is no mention of a jury, except the allusion to a coroner's jury at Wicklow. The High Court inquisition, it would appear, was what is known as a ' trial at bar ' before a bench of judges, without the aid of a jury. The names of the judges are not given in the T.C.D. manuscript ; but it is known that Sir Gerard Lowther was Lord President of the High Court of Justice in Dublin. It is also known that four judges sat at the hearing of the capital charges against Sir Phelim O'Neill ; and in that case there is no mention of a jury either.

It is painful to have to add that Dr. Edmund O'Reilly's memory has suffered more from Catholic writers—more especially from two eccentric priests—than from any of the opposing fold. Protestant writers are not so much to blame when they can cite the views of two such virulent

defamers as the Rev. Peter Walsh, O.S.F., and the Rev. Charles O'Conor, D.D.[1], the Librarian of Stowe, who gave up the charge of a parish in Ireland to take service under an English nobleman. Dr. O'Conor, in violence and vituperation, goes far beyond Ormond's great friend the friar, omitting all that Walsh places to the credit of the Vicar-General, while reciting, or rather improving upon, his defamatory allegations and insinuations. The 'Abbé'—as O'Conor was called in the Buckingham household—shows his hand in attempting to belittle 'Primate Reilly,' as a member, not of the Cavan O'Reillys, but of an obscure family in the neighbourhood of Dublin—such a charge as might be made against His Holiness Pope Pius X. How baseless is the insinuation that O'Reilly had committed

[1] In the work written in furtherance of the Veto, published in two parts (1810-1812), entitled *An Historical Address to the Catholics of Ireland*, also in a series of letters under the name of 'Columbanus' (1812-1816). For the violence of his attacks, in the 'Columbanus' letters more especially, he was placed under ecclesiastical disabilities, both in England and Ireland:—

(1.) *Most Rev. Dr. Troy to Rev. Dr. O'Conor.*

REV. SIR,

Since your late arrival in this city you have had no faculties whatsoever from me. I now think it proper to warn you that by the exercise, *public* or *private*, of any sacerdotal function in this archdiocese, you must necessarily incur the censures inflicted by the laws of the Catholic Church on such clergymen of her communion as presume to officiate without the permission, or contrary to the express wish, of the Ordinary.

I remain, Rev. Sir,
Your very humble servant in Christ,
J. T. TROY.

3 Cavendish-row, Rutland-square,
Dublin, 17th July, 1812.

('Columbanus,' vol. ii., p. 7.)

(2.) *Right Rev. Dr. Poynter to the Rev. Dr. O'Conor.*

REV. SIR,

The underwritten is a true copy of the letter I wrote and addressed to you on the 30th of last June, by which you were then forbidden, and, for the reasons therein explained, I hereby declare you now forbidden, to say Mass in the London district.

WM. POYNTER, V.A.L.

4 Castle-street, Holborn,
London, Nov. 17, 1812.

('Columbanus' vol. ii. p. xxiv.)

In the seventh 'Columbanus' letter Dr. O'Conor says: 'I leave the world to judge of the excommunication issued by the Vicars Apostolic Poynter and Milner against Dr. O'Conor.' And in a letter to the Rev. Mr. Archer: 'I am now *above three years* excommunicated as a heretic' (p. 3).

himself to 'a cowardly intrigue to save his life,' is shown by the record of his trial as it has come down to us; and how palpably false is the assertion that he was a 'principal leader in firing the Black Castle of Wicklow, and consequently in murdering its inhabitants,' is brought out by the very inquisition that was to bring him to the scaffold.

The story of the arrest in 1653, as of one not personally known to the authorities, is altogether inconsistent with the allegations of both Walsh and O'Conor that the Primate had, so far back as 1649, been actively engaged in negociations with the Cromwellian rulers of Ireland. Walsh, notwithstanding, will have it that, whispers of his complicity with the Black Castle affair were going the rounds long before 1649. Are we to suppose that Governor Michael Jones and his active brother, the sometime Anglican Bishop of Clogher, then head of the 'Intelligence' department of the State, were ignorant of what happened in Wicklow in December, 1645? Only a few weeks prior to the alleged tragedy of the Black Castle Dr. Henry Jones was made bishop. He was then in Dublin, and he had been in Dublin actively employed as chief of the commission for taking the depositions made against rebels, their aiders, comforters, and abettors; and, if in the interval between '45 and '49 there had been any such 'whisper' as Walsh imputes, the Parliamentary Governor had known all about it through his indefatigable brother, the chief detective.

The allegations made against Primate O'Reilly are worse than inconsistent; they are mutually destructive.

I do not put forward Dr. Edmund O'Reilly as a great or heroic character. The letter (if genuine) which, in 1665, he wrote to the Duke of Ormond with the object of being permitted to return to his diocese, is cringing in the extreme.[1] His conduct at times may have been

[1] One may, however, suspect the genuineness—or at any rate the accuracy—of the letter alluded to above, bearing in mind that, as Walsh alleges, it was written at his suggestion and sent to him to be presented to the Duke, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and that the letter was not published until the supposed writer was five years in his grave.

I may add here that Luke O'Toole was put on his trial before the High Court in Dublin, 27th January, 1652-3, for the murder of Cahell Cullen and

a fair mark for criticism, but the sketch drawn by the two clerics—who both incurred ecclesiastical censures—is absurd and contradictory. And, as if to emphasise the absurdity, the apologists for the Commonwealth in their eagerness to blacken the memory of a Catholic clergyman, must needs make the Government they so much admire a party to the imputed guilt, as accessory after the fact.

THOMAS FITZPATRICK, LL.D.

NOTE TO PAGE 32, I. E. RECORD, July, 1904.

In *The Very Interesting Life of the Famous Oliver Cromwell*, compiled from contemporary accounts and reprinted at Manchester in 1840, there is an account of the rout at Rathmines, which shows how little occasion there was for the part assigned to Dr. Edmund O'Reilly:—

'The report of this disaster (at Baggot-rath) soon reached the General Ormond's ears, who was then playing at tables in his tent; and understanding also that Jones was making towards his main army, he wished the rebels would come that he might have some sport with them, and so he went on with his game. But he was soon forced to leave it; for Jones with his men following the chase to Rathmines, where Ormond's camp was, engaged his whole army, and after two hours' fight, totally routed them with very great slaughter. Four thousand were reckoned to be killed on the place, and in the chase, and above two thousand five hundred taken prisoners, of whom several were men of quality, and amongst the rest Ormond's own brother himself very narrowly escaping. They left all their great guns, ammunition, and provisions behind them; and withal *a rich camp* to reward the valiant soldiers, *who, with the spoils of it, so tricked themselves up*, that when they returned to Dublin, *many of the officers did not know their own men they were grown so fine*. This great victory was obtained with the loss of few, not above twenty of the Parliament's party being missing after the fight was over. The success was the more remarkable, because unexpected on both sides, Jones with his handful of men being led on step by step to complete victory, whereas their utmost design, at the beginning of the action, was only to beat the enemy from Baggot-rath. Ormond's party was so surprised, that they had not time to carry off their money, which lay at Rathfarnham, for the paying of their army, where Jones seized four thousand pounds very seasonably for the payment of his men.'—(P. 142.)

Anne Byrne. Among the notes of trials in the T.C.D. MS., F. 4. 16, I find the following under this date: 'Charges.—Luke Toole, Shane Cullen, for y^e^ murder of Cahell Cullen. (Pleaded by Toole, he is not guilty of murder on it, but y^t^ he hanged him as a spy; y^e^ other confessed y^e^ hanging, but by order of Toole, his master.)' 'At y^e^ private debate,' 31st January, 1652-3. Luke Toole was found Guilty, Shane Cullen *Not Guilty*; and on the charge of murdering Anne Byrne, Luke Toole was found *Not Guilty*.

JOAN OF ARC

NEARLY five hundred years have passed since Joan of Arc died at the stake in the market-place of Rouen. She had been condemned by an ecclesiastical tribunal as a sorceress, a schismatic, a blasphemer, a criminal of the worst and vilest character. She perished amid the execrations of her enemies, while from her former friends she received only sterile compassion or cold indifference. The King, who owed her his kingdom and his throne, never made even a diplomatic effort to save her, and the country which she had freed from a foreign yoke, seemed to yield a mute acquiescence in the sentence of her condemnation. So was she left to die a death that was not only cruel and barbarous, but—what she feared infinitely more—a death that involved her life and her memory in sin and dishonour.

The mill of God grinds slowly. God can afford to wait, and so can His friends, the just and the innocent. Joan appealed again and again in her trial from the packed jury and the corrupt judges, before whom she was forced to appear, to the Church and its supreme ruler in Rome. Her appeal was contemptuously rejected at the time, but it has had a termination which never entered into the dreams of the poor country girl from Domremy. Four and twenty years after her execution, at the belated request of Charles VII., a commission was issued by Pope Callixtus III., to review the mock trial of the Maid at Rouen. The Commission unanimously reversed the verdict that had been passed, and triumphantly rescued her memory from the crimes that had been laid to her charge. That was in 1457. More than four hundred years later another and a more important step was taken to restore her reputation before the world. It was not now a question of disproving the accusations on which the Maid had been sentenced to death ; it was a petition to the Holy See for her canonization.

This petition was presented to Pius IX. in 1869, by the late illustrious Bishop of Orleans, Dupanloup, supported by twelve other French Bishops. In reply the Holy Father authorised the Bishop to institute a preliminary inquiry. This inquiry was begun in 1874, and lasted fourteen years. The result was submitted to the Congregation of Rites in 1894, and the vote of the Congregation was in favour of the 'introduction of the cause.' This vote was approved of by the Holy Father Leo XIII., and a Decree was published, lauding the Maid as one who had been 'raised by God to restore the fortunes of her country, which had been brought to the verge of destruction, by the fierce wars with England, as well to win back for religion the freedom and glory of which it had long been deprived.'

Within the last few months yet another advance has been made towards satisfying the pious and patriotic desire of the French clergy and people, and towards raising the Maid to the glory of a canonized saint. In the presence of the Holy Father, and of a large number of Cardinals and other distinguished personages, the Decree of her heroic virtues was read on the feast of the Epiphany of this year. In this Decree it is stated that 'her cause having been tried by most corrupt judges, the innocent virgin was condemned to be burnt, and bravely endured the penalty on the 30th May, 1431, her eyes fixed on the crucifix, her lips pouring forth fervent prayers, praying, too, for the authors of her death.' The Holy Father declares also in the Decree that 'in the case of Joan of Arc, such certain knowledge had been acquired with regard to the theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity, and with respect to the cardinal virtues of prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance, and the like, that it was safe to proceed further, that is, to the discussion of the four miracles.'

The life of Joan of Arc has always possessed a singular charm for men of every race and religion. Thousands of books and pamphlets have been written to extol her virtues and her wondrous deeds; poets innumerable have sung of her in immortal verse; sculptors, painters, dramatists, orators, have vied, one with the other, in setting forth her

sweetness and her heroism, her innocence and her fearlessness. We cannot wonder at it. In the annals of humanity there is hardly a more romantic or a more marvellous story than hers. Simple as a child, her views at the council board were always marked with wisdom, judgment and decision ; knowing nothing of evil, she was pure as an angel amid the easy morals of a court and the dissolute habits of a camp ; retaining all the softness and tenderness of her sex, she was brave as a lion on the field of battle. Her youth, her gentleness of disposition, her patriotism, her piety, her amazing military achievements, her crowning triumph of freeing her country from the yoke of the stranger, the tragic pathos of her death—all these features of her life and character help to form a picture which enthralls and fascinates.

In Ireland, a country not quite unacquainted with the evils of foreign domination, the Maid deserves to be better known than she is. In the little sketch of her life which I here submit, I do not pretend to tell anything that is new nor to say anything old half as well as it has been said a thousand times already. My only desire is to set before the readers of the I. E. RECORD a short and simple account of what she was and what she did. For dates and facts I rely chiefly on a little work, written with loving care and painstaking research, by Petit de Juleville, and published by Victor Lecoffre, Paris, the title being *La Vénérable Jeanne d'Arc.*

Joan of Arc was born in the beginning of the fifteenth century—a period that was full of turmoil both in Church and State. The echoes of recent schisms still troubled the former, while the thunders of war resounded in every nation of Europe. France especially was, at the time, torn to her very vitals by dissension from within and war from without. For more than one hundred years indeed there had been almost constant strife between England and France. The main cause of the trouble would seem to have been the grasping greed of English kings, who, in marrying French princesses, thought much more of the latters' dowries than of their virtues or personal attractions. These dowries frequently took the form of two or three French provinces,

which were made over to the English king and his heirs for ever. The unfortunate people of the transferred territory were, of course, never consulted : yesterday they were the subjects of the French king, to-day they belong to the English monarch. Thus, when Henry II. became King of England in 1154, he received with his dissolute wife Eleanor, the provinces of Poitou, Saintonge and Guienne, while from his father he claimed to inherit Touraine and Anjou, and from his mother, Maine and Normandy.

Naturally the French objected to these little family arrangements, and hence the unceasing wars between the two countries. These wars usually ended by the crushing defeats of the French nationalists. At the time of Joan's birth (6th January, 1412), the kingdom had been reduced to absolute helplessness and despair. The name of England spread terror everywhere. The English forces, with their Burgundian allies, occupied the greater part of the country. By the Treaty of Troyes (A.D. 1420) Henry V. of England became the real ruler of all France, and was to become the nominal sovereign as well, on the death of the imbecile king, Charles VI. In 1420, therefore, the whole country was held in an iron grip from which there was no escaping. The memories of Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, which were still fresh in the people's mind, paralysed the arm that ought to have been lifted against the invader, and froze the heart of the whole nation with terror and despair. In 1424 still another disaster fell on the French arms at Vermeuil, and this filled to overflowing the cup of national bitterness and misery. The people sank down into gloomy apathy, and the spirit of the army was dead. Bedford, the 'regent of France,' thought this a favourable time to subdue the entire country, and he began his campaign by laying siege to Orleans, the gate of the south. That city once captured, there would remain no serious obstacle to the conquest of all France. Orleans, every one knew, could hold out but a short time, and the life of France, as a nation, could now be measured by days.

It is at this supremely critical moment that Joan of Arc, soon to be known as the Maid of Orleans, makes her

first appearance in the world's arena. She is in her seventeenth year ; her simple dress, her bronzed cheeks, her supple wiry form, her unaffected manner proclaim her to be what she is, the daughter of peasant parents. From her early childhood she has been helping her mother in the work of her modest home, occasionally also looking after her father's sheep in the moorlands of Domremy. Up to the age of twelve, she enjoys to the full the innocent pastimes of her child companions ; dancing with them often under the shelter of the 'Fairies' tree ;' after that age she prefers to be alone, and spends her spare moments before the altar of the village church. Her home is a sanctuary of piety and innocence, as well as of simplicity and poverty. She was never sent to school, never learned to read or write, but at her mother's knee she was taught her prayers and the chief doctrines and practices of the Church.

She was somewhat over thirteen years old when the mysterious voices from heaven first sounded in her ears. These voices were to change the entire current of the child's life, and were to transfigure the quiet peasant girl into as brave a warrior and as able a commander as ever wielded a sword or led a forlorn hope to all but impossible victory. At first her visitants from above only exhorted her to be pious and good ; and probably it was on their suggestion that about this time she made a vow of perpetual chastity. Later on they declared plainly that she was chosen by God to relieve the besieged city of Orleans, to restore the throne of France to its rightful owner, and to free the whole country from the rule of the stranger. Like the Virgin of Nazareth, she was filled with alarm at this message, and recoiled with terror from the proposal. She ended, however, by bowing in submission to what she fully believed to be a call from God.

Innumerable obstacles were raised against the execution of her enterprise. She addressed herself first to the governor of Vaucouleurs, telling him of the task that had been imposed on her, and imploring him to enable her to declare her mission to the Dauphin in person. Not very unnaturally the man flouted her as a visionary and a lunatic,

winding up his speech by saying 'she deserved a good flogging at the hands of her parents.' Nothing daunted, she persevered in her application day after day until at last Baudricourt (that was the governor's name), decided to send her to the Dauphin. He provided her with a horse and with a small guard of six men. The journey to Chinon, where the Dauphin then resided, was long and difficult. The route lay chiefly through the enemy's country, and every step had its perils. Joan, however, assured her companions that no mishap should befal them, and the little company, after eleven days' travelling, arrived safely at Chinon, When admitted to the royal presence, she walked straight to the Dauphin, who had purposely disguised himself amongst his knights and courtiers, and kneeling at his feet offered him her homage and her services. 'But I am not the King,' said Charles. 'Before God you are the King and none other,' was the quick reply. She unfolded briefly the purpose of her journey, declaring it to be God's will that the English should be driven out of France and that the King, like his ancestors, should be crowned in Rheims. Some of those present laughed at what they considered an amusing piece of comedy. Some were indignant at the notion of France being saved by a little ignorant peasant girl, others again shook their heads and darkly suspected that the devil was at the bottom of it all. There were a few believers—very few. Amongst these might be reckoned Charles himself. He had hesitated, but his doubts disappeared when the Maid whispered into his ear a secret which was known only to God and himself. He, moreover, saw himself and his country on the very brink of ruin, and he resolved to accept her services in some such spirit as a drowning man will catch at a straw.

Still there were delays when every moment was of infinite value and when Orleans had hardly a crust of bread in its commissariat, and might any day be stormed and captured. Charles, to save himself from a possible charge (such charges were not uncommon in those days) of accepting help from an emissary of Satan, insisted on sending Joan to Poitiers to be examined by a commis-

sion of learned men. Among the examiners were bishops, doctors, and members of parliament. After a very searching inquiry they decided to advise Charles to accept the Maid's services while saying nothing of the truth of her heavenly revelations. Indeed this visit to Poitiers ended in a veritable triumph for Joan. The ladies of the city came in a body to offer her their homages and their sympathy. They were all charmed with her sweetness and grace and modesty. One of them, however, could not forbear observing that it would be more becoming if the Maid had appeared in the dress of her own sex instead of in that of a soldier. The answer reveals why she clung so tenaciously to her military uniform during the rest of her life :—

> I can very well understand why this dress appears strange to you, but since I am to bear arms in the service of the gentle Dauphin I must adopt a soldier's uniform ; and when I am amongst soldiers if I am clad like a man they will forget that I am a woman, and so I shall be better able to guard my virginity both in thought and in deed.

This uniform, it is unnecessary to add, included a short skirt and did not at all resemble the soldiers' dress of the present day.

On her return to Chinon Charles received her with joy, though his chief courtiers and councillors regarded her still with suspicion and jealousy. The King, wishing to equip her fully as a soldier, presented her with a sword as well as other military requisites. The sword she would not accept. There was a sword, she said, buried behind the high altar of the church at St. Catherine de Fierbois, and that was the only weapon she would bear. To the wonder of everybody the sword was found as indicated. It was covered with rust and marked with five crosses. At this time, too, she designed her banner blazoned with lilies, with the names of Jesus and Mary in letters of gold and a picture of the Eternal Father enthroned among the clouds.

The time of action is at last come. Orleans, indeed, can hold out no longer. The gaunt figure of famine appears

both in city and garrison. A sortie from the garrison—the battle of the herrings—results in a disastrous defeat. These events travel to Chinon with the rapidity of bad news. Now is the time to strike—now or never. The Maid knows it. She prays, she implores, she insists ; she must fly at once to the doomed city. She prevails, and is given a little army of 4,000 men. With this army she pierces through the English lines without striking a blow ; and she and her convoy are soon safe within the walls of Orleans. This was on the 30th April, 1429. She entered the city, gracefully seated on a white charger, her white standard borne before her, and the governor of the city riding by her side. Her appearance, needless to say, aroused the liveliest enthusiasm and the cheers of citizen and soldier silenced for a while the thunders of the enemy's artillery. A few days after an attack was made on one of the English forts, and the Maid was soon in the thick of the fight. The English offered a stubborn resistance, but animated by the words and the gestures of the soldier-girl, the French rushed upon the foe with irresistible fury capturing the fort and slaying its defenders. Similar victories followed in rapid succession, Joan being ever foremost in the attack. In one of these assaults, that on the bastille of Les Tourelles, she was severely wounded, an arrow penetrating deep into her bosom. For a moment she was but a girl—the tears burst from her eyes—but the next instant, with a prayer on her lips, she sprang to her feet more daring and resolute than ever. Four days after Joan's first attack, the English became absolutely panic-stricken. Brave as they were, they refused to fight against a supernatural foe, and Suffolk, the commander, was forced to raise the siege. Stung with defeat and shame he fled from the city, which only a week before he believed would soon be the grave of the French nation. Thus was the first part of the Maid's prophecy wondrously fulfilled.

The tide of war now turned completely against the English. In a few days the whole valley of the Loire was cleared of the English garrisons. Jargau was carried by storm, and Suffolk taken prisoner. In a pitched battle Talbot

and his son were slain, and about 4,000 of his followers killed or taken prisoners, while Sir J. Falstaff and his army had to rush to the protection of the walls of Paris from the sword of the unconquerable Maid.

Joan now pressed upon the King to allow her to fulfil, without delay, the second part of her celestial mission—the crowning of his majesty in Rheims. To courtiers and captains the proposal was nothing but mid-summer madness, but Joan prevailed. Charles with his army of 8,000 men marched triumphant through the enemy's country, and the citizens of Rheims flung open their gates to him on the 16th July, 1429. The next day he was solemnly crowned in the Chair of Clovis. During the ceremony the Maid stood by his side, her white banner unfurled, and her soul rapt in prayer and thanksgiving. After the ceremony she sank on her knees at the King's feet, declaring that God's will was now done—Orleans was liberated and the King was crowned.

The simple country girl was not in the least puffed up by seeing herself the central object in this royal pageantry. She attributed everything to the hand of God, and a few days after she expressed the wish (though not to the King or in public, as has often been asserted), that she could now return to her humble home and be of some service to her father and mother. This we have on the authority of Count Dunois. At this period, indeed, the Maid seemed doubtful about the extent of her mission. Now she intimated that she was to perform in the future much greater achievements than she had done in the past ; and now she apparently believed that her mission had closed with the coronation of the King. When she spoke seriously and not lightly, says the witness just referred to, she undoubtedly asserted that she had fully discharged the mandate given to her by God. Whatever view we take of this matter, it is certain that from the moment of the coronation the Maid's star began to wane.

Soon after the ceremony she made the daring proposal to march at once on Paris, strongly garrisoned though it was by an English army with Bedford himself at their

head. As usual the project was flouted as rash to the point of insanity. The King, however, after dangerous delays, gave a cold, faint-hearted assent, and permitted Joan to go before him with a few companies of soldiers. She took Soissons, Senlis, Beauvais, and St. Denis without striking a blow. In attacking the suburb of St. Honoré, she was severely wounded while waving her banner as usual in the thickest of the fight. This discouraged her little army. They hesitated, wavered, retreated. The Maid refused to follow and had to be removed by main force. Full of sorrow and bitterness she raised the siege, and next day laying her arms on the altar of the abbey of St. Denis, she followed the royal army to Gien. Historians are now agreed that if Charles had followed the counsels of Joan he could easily have wrested Paris from his enemies. He was a poor, indolent, faltering creature, unworthy of the noble services that were given him.

The Maid was not discouraged by the first check she had met with in her campaign against the foreigner. We hear of her, very soon after, capturing a convoy of 400 men, as well as some unimportant garrisons that had still held out against the King.

We hasten now to the close of her career as a military commander. About the end of April the voices had warned her that she should be taken prisoner before the 'feast of St. John.' Nothing daunted, she flew on the 24th May to defend Compiegne against the Duke of Burgundy. She had hardly entered the town when she hurried to dislodge the enemy from some points of advantage which he occupied on the left bank of the Oise. She and her small troop of 500 men were overpowered by the besiegers. She ordered a retreat to the citadel, directing herself the rear-guard action. After a while there was a mad rush of both royalists and rebels for the gates, and whether through a desire to save the town or through treachery, the governor ordered the gates to be shut, leaving Joan with one of her brothers and some of her bravest officers in the hands of the enemy.

The remainder of her story, while adding to the brilliance of her fame and her virtues, covers with eternal infamy all

those who were involved in her future fate—friends and enemies, French and English alike. As prisoner of war she was sent from Compiegne to the castle of Beaulieu, and thence after about two months to the castle of Beaurvoir. It was while here that she leaped from the castle walls to escape from the hands of her enemies, and to fly again to the relief of Compiegne. The unsuccessful but daring act was afterwards distorted into a groundless charge of attempted suicide.

According to the laws and usages of war the utmost punishment that could be inflicted on the Maid was imprisonment. The English, however, were determined to have her in their own grasp, and to the disgrace of John of Luxembourg, he sold her to the enemy whom she had so often defeated and humiliated on the battlefield. The price paid would amount in our present money to about £20,000, and it is lamentable to add that the base transaction on the part of the English was carried out by a dignitary of the Church, a man of evil memory, Peter Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais. When the English had been driven out of Beauvais by Joan, this wretched traitor to Church and country, fled with his friends, vowing vengeance against his conqueror. Now he is able to carry out his threats. The vanquished heroine is in the power of her pitiless enemies. The English will not be content with her death ; they will rob her of her honour as well as of her life, and will blacken her memory before committing her to the grave. They cannot, moreover, put her to death because she had fought against them and conquered them. To satisfy their cowardly lust for revenge, they will have her tried by an ecclesiastical tribunal on charges of sorcery, heresy, and impiety of every sort. Cauchon, if not the prime mover, is, at least, the pliant instrument of the foreigner in this infamous proceeding. He is to be the presiding judge ; all his fellow judges are to be creatures of the English faction—most of them in the pay of the English. Bedford, uncle of Henry VI., summons this court in the name of his nephew, the ' King of England and France,'

It held its first meeting in Rouen (whither Joan had been taken) on the 21st February.

To read the authentic report of this trial is to inflict a shock on all our feelings of justice and humanity. In mercy to the reader I pass over the details and refer briefly only to a few of the chief incidents of the cruel tragedy. From her arrival in Rouen until the commencement of the judicial proceedings, Joan was treated with savage barbarity —locked up in a cage both day and night, heavy chains binding her neck and hands and feet. At the commencement of the trial this cruelty was somewhat relaxed, but she was still kept chained in a small cell, with five coarse-featured, coarse-natured Englishmen to guard her, or rather to jeer at and insult her with their ribald jokes.

Cauchon's court, while observing certain legal formalities trampled on every rule of justice and fair play. 'Guilty' was a foregone conclusion. To hesitate, on the part of the judges, was to incur the deadly wrath of their English masters. Warwick during the trial had threatened two of them with instant death, because they had shown some little sympathy with the prisoner. It was clearly stated moreover, that no matter what the verdict, the Maid was to be put to death—the purchasers were to have value for their money.

The trial dragged on for months. The chief charges against the Maid were that she was an emissary of the devil, and a schismatic. Day after day, alone, unaided, friendless, she was examined, riddled, and worried with abstruse and cunningly devised questions, ordered to account for every act and incident of her life—from her childhood dance under the 'fairy tree,' of Domremy, to her 'attemped suicide' in Beaurvoir castle. Thus browbeaten, insulted, threatened with torture and death, she displayed to her judges the same intrepid spirit which she had so often shown to her enemies on the battlefield. The court, however, was determined by every means, fair and foul, to shake her magnificent fortitude, to make her admit that her whole life was an impious lie, and that the 'voices' which she believed were from God, were merely hallucina-

tions, or more likely still, suggestions of the devil. To terrify her into submission, she was led out on the 24th of May to the cemetery at Rouen, in order that she might see plainly the awful consequences of her obstinacy. In the cemetery she was seated on a high scaffold, the stake at which she was to be burned rearing itself menancingly close by.

'Recant or burn,' was shouted into her ears by a raucous clerical voice, while the mob hooted her, and the coward soldiers whom she had chased before her in the battle like hares before the hounds, flung stones at her, and while some few friends with voices choked by tears entreated her to give a formal submission. Confused, harassed. tormented, exhausted in mind and body, broken by sickness and pain and hunger and torture, she whispered as last that she submitted to the 'Church and her judges.' It was always falsely represented to her that the latter represented the former.

Taken back to her cell she was ordered to assume the proper dress of her sex, which she immediately did. Her enemies, meantime, became furious at the result of her 'abjuration,' and swore that their prey should not so escape them. While asleep the dress which she had just begun to wear, was removed and her martial uniform substituted. She either fell into the trap, or wished to abjure her abjuration. She appeared once more clad as a soldier, and immediately there went forth shouts of 'Relapse, Relapse.' 'Away with her, away with her.' 'To the stake, to the stake.' Thirty-seven of her late judges were summoned forthwith to consider the situation, and they were unanimous in handing her over to the secular power—a sentence of death. She implored her persecutors to allow her to receive Holy Communion, and the prayer after some delay was granted in a manner the most surly and grudging—the administering priest being forbidden to use surplice or stole or lights in the discharge of his sacred office.

Fortified with the Bread of the strong the young girl (she is only 19½ years old) faces her terrible doom in the true spirit of the Christian martyr. She has only one favour

to ask as she is bound to the stake—that she may be allowed to hold a crucifix in her hand to the last. On the morning of the 30th May, 1431, she is led by a company of soldiers to the old market-place of Rouen ; there she is denounced as a relapsed sorceress and heretic and left to be further dealt with by the secular arm. John le Botelier, representative of the King of England, does not wait to submit his prisoner even to the formality of a trial or a sentence, but cries at once to the executioners : 'Do your business.' Thousands of the Maid's enemies were gathered from the dawn of morning to gloat over her death throes and to listen to the music of her shrieks as the flames enveloped her. For the honour of humanity it is recorded that those who came to exult went away with tears in their eyes. They could not help seeing, that whatever her guilt, she died like a saint and a martyr, kissing the crucifix, praying for her enemies, the holy name of Jesus on her lips to the last.

All those historians or poets who have written of Joan, have agreed practically as to the blamelessness of her life, the heroism of her character, and the horrible injustice of her death. Indeed Shakespeare and Voltaire seem to share between them the honour of describing her as a wanton, or as the friend and companion of evil spirits. Yet amongst those who admired and extolled her life on the whole, there have been some who discovered many flaws in her character and behaviour. This is not difficult to account for. From the beginning her enemies, to clear themselves of the infamy of her death, endeavoured to tarnish her reputation, and to paint for us a Maid of Orleans that never existed. Historical criticism has now, however, torn away the calumnies which once attached to her memory. By some writers, not consciously unfriendly, she had been portrayed as an Amazon, who exulted in war and bloodshed, and who was happy only amid the clash of arms and the smoke of battle. They represented her, indeed, as one of the fabled Furies of old, with blood-dripping eyes, with a burning torch in one hand and a whip of scorpions in the other. The true Maid of Orleans never lost the sweetness and tenderness of her sex ;

she never struck a blow with sword or lance ; she never shed a drop of blood ; she was as compassionate to the wounded foe, as to her companion in arms struck down by her side. She hated war, but she hated something else still more—the political enslavement of her country.

Nor do we find in the Maid any of that fanaticism with which she has sometimes been charged—fanaticism, say, like that of Cromwell or John Knox. We cannot imagine either of these grim personages descending to a jocose remark or a hearty laugh. Joan never lost the sunny humour or the pretty wit which she had acquired or inherited in her native village. 'I am bringing some "godons" to sup with us to-night,' said she, as she went out to attack an English fort at Orleans. Godon, it may be necessary to explain was the French for Goddamn, and the latter was the nick-name bestowed on the English of the time on account of their constant recourse to the national expletive. A good friar afraid that, possibly, she might be possessed by the devil, approached her once making demonstrative signs of the Cross and sprinkling holy water very liberally all around. 'Oh, don't be afraid,' said Joan laughing, 'I am not going to fly away.' 'What way do these heavenly visitors address you?' asked one of her examiners who spoke in a very broad *patois*. 'Oh, with a much better accent than yours,' was the reply.

From the Maid's own statement I have already said why she wore a military uniform. Though dressed as a man, however, she never did anything to compromise in the least the dignity of her sex. In her expeditions she was always accompanied by her two brothers ; she spent her evenings with woman companions ; though she moved freely through the camp during the day there was always a something about her bearing and manner that insured the respect of even the most forward and reckless of her fellow-soldiers.

Amid the din of war and the frivolities of the court, she never lost that spirit of piety which distinguished her childhood. To God she attributed every success of her life, and after every victory she led her soldiers in solemn

procession to the church to offer thanks to the Lord of hosts. She had a most tender devotion towards our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament ; she loved to receive Him often in the Holy Communion, and that she might be able to do so, she never allowed her confessor to leave her.

As to the heavenly visions and voices that play so large a part in Joan's life, there has been considerable controversy. One thing is certain, that she herself was always thoroughly convinced, that these communications came from God. Looking dispassionately into all the circumstances of her life, it is hard to doubt the supernatural character of the messages spoken to her by St. Michael, St. Margaret, St. Catherine, and other celestial visitors. The Maid herself staked her sincerity, her truthfulness, her very life on the reality of these revelations ; on their authority she uttered prophecies which at the time seemed impossible of fulfilment. She spoke with all the confidence of the Hebrew seers, when she foretold the deliverance of Orleans, the crowning of the King at Rheims, and the speedy expulsion of the English, who at the time were practically the masters of the entire country.

If we take the other view, however, and regard Joan merely as a patriotic enthusiast, who mistook her dreams for divine visions, we shall not admire her less for her glorious deeds in behalf of her country, nor venerate her less for the Christian virtues that shone so brightly in her soul during her entire life.

The women of our nation have not, thank God, been wanting in that love of country, which was the ruling passion of the Maid's life ; like her, not a few of them have stood face to face with the foe in the battlefield. We do not, however, need, and we do not desire woman soldiers. But we do need, and we do desire, and desire very ardently, that the maidens of Ireland should speak and act and live in Joan's spirit of patriotism, and that the matrons of Ireland should instil into their sons and daughters that pure and holy love of country, which the Maid of Orleans ennobled by her life and consecrated by her death.

M. F. SHINNORS, O.M.I.

THE PRIESTLY DIGNITY

'Nec quisquam sumit honorem sed qui vocatur, tamquam Aaron. Tu es sacerdos in æternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech.'—HEB. v. 4-6.

ALTHOUGH the bitterness of animosity against the priesthood in England has of late years in some measure diminished, nevertheless there still remains a certain amount of bigoted suspicion with regard to it. It is hard to kill prejudices which have had a growth of three hundred years and more. Unhappily, even now, in some Catholic countries, the priesthood is regarded by many with contempt and scorn.

The world in these days is so wholly engrossed with material things and material progress, that in its indifference to spiritual things it knows little or nothing of the vast and wonderful world of the supernatural order, in comparison with which the material world is but a plaything. The world, which is the embodiment of 'the concupiscence of the flesh, the concupiscence of the eyes, and the pride of life,'[1] hates the priesthood. But this is nothing new. 'If you had been of the world,' said our Lord to His disciples, 'the world would love its own: but because you are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you. Remember My word that I said to you. The servant is not greater than his master. If they have persecuted Me, they will also persecute you.'[2]

Living in the midst of an atmosphere of religious indifference and unbelief, there is danger, even to priests themselves, of being affected detrimentally by the miasma of irreligious thought which floats around them. Hence it is of the utmost importance that we should recall to mind at times the greatness of the dignity of our priesthood, and be moved by a clearer and a higher appreciation of its privileges strenuously to endeavour to safeguard it, and to carry ourselves so circumspectly before men, that

[1] 1 John iii. 16. [2] John xv. 20.

they may be influenced not only to recognise its dignity, but also to honour it.

To treat adequately of the priestly dignity, the tongue of a seraph would be necessary; for it passes the power of mortal speech to do so. Nevertheless we must make the effort. The Council of Trent, speaking of the priesthood, says that 'our Lord Jesus Christ, being about to ascend from earth to heaven, left His priests His vicars, as rulers and judges.'—'Dominus noster Jesus Christus e terris ascensurus ad cœlos, sacerdotes sui ipsius vicarios reliquit, tanquam presides et judices.'[1] St. Paul also speaks of priests as ambassadors of God. 'For Christ we are ambassadors, God as it were exhorting by us.'[2]

The Catechism of the Council of Trent, also speaking of the dignity of the priesthood, says :—

> For as bishops and priests are as certain intrepreters and heralds of God, who in His name teach men the Divine law and the precepts of life, and are the representatives on earth of God Himself, it is clear that their function is such that none greater can be conceived; wherefore they are justly called not only angels[3] but also gods,[4] holding as they do amongst us, the power and authority of the immortal God. But although they at all times held a most exalted dignity, yet the priests of the New Testament far excel all others in honour; for the power of consecration and offering the Body and Blood of our Lord, and remitting sins, which has been conferred on them, transcends human reason and intelligence, still less can there be found on earth anything equal and like to it.

Blessed John of Avila used to call priests 'shrines of God and mediators of peace between heaven and earth.' The kings of earth are represented by their ambassadors, their plenipotentiaries, their viceroys and lord lieutenants, and all the appurtenances of royalty is thrown around their court, when acting in the name and by the authority of their sovereign. Nevertheless, their jurisdiction and dignity is a passing thing, a shadow and a faint representation of the truly royal dignity and jurisdiction of the eternal priesthood.

[1] Sessio. xiv., c. v. [2] 2 Cor. v. 20. [3] Mal. ii. 7
[4] Psim. xxxi. 6.

St. John Chrysostom says :—

Tell me not of the purple, the diadem and the robes of gold. All these are but shadows and more transient than vernal flowers. 'For all the glory of man,' says the prophet, 'is as the flower of the field.' Tell me not of these things; but if thou wouldst see the difference between priest and king, examine the measure of power conferred on each, and thou wilt see the priest placed much higher than the king. For though the kingly throne seems to us more glorious from the precious stones set in it, and the gold that circles it, yet it is the king's part to administer the things of earth, and beyond this he has no authority whatever; whereas the priestly throne is placed in heaven, and to it has been committed to rule over the things that are there? Who declares this? Even the King of Heaven Himself; 'for whatever,' says He, 'you shall bind on earth, shall be bound also in heaven.' What honour can equal this? Heaven derives from earth the highest office of judgment, since the judge sits on earth; the Lord follows the servant, and whatsoever the latter decides here below, that He approves of above. And intermediate, between God and the nature of man, stands the priest, bringing down from Him unto us heaven's benefits, and bearing thither our petitions, reconciling Him when moved to wrath, to our common nature, and rescuing us, who have offended Him, from His hands.[1]

The priest then being the vicar of Christ, as such is the universal and constant possessor of the great work of redemption. He fulfils the same offices as his divine Master, and acts for Him in all he does. 'Priests,' says St. Paul, 'are the dispensers of the mysteries of God.'[2] As the teacher of the eternal truth, the priest speaks in His name and has therefore been called the light of the world, for truth is light. 'You are the light of the world.'[3] He stands forth in defence and as the model of virtue whose refulgence is reflected in the lives of men, thus fulfilling the injunction of Christ: 'Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works and glorify your Father who is in heaven.'[4] As a physician, he not only heals the death-wounds of the soul, but maintains its health in fulfilment of his divine Master's commission: 'Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, and cast out devils.'[5]

[1] *De Sacerdotio*, T. vi., Hom. v.
[2] 1 Cor. iv. 1.
[3] Matt. v. 14.
[4] Matt. v. 16.
[5] Matt. x. 8.

But, above all, he is the great intercessor with God for man ; the offerer of the sublime sacrifice of the altar, by which the sacrifice of the cross is perpetuated and its merits applied to the needs of a sinful world. As St. Paul says, 'Every high priest taken from men is ordained for men in things that appertain to God, that he may offer up gifts and sacrifices for sins.'[1]

What dignity, then, can be more noble, more graceful, or of higher worth than that bestowed by God upon the priest? Cassian cries out: 'O sacerdos Dei, si altitudinem cœli contemplaris, altior es : si pulchritudinem solis, lunæ et stellarum, pulchrior es ; si Dominorum sublimitatem, sublimior es, solo tuo Creatori inferior es.'—'O priest of God, if thou dost contemplate the height of the heavens, thou art higher still ; if the beauty of the sun, moon and stars, thou art more beautiful still ; if the grandeur of lords, thou art grander still ; to thy Creator alone art thou inferior.' Truly wonderful are the graces which flow into the soul of the priest at his ordination. For, together with sanctifying grace and an indelible character he receives a two-fold power over the mystical body of Christ, which is His Church, and a power, to use a theological or scholastic term, over the natural body of Christ in the Most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist. What wonders do not these two powers reveal. The power over the mystical body of Christ is expressed in the words, 'All power is given to Me in heaven and in earth.' 'Going, therefore, teach ye all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and behold I am with you all days even to the consummation of the world.'[2] 'As the Father hath sent me, I also send you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost, whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them, and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained.'[3] 'Amen, I say to you, whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, shall be bound also in heaven ; and whatsoever you shall loose upon earth,

[1] Heb. v. 1. [2] Matt. xxviii. 18, 19, 20. [3] John xx. 22, 23.

shall be loosed also in heaven.'[1] The power over the natural body of Christ is expressed in the words addressed to the Apostles by their divine Master at His last supper : ' Do this for a commemoration of Me.'[2]

Such are the credentials with which the priest of God goes forth in his Master's name to fulfil his mission to men. To the priesthood is given the power not only of imparting the supernatural life of God to the soul by baptism, but also of conserving that same life, and marvellous to relate, the power of restoring it again when it has been lost by sin. A truly wonderful power ; for if the resurrection of a body to life is a great miracle, how much more wonderful and astonishing a miracle is the restoration to life of a dead soul. Great then is the mystery of power contained in those few words ' Ego te absolvo.' Words which are no sooner pronounced on earth than they are ratified in heaven, and with such wonderful effect, that immediately they are uttered by the priest, the chains of slavery are rent asunder, the forfeited liberty of a child of God is restored, the power of Satan is broken, hell deprived of its victim, and the lost right to the kingdom of heaven once more restored. But the most marvellous thing of all, in this great act of mercy is, that the priest should be permitted to take the lead, and that Almighty God should act as His servant, and humbly wait for the priest's decision as to whether He Himself should absolve or retain. What condescension ! What profound humility on the part of God ! O sublime power of the priesthood ! The angels and archangels, with Michael the leader of the heavenly hosts, and Mary Immaculate, their Queen, may and do, by their prayers, exercise a powerful influence over men to move them to repentant sorrow for sin ; but they cannot absolve them, they cannot restore life to a soul dead in sin. This can alone be done by God and His priest ; for in the ministry of His Church, God and His priest are one. Hence, our Divine Lord, addressing His Apostles, said : ' He that heareth you heareth Me, and he that de-

[1] Matt. xviii. 18. [2] Luke xxii. 13.

spiseth you, despiseth Me.'[1] And by the Prophet Zacharias He says: 'He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of My eye.'[2] Again, in the Psalms: 'Touch ye not My anointed and do no evil to My prophets.'[3]

St. Ephram of Edessa, treating of the priesthood, says: 'The exalted dignity of the priesthood is far above our understanding, and the power of speech. Remission of sins is not given to mortals without the venerable priesthood.'[4] St. Ephræm, the Syrian, cries out: 'Oh! the incredible miracle, the ineffable power, the tremendous mystery of the priesthood! It ascends without hindrance unto the heaven of heavens; it gloriously and easily takes its stand in the midst of the angels and the incorporeal spirits. And why do I say in the midst of the powers above? It becomes the familiar of the Lord of Angels and of the Creator and giver of light. What language shall I use or what words of praise? For the gift of the dignity of the priesthood transcends both language and thought.'[5] Such is the wonderful power which Christ has given to His priests over His mystical body—the kingdom of His Church—over the souls of men

Nevertheless, great and wonderful as this power is, I am bold to say that there is something more wonderful still, and that is the power which the priesthood has received over Christ's own natural body in the Divine Sacrament of the Altar. A power by which the priest is able to consecrate the body and blood of his own Lord and Master. A truly wonderful power, which surpasses the intelligence of the highest angels in heaven, who with reverential awe bow down before this mystery of loving condescension to mortal man. Who can tell what wondrous things take place, when at the solemn words of Consecration, the infinite majesty of the Word Incarnate descends from heaven to lie upon our altars, as a victim of sublime worship, a victim of reparation and expiation, a victim of mercy and atonement, and a victim of adequate thanksgiving for

[1] Luke x. 16. [2] Zach. ii. 8. [3] Ps. civ. 15.
[4] *De Sacerdotio*, T. iii., p. 2. [5] *De Sacerdotio*, T. iii., p. 1, 3.

blessings received ! Great must be the concourse of heavenly spirits who gather together and await the utterance of those marvellous words, and clad in all their bright array of heavenly beauty, hasten to accompany the King of kings, who, in obedience to the voice of His priest, 'leaps down from heaven from His royal throne, as a fierce conqueror in the midst of the land of destruction.'[1] What a blaze of glory must surround the priest and the altar as the celestial courtiers crowd into the sanctuary to do homage to their King and God ! What courtly manners must theirs be, as they move to and fro during the divine celebration ! What hosannas in sweet strains of heavenly harmony must resound through the church, though unheard by us, as they chant forth their hymn of praise to the Lamb that is mystically slain and immolated for the love of ungrateful man.

O priest of God ! how great is your privilege thus to be associated with such honourable, noble, and glorious company, and to be the principal actor in that mystery of God, uttering words of infinite power, words which set heaven and earth astir and do a thing of greater wonder than the creation of the world out of nothing. O priest of God ! forget not your dignity ; nothing on earth has ever been or ever will be greater. Great was the power of Moses when he struck Egypt with the ten plagues, and with a mighty hand led the children of Israel through the Red Sea and through the desert to the Promised Land. Great the power of Joshue, when at his word the sun stood still. Great the power of Elias, when he called down fire from heaven upon his sacrifice. But their power like a shadow disappears before the stupendous reality of that miracle of miracles, which takes place as often as the awful words of Consecration are uttered by the priest in the great sacrifice of the Mass upon which the sun never goes down, for the whole globe is an altar of sacrifice, aglow with the love of the Incarnate Word. 'O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God ! How incom-

[1] Wis. xviii. 15.

prehensible are His judgments and how unsearchable His ways!'[1] 'O veneranda sacerdotium dignitas,' cries out St. Augustine, 'in quorum manibus Dei filius, velut in utero virginis incarnatur.'—'O venerable dignity of priests, in whose hands the Son of God, as in the womb of the virgin, becomes incarnate.'

Let us now listen to St. John Chrysostom, who, treating of the dignity of the priesthood, says:—

The priesthood is, indeed, administered upon earth, but it holds the rank of heavenly functions; and that with the greatest reason. For no mortal man, no angel, no archangel, or other created power, but the Paraclete Himself hath established this order, and hath caused men, that are yet in the flesh, to believe that they shew forth the ministration of angels. He, therefore, that acts as priest must needs be as pure as though he stood in heaven itself, in the midst of those heavenly powers. Fearful and most awful were the things that were before the times of grace . . . but, if one inquires into those that are under the times of grace, he will find those fearful and awful things trifling indeed; and what was said of the law, here indeed true, that even 'that which was glorious was not glorified in this particular, by reason of the glory that excelleth.'[2] For when thou seest the Lord slain and lying there, and the priest standing by the sacrifice, and praying over it, and all present reddened with that precious blood, dost thou still think that thou are amongst men, and standing upon earth, and wilt thou not be at once, translated to heaven, and casting forth from thy soul every carnal thought, gaze around thee on the things that are in heaven, with a naked soul and a pure mind? Oh! the marvel! Oh! the love of God towards man! He that sitteth on high with the Father, is held at that hour, in the hands of all, and He gives Himself to those that desire to embrace and receive Him. But all do this through the eyes of the Faith. Tell me, do these things seem to thee fit to be despised? Wouldst thou also, from another marvel, see the exceeding greatness of this holy rite? Imagine with me Elias before thine eyes, and a countless crowd surrounding him, and the sacrifice lying on the stones, and the Prophet alone in prayer, whilst all the rest are in quietude and profound silence, then, of a sudden, the flame of fire cast down from heaven upon the sacred victim. These things are admirable and wonderful. Then pass thence to the things now consummated, and thou wilt not only see things wonderful but that surpass all wonder. For the priest stands,

[1] Rom. xi. 33. [2] 2 Cor. iii. 10.

not bringing down fire, but the Holy Ghost ; and he makes a long supplication, not that a torch let down from above may consume the things that lie open to view, but that grace lighting on the sacrifice may thereby inflame the souls of all, and show them brighter than silver purified in the fire.

Art thou ignorant that the soul of man could never bear this fire of the sacrifice, but that all would be utterly consumed, were not the aid of the grace of God abundant ? For if one would consider how great a thing it is for a mortal, and one still clothed with flesh and blood, to be enabled to be nigh to that blessed and immortal nature ; he would then see how great honour the grace of the spirit has vouchsafed to priests. . . . But when he also invocates the Holy Ghost, and consummates that most awful sacrifice and touches continually the common Lord of all, in what rank shall we place him, tell me ? How great purity, how great holiness shall we require in him ? For reflect, what hands those ought to be which minister these things ; what tongue that utters those words ! How much more pure and more holy than any, that soul which has received so great a spirit ! At that time, angels stand by the priest, and the whole order of heavenly spirits cries aloud, and the space around the altar is filled in honour of Him who lieth there. And this is, indeed, sufficiently made credible from the very things then celebrated. I once heard a person narrate, that an old man, an admirable person and one accustomed to see revelations, told him that he had, on a certain occasion, such a vision as this vouchsafed him ; and that at this very time of the sacrifice he saw, of a sudden, a multitude of angels, as far as was possible for him, clothed in shining robes and encompassing the altar, and bowing down even as one may see soldiers standing in the presence of their king. And I believe it.[1]

St. Nilus, who was a disciple of St. John Chrysostom, whom he calls the luminary of the great church of Byzantium and of the whole world, says of him, that he being keen-sighted, often saw the house of the Lord, not even deprived, or left for an hour even, by the guardianship of angels, and this especially during the time of the divine and unbloody Sacrifice, a circumstance which he, filled with awe and gladness, narrated privately to his true spiritual friends.

For [he says] when the priest begins to make the holy oblation, many of the blessed powers suddenly descend from heaven,

[1] *De Sacerdotio.*

clothed in bright robes, with their feet bare, with their eyes intent, but with their faces cast down ; moving round the altar with reverence and quietness and silence, they stand around until the completion of the dread mystery ; then scattering themselves throughout the venerable house of God, each of them here and there co-operating, aiding and giving strength to the bishops and priests, and to all the deacons present, who are administering the Body and the precious Blood. These things do I write, that, knowing the fearful nature of the Divine liturgy, you be neither yourselves careless, heedless of the Divine fear, nor suffer others to talk or whisper during the oblation.[1]

I cannot close this paper without giving a few extracts from the life of the Rev. Mother St. Teresa of Jesus, Abbess of the Convent of Poor Clares at Lavaur. Speaking of the priesthood she says :—

What appears to me to be the essence of the greatness of the priest, the groundwork and very substance of sacerdotal grace, is the sublime and Divine union, in which Jesus enters with such a soul, a union so close and intimate that human language can only repeat, the priest is another Christ.

Again, she says :—

The priest is eminently the son of the Most Blessed Trinity. The Father shares with him His Divine paternity, in using his voice to give sacramental being to His Son. The Son makes him the instrument and dispenser of His sacred word. The Holy Ghost communicates to him the fulness of His gifts and lights, His divine love, in order that he may have the power, efficaciously to touch souls, to enlighten them, to guide them safely, to take complete hold of them by Divine love, so as to detach them from earth, to which everything attaches them.

On one occasion she said :—

I was suddenly filled with awe at the sight of the greatness and dignity of the priesthood. I could see that the priest is but an outward appearance, behind which is hidden the sacred Person of God the Son, the Word made Flesh, to continue his life wholly consecrated to God his Father and to souls. The priest is another Jesus Christ, and only two loves ought to consume his life and devour his heart : the love of the glory of the Most Holy Trinity, because of the relationship which he bears to the three adorable Persons ; and love of souls, whom God at the moment of his ordination committed to his hands

[1] Lib. ii., Epis. ccxciv., p. 266.

to be their father, giving him, so to speak, over them power of life and death. It seems to me that the greatest misfortune of the priest is to shew himself too much a man, and not to consider himself, as he is, separated from and elevated above the entire creation, and thus bound to have with it, none but Divine relations. As God is his inheritance, he ought also to be the inheritance of God, the faithful companion of Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament, and the defender of His Divine rights, the unwearied propagator of His honour.

To conclude, let us ever bear in mind that our priesthood is a truly royal priesthood, an eternal and a godlike priesthood. Blessed, then, are those hands which are raised to bless and to absolve, which are lifted up in prayer in that adorable Sacrifice, which, as the *Following of Christ* says, 'honoureth God, rejoiceth the angels, edifieth the Church, helpeth the living, obtaineth rest for the departed, and maketh the priest a partaker of all good things.' And again, 'Oh, how great and honourable is the office of priests, to whom it is given to consecrate with sacred words the Lord of Majesty, to bless Him with their lips, to hold Him in their hands, to receive Him with their own mouths, and to administer Him to others.' Such then, is the priestly dignity, and great is the debt of gratitude we owe to God for having chosen us for it, though most unworthy. Yet alas! how little perhaps have we hitherto appreciated it or understood its sublimity. The consciousness of our unworthiness ought to move us ever to bless the Divine Majesty for so noble a vocation, and for the wonderful privileges of grace attached to it. Well do our angel guardians recognise its nobility, and their care of us is in proportion to their knowledge. St. John Chrysostom tells us that special angels are appointed by God to watch over the bodies of those who communicate frequently, because of the reverence due to them on account of their contact with the Divine flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ. If this be true of the laity, how much more true must it be of priests who communicate every day.

Favoured by God as we have been with such wonderful graces, surely we ought long ago to have been transformed into other men, men all on fire with love for Him

whose vicars we are. Moses from conversing with God on Mount Sinai, came down all radiant with light. St. Francis Borgia and St. Francis Xavier, while celebrating the Divine Mysteries were wont to shed tears of tender devotion, while their countenances shone with celestial beauty, an object of wonder and devotion to all who saw them. Venerable Bede tells us that St. Cuthbert never celebrated without shedding an abundance of tears, and the same may be said of St. Charles Borromeo and St. Philip Neri, and also of other saints. And we who handle the same Lord and minister at the same altar in company of the heavenly spirits, how is it that we are not on fire with divine love, and that our faces do not glow with heavenly light? It may be that our Divine Master hides Himself from us, in consideration of our weakness, but not, we hope, because of our faults. However, let our preparation for the Divine Mysteries and our thanksgiving afterwards, be made with all that care and devotion which their solemnity demands at our hands, and above all let us celebrate with great reverence, and then leave the rest to God.

Nothing grieved Blessed John of Avila so much as seeing any want of reverence on the part of the priest in celebrating Mass. He chanced one morning to observe that a priest, in celebrating, made the sign of the Cross too rapidly over the sacred Host, he could not contain himself, but approaching him quietly, as if to arrange a candle, he said to him, 'My brother, treat Him well, for He is the beloved Son of a good Father.'

Let us then strive to live up to the high standard of our vocation, and never allow ourselves to descend to anything that would bring dishonour on our priesthood. But with minds and hearts uplifted to heaven, to the Father of Light, from whom every best gift and every perfect gift descends, let us labour to attain a more intimate union of heart with Him Who is our great High Priest of the new covenant, and thus bear about with us, wherever we go, the sweet odour of the grace of our priesthood, thereby drawing men to the love of virtue and to the accomplish-

ment of the one end for which God created them. Blessed John of Avila, writing to a young man who asked his advice as to his embracing the priestly office, used these words :—

> Oh, if you knew, dear brother, what a priest ought to be, and how strict an account he will have to render to God on quitting this life! Words cannot express the high perfection requisite for the exercise of the office of opening and shutting heaven with the tongue, and of causing, at a sign of it, the Creator of all things to descend to earth.

If in the Old Law it was especially said to priests, 'Be ye holy, for I the Lord your God am holy,'[1] how much more is sanctity demanded of us. The frequent use of the beautiful prayer in the eleventh chapter of the Fourth Book of the *Imitation* would be fruitful of great spiritual benefit :—

> Let Thy grace, O God Omnipotent, assist us, that we, who have undertaken the sacerdotal office, may be enabled to serve Thee worthily and devotedly, in all purity and with a good conscience. And if we cannot live in so great innocency of life as we ought, grant us still to bewail the sins we have committed, and in the spirit of humility and the purpose of a good will, to serve Thee more fervently for the future.

In conclusion, 'To Him who hath made us a kingdom and priests to God and His Father, to Him be glory and empire for ever and ever. Amen.'[2]

C. J. Canon Keens.

[1] Levit. xix. 2.

[2] Apoc. i. 6.

DOCUMENTS

IMPORTANT STATEMENT OF THE IRISH HIERARCHY

At the meeting of the Irish Hierarchy, held June 22nd, at Maynooth, His Eminence Cardinal Logue presiding, the following important statement on the Education Question and resolutions dealing with other Irish Catholic interests were adopted, and ordered to be published :—

As authoritative statements made recently in Parliament indicate that the Government of the country contemplate serious changes in our systems of primary and secondary education, and as some pronouncements made by individual Catholics would suggest that the gravity of the issues involved and their true nature are not sufficiently understood, we deem it our duty to make the following statement :

That we feel that any limitation or restriction of the control which is now exercised by managers over the schools of the National system of education would be so injurious to the religious interests of our people as to make it imperative on us to resist the introduction of such a measure, and in case it were adopted to reconsider our whole position in relation to those schools.

That as the power of appointment of the teachers in National Schools is the principal guarantee that Catholic parents have that the education of their children will be placed in trustworthy hands, and as the reports of the inspectors of National Schools concur in stating that that power is on the whole well and judiciously employed by the clergy, we are satisfied that on moral and religious grounds, as well as educational, it would be disastrous to interfere with it.

That there is not sufficient reason for the adoption of extreme measures, such as have been recently suggested ; the National system as it actually exists is the growth of sixty years ; it has gradually been transformed from its original irreligious conception into a form that is in harmony with the actual conditions of the country ; it has removed, broadly speaking, all religious strife and contention from the primary schools ; it has been widening year by year, and improving its educational

work, and although there are still many defects, we are convinced that these may be remedied under the present system without convulsing the country, and, perhaps, throwing education back for generations, especially if the appointment of Commissioners is carefully made and on educational qualifications.

If the improvement of education is the object which the Government and those who are behind them have in view, they would first try what simple and obvious reforms, within the existing system, would effect. In a wretchedly poor country, that is drained by excessive taxation and a ruinous land system, it would occur to anyone that wherever parsimony was allowable it was not in dealing with our schools. Yet, at the moment that England is transferring over a million a year from local rates to Imperial taxation for the support of her schools, the Equivalent Grant for this country is refused to our primary schools, on the score that our poor people do not contribute enough locally to their support. In our opinion the primary schools of Ireland, especially in the poorer districts, have the first claim on this Equivalent Grant, which by itself would be sufficient to remove practically all the material defects about which complaint is now being made, and, amongst other things, would render unnecessary the objectionable suggestion of amalgamating boys' and girls' schools in districts where the necessity for such amalgamation does not exist, whether as regards attendance or educational efficiency, but solely to save expense.

Then the waste of £30,000 a year on the Model Schools ought to cease ; the Training Colleges should be helped until they reach the highest point of efficiency ; the salaries of the teachers should be made such as to attract the best and most suitable candidates to the profession. These and other reforms would remove the greater part of the defects which are now the pretexts for attacking ostensibly the present system, but in reality the power of the clergy in the schools.

Statements have been made as to the want of interest on the part of the people in education. We do not think that it is so. The amount of voluntary contributions which they make towards the building of schools, particularly convent and monasteries' schools, towards which, in many instances, the Government makes no building grant, is very large, and all over Ireland it is the uniform experience of managers that the people willingly

contribute whatever is necessary to the up-keep of the schools. There are exceptions, we allow, but they must not be taken as a type of the whole, and for our part we should gladly second any measure to compel such managers to do their duty. In the details of the educational work done in the schools parents do not, as a rule, interfere, from the conviction, which we regard as, on the whole, sensible on their part, that these things are somewhat outside their competence, and can be safely left to the teachers under the supervision of expert inspectors and the immediate control of the managers.

The alternative to the present Board of National Education of a Government Department, subject to the British Parliament, and directed by Government officials, would be most objectionable to the Irish people and to us on religious, political, and educational grounds; and we feel that Mr. John Redmond deserves the thanks of the country for the prompt and decisive action which he took in the House of Commons against this project.

A Department of Education may be well enough in England, where society is socially and politically in a normal condition; but in Ireland it would mean another outwork of Dublin Castle and a further opportunity of practical ascendancy for a favoured sect.

We regard with distrust this new-found zeal for educational reform and the importation of English secularists to propagate their views, and are satisfied that its purpose is not the improvement of our schools, but the elimination from them of the religious influence of the Church. To say the least of it, it is suspicious to see the Chief Secretary, who refuses the great educational reform that nine-tenths of the Irish people earnestly and persistently demand, pressing upon us changes which the country does not ask, and which run counter to all our religious sentiments.

The need of co-ordination amongst the different parts of our educational system is urged as a pressing reason for some fundamental change. No doubt the education of a country must be treated as an organic whole in which all the constituents will mutually sustain and help each other, but we have nothing but amazement for such an argument in the mouth of those who insist on keeping Irish education at its present maimed and helpless state. The first condition of co-ordination is to have

the elements to co-ordinate, but to talk to the Catholics of Ireland about co-ordination in education without any University to complete the system, is pretty much like the organisation of a house without a roof.

Even the limited proposal towards which the Chief Secretary has private and underhand inquiry in progress at the present moment, is utterly impracticable and cannot be entertained by Irish Catholics.

On the Intermediate Board, we have, at any rate, an assurance for the independence of our schools and colleges, and for fair-play and equality for Catholics. We have no intention of exchanging these advantages for the control of a Department. The *personnel* of such a body would be sure to be objectionable. Its Protestant members might be Protestants, but we fear its Catholic members would be chosen to represent Governmental, rather than Catholic interests.

Its officials, too, could not command the confidence of the country, and we should never consent to place our schools and colleges at their mercy.

Then, in relation to the main purposes of co-ordination, the position would be intolerable. While a Protestant pupil in any school might hope to pass from grade to grade until his education was completed in a University, a Catholic pupil finds his career cut short at the school and no University available for him. Probably the fourth Queen's College, which, under the name of a College of Science, is being built in Dublin, will be considered sufficient for all Catholic needs ; while our Protestant fellow-countrymen will have their full share of the advantages of this College and Dublin University, and the Queen's Colleges, besides.

A further and more important question arises as to teachers. A University is the natural source of supply of teachers of secondary and science, if not of all schools. If this Department is set up, while the Catholics of Ireland are left without University education, it will simply be a fresh endowment and establishment of Protestantism, in which the present possibly unavoidable employment of Protestants by the Agricultural Department for practically all its educational work will have to be made a permanent system.

This is a state of things to which we shall never assent, and we have to add that, while we shall continue to do everything

in our power to improve the education of our people, we shall not be induced by specious pretexts to adopt measures that are conceived in an anti-Catholic and an anti-national spirit. The first condition of a radical reform of Irish education is the establishment of a University system that the vast majority of the Irish people will accept. Until that is done we shall regard all this talk about co-ordination and local control and educational progress as insincere and as aimed at lessening clerical, that is, Catholic, influence in the schools rather than at promoting their educational efficiency.

The following resolutions were adopted by their Lordships :—

(1) That the rents drawn by Trinity College out of land in almost every part of Ireland, which, as the outcome of confiscation, have been reserved during three hundred years as a prize for a State-favoured University, are of right the inheritance of the nation at large, and should be devoted, however late in the day, to provide in an effective manner, as far as they can go, for the wants of all the people of Ireland in the domain of higher education.

(2) That the practical exclusion of Catholics and of others who are known to entertain popular sympathies from public offices and employments in the gift of the Government is a flagrant abuse of Governmental power, worthy of the worst days of ascendancy, and has its counterpart in an enormous and most wasteful expenditure out of Irish taxation, to multiply situations for a small section of the community, and afford them good reason for calling themselves the loyal minority.

(3) That whereas, in addition to their endowments for higher and Intermediate education, the great wealth of their Church, amounting to a capital of eight millions, derived originally from the appropriation of Catholic Church property, Irish Protestants have their full share of the State grants for primary, Intermediate, industrial school, and technical education, it is intolerable that the efforts of our poor people to rebuild their churches, support their clergy, and make some provision for the better education of their children should be travestied by the champions of an arrogant minority or their allies ; and we are strongly of opinion that the more attention that is concentrated on this question the more will the public in these countries marvel at the slender resources on which the Church of the nation does its work for

the great bulk of the people, and the huge endowments that remain to the Church of the few.

(4) That while we ask no consideration for Catholics that we do not desire for all others in regard to State or company or business employment, and while we utterly repudiate the idea of excluding Protestants or anyone else from any position to which they are entitled on their merits, we consider that the utterly indefensible state of things to which attention is called in the foregoing resolutions is so discouraging to our people, so fatal to effort and enterprise, and consequently so ruinous to the country as a whole, that we think the attention of the public men and the Press of the country, and the full force of enlightened public opinion should be concentrated upon it until the monopolists are compelled to stand on exactly the same footing as the rest of their fellow-countrymen in public opportunities and advantages.

✠ Michael Cardinal Logue, *Chairman.*
✠ Richard Alphonsus,
Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.
✠ John,
Bishop of Elphin.
} *Secretaries.*

THE THIRD ORDER OF THE MOST HOLY TRINITY

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE EPISCOPORUM ET REGULARIUM.

ORD. EXCALC. SSMAE. TRINITATIS.

SORORES TRINITARIAE, HABITUM CAERULEUM EXTERIUS, ET TUNICAM CUM SCAPULARI ORDINIS INTERIUS GESTANTES, COOPTARI ET AGGREGARI POSSUNT TERTIO ORDINI SS. TRINITATIS.

Beatissime Pater :

Fr. Stephanus a Pmo Corde Mariae, Procurator Generalis Ordinis Excalceatorum R. C., ad S. V. pedes humiliter provolutus exponit : Institutum Sororum Trinitariarum existit Matriti in Hispania, cuius finis est, foeminas puellas vitiorum coeno immersas vel certe magno praecipites in peccata labendi periculo expositas colligendi atque omnimode instruendi. Nomen mutuatae sunt a praefato Ordine SSmae. Trinitatis, cuius finis primaevus fuit captivorum, quorum fides vel mores periclitabantur, redemptio. Cum igitur praedictae sorores non solum idem nomen, sed et similem finem ac praefatus Ordo habeant,

huic aggregari maxime peroptant. Superiores Ordinis ancipites haerent utrum id ipsis praestare liceat, eo quod praedictae Sorores habitum caerulei coloris gestent et non proprium Ordinis, qui albus est cum scapulari, cruce rubei ac caerulei coloris insignito. S. C. Episcoporum et Regularium, quum de adprobatione constitutionum ageretur, habitu Ordinis SSmae. Trinitatis eas uti debere iniunxit, ast cum dictae Sorores ex fine sui Instituti pluries e domo egredi debeant, et habitus Ordinis proprius facile adstantium oculos percellat, rogaverunt praedictam S. Congregationem, ut eas hac in re dispensare dignaretur. Responso autem accepto : *Ad Episcopum*, huius venia habitum caeruleum ut prius, gestant. Praedictae Sorores instantissime ac iterato a superioribus petunt praefatam aggregationem, promittentes se interius tunica alba et scapulari Ordinis continuo incessuras. His expositis praefatus Procurator sequentis dubii solutionem enixe rogat, nempe :

Utrum praefatae Sorores Trinitariae habitum caeruleum exterius, et tunicam albam cum scapulari Ordinis interius gestantes, Tertio Ordini SSmae. Trinitatis cooptari et aggregari a Superioribus possint ; vel an ad id licite faciendum necessarium omnino sit ut saltem domi habitum Ordinis proprium etiam exterius portent.

Et Deus etc.

Sacra Congregatio Emorum. et Rmorum. S.R.E. Cardinalium negotiis et consultationibus Episcoporum et Regularium praeposita, omnibus mature perpensis, proposito dubio respondendum censuit, prout respondet : '*Affirmative ad primam partem ; ad secundam provisum in* I^a.'

Romae, 18 Martii 1904.

L. ✠ S.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praef.*
PH. GIUSTINI, *Secret.*

MATRIMONIAL DISPENSATIONS

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE.

CONCEDITUR INDULTUM CIRCA DISPENSATIONEM IMPEDIMENTI MIXTAE RELIGIONIS, URGENTE MORTIS PERICULO.

Beatissime Pater :

Infrascriptus, Ordinarius Dioecesis Argentinensis, ad Sanctitatis Vestrae pedes provolutus, humillime quae sequuntur exponit :

Per Decreta S. R. et U. Inquisitionis dierum 20 Februarii 1888 et 1 Martii 1889 Sanctitas Vestra benigne facultatem fecit Ordinariis, parochis communicabilem, etiam per habitualem subdelegationem, qua, urgente mortis periculo, dispensare valeant cum iis qui iuxta leges civiles sunt coniuncti, aut alias in concubinatu vivunt, super impedimentis, excepto S. Presbyteratus Ordine et affinitate lineae rectae ex copula licita proveniente.

Verum, cum non sit parvus numerus matrimoniorum mixtorum, quae, spretis Ecclesiae legibus, coram solo magistratu civili vel coram ministello quoque acatholico attentantur, neque raro eveniat ut pars catholica cum parte acatholica in concubinatu vivat, infrascriptus Ordinarius humillime rogat, ut facultas, parochis quoque, etiam per habitualem subdelegationem communicabilis, sibi benigne tribuatur, qua, urgente mortis periculo, super impedimento mixtae religionis dispensare valeat cum iis catholicis qui iuxta leges civiles vel coram ministello quoque acatholico cum parte acatholica sunt coniuncti, aut alias cum parte acatholica concubinatu vivunt.

Insuper idem Ordinarius humillime postulat facultatem, parochis quoque communicabilem, etiam per habitualem subdelegationem, qua, urgente mortis periculo, cumulare valeat indultum quod petitur, cum supramemorato indulto diei 20 Februarii 1888 et 1 Martii 1889, quando praeter impedimentum mixtae religionis alia adsunt impedimenta, de quibus supra, ut morituri in tanta temporis angustia in facie Ecclesiae rite copulari et propriae conscientiae consulere valeant. Et Deus.

Feria V, loco IV, die 10 *Decembris* 1903.

SSmus. D. N. Pius divina providentia Papa X in audientia R. P. D. Adsessori S. Officii impertita, habita relatione suprascripti supplicis libelli, necnon auditis Emorum. Patrum suffragiis, benigne annuit pro gratia iuxta preces, exclusis tamen impedimentis de quibus in citatis decretis annorum 1888-1889, ac servatis servandis. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

J. Can. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inq. Not.*

ADMISSION TO SOLEMN VOWS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE EPISCOPORUM ET REGULARIUM.

DE ADMISSIONE AD VOTA SOLEMNIA.

Nomine plurium Superiorum Regularium S. Congregationi

proponitur dubium circa admissionem ad vota solemnia, triennio nondum expleto. Cum de iure communi Superior ante admissionem candidati ad vota solemnia, expleto triennio debeat exquirere votum Capituli mere consultivum, nequaquam decisivum (quod Capitulo convenit solum quoad admissionem ad vota simplicia), quaeritur circa triennium nondum expletum, sed Apostolica dispensatione abbreviatum :

I. *Utrum ob temporis abbreviationem per dispensationem Apostolicam, votum consultivum Capituli transmutetur in decisivum ?*

II. *Utrum Superior debeat exquirere votum Capituli (sive consultivum sive decisivum), antequam supplicatur pro gratia, vel ipsa obtenta ?*

III. *Utrum standum sit praxi communiori, iuxta quam Superior ante expostulationem dispensationis exquirit votum Capituli mere consultivum, adnotando tamen in ipsa supplicatione, quale fuerit iudicium Capituli circa personam candidati quin postea, obtenta S. Sedis dispensatione, alterum votum expostulet ?*

Sacra Congregatio Eminentissimorum et Reverendissimorum S. Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalium negotiis et consultationibus Episcoporum et Regularium praeposita, omnibus mature perpensis, ad proposita dubia respondit :

Ad I^um^ et II^um^ : *Providebitur in Tertio.*

Ad III^um^ : *Affirmative.*

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis die 26 Ianuarii 1903.

DOMINICUS Card. FERRATA, *Praefectus.*
PH. GIUSTINI, *Secretarius.*

L. ✠ S.

THE USE OF THE VERNACULAR IN CERTAIN RELIGIOUS FUNCTIONS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM.

CIRCA USUM LINGUAE VERNACULAE IN NONNULLIS SACRIS FUNCTIONIBUS.

Rmus. Dominus Petrus Zamburlini, Archiepiscopus Utinensis, Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi ea quae sequuntur, pro opportuna declaratione, reverenter exposuit ; nimirum :

In extrema parte orientali Archidioeceseos Utinensis sunt paroeciae quae in toto vel in parte constant ex incolis sermonem

linguae slavicae affinem habentibus. In duabus ex his viget immemorialis consuetudo feria VI in Parasceve Passionem Domini lingua slavica vulgari cantandi dum celebrans eamdem latine recitat. Insuper in eisdem aliisque paroeciis supradictis a viginti circiter annis atque opera sacerdotum agitationi panslavisticae adhaerentium, paulatim inducta est lingua slavica vulgaris in quasdam liturgicas functiones. Hinc idem Rmus. Archiepiscopus, ut huic huiusmodi functiones recte peragantur, expostulavit :

I. Num cantari liceat Passio Domini Feria VI in Parasceve lingua vernacula in duabus praefatis paroeciis, attenta consuetudine immemorabili ?

II. An cantari possint in lingua vulgari hymnus *Tantum ergo*, *Genitori* et Latiniae Lauretanae, exposito SSmo. Sacramento ?

III. An adhiberi possit idioma vernaculum in administratione communionis extra Missam ?

IV. Et in administratione baptismi ?

V. Et tandem in precibus a Summis Pontificibus Missa finita praescriptis ?

Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisita sententia alterius ex suis Consultoribus et Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque sedulo perpensis rescribendum censuit :

Ad I. *Negative* et ad mentem. Mens est : Responsio negativa respicit tam Missam lectam quam cantatam, et Rmus. Archiepiscopus Utinensis curet pro sua prudentia removere abusum ubi invaluit et impedire quominus alibi introducatur.

Ad II. *Negative* et serventur Decr. N. 3496 *Praefecturae Apostolicae de Madagascar* 21 Iunii 1879 ad I ; N. 3530 *Neapolitana* 23 Martii 1881 ; et N. 3537 *Leavenworthien.* 27 Februarii 1882 ad III.

Ad III. *Negative*, iuxta Decretum N. 2725 *Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum Provinciae Helveticae* 23 Maii 1835, ad V.

Ad IV. *Affirmative* quoad quaestiones et responsa patrini vel matrinae, si eadem a parocho prius sermone latino recitentur.

Ad V. *Affirmative*, dummodo versio sit fidelis et ab Ordinario approbata.

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 5 Martii 1904.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

POPE LEO XIII. CONGRATULATES THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEBEC

LEO XIII CONGAUDET DE QUINQUAGENARIA MEMORIA CONDITAE QUEBECI LAVALLIANAE UNIVERSITATIS, IPSIQUE LAETIORA IN DIES INCREMENTA ADPRECATUR.

EPISTOLA VENERABILI FRATRI LUDOVICO NAZARIO, ARCHIEPISCOPO QUEBECENSI, MAGNO CANCELLARIO UNIVERSITATIS STUDIORUM LAVALLIANAE.

LEO PP. XIII.

Venerabilis Frater, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Libenter sane abs te cognovimus de isto, cui praesides, Lyceo magno, annum propediem completum iri quinquagesimum, postquam est feliciter conditum : simulque fore ut id eventum, te quidem praeeunte ac tuis istic in Episcopatu collegis, curantibus autem qui ex illa disciplina sunt profecti, illustribus laetitiae significationibus celebretur. Compertum Nobis est, quantum in nobili studiorum optimorum domicilio insit momenti ad rem catholicam istic tuendam. Quare dignum esse atque ad bona incepta urgenda in primis utile intelligimus commemorari, quemadmodum necessario apud vos tempore id institutum initia ceperit, quibus adiutoribus deinceps creverit, quas in commune utilitates hoc toto spatio, favente Deo, attulerit. Quo in genere ob egregia promerita singularem quamdam deberi laudem novimus Seminario Quebecensi ; in quo spirare etiamnum videtur salutaris industria Auctoris sui, viri immortali memoria dignissimi, cuius propterea nomen iure isti adhaeret Lyceo. Sed illud Nobis est, ut debet, periucundum, quod Sedis Apostolicae praecipue vos et sollertem in hac etiam caussa providentiam memor eum gratia recolitis, et maternae exhortationis vocem ad cumulandum istius faustitatis fructum expetitis. Nos certe non secus ac decessor Noster illustris, Lavallianum Institutum studio omni benevolentiaque prosequi nunquam destitimus. Consuevimus etiam eximiam vestram suscipere vel diligentiam vel praescriptionum Nostrarum observantiam, ut in eo tum litterarum et artium elegantia floreret, tum graviorum disciplinarum sana praeceptio. In quo placet admodum, praecipuae vobis curae esse adolescentes sacri ordinis, nimirum ut tales existant, quales ad haec tempora pernecesse est esse probe a doctrinis instructos et munitos. Quod autem te, Venerabilis Frater, significasti

velle, non clericos modo, verum laicos etiam, tum alumnos tum praeter alumnorum numerum edoceri ius Ecclesiae publicum, valde hoc tuum Nobis probatur consilium. Siquidem habebunt inde catholici homines prompta et parata arma ad defendendam, quam vident ubique in discrimen adductam, libertatem dignitatemque Ecclesiae.—Itaque in navitatem sedulitatemque vestram comprobatio rectius Nostra quam cohortatio convenit : nec vero dubitamus, quin pariter elaboraturi sitis in posterum, atque adhuc fecistis. Restat ut catholicorum opes, quod vehementer cupimus, vobis suffragari pergant : hoc persuaso, incrementa Lycei magni Lavalliani quam maxime esse cum Ecclesiae Canadensis utilitatibus coniuncta. Auspicem divinorum munerum et singularis benevolentiae Nostrae testem tibi, Venerabilis Frater, caeterisque Episcopis collegis tuis, item moderatoribus Lycei magni, doctoribus decurialibus, alumnisque universis Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die VII Iunii MDCCCCII, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo quinto.

LEO PP. XIII.

POPE LEO XIII. PRAISES THE ZEAL OF THE BAVARIAN BISHOPS

LEO XIII EPORUM BAVARIAE SOLLICITUDINEM LAUDE PROSEQUITUR.

EPISTOLA VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS, FRANCISCO IOSEPHO ARCHIEPISCOPO MONACENSI ET FRISINGENSI CAETERISQUE BAVARIAE EPISCOPIS, MONACHIUM.

LEO PP. XIII.

Venerabiles Fratres, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Bavariae episcopos, quemadmodum semper novimus suae ipsorum Ecclesiae vehementer sollicitos, ita etiam amoris ac venerationis laude adversus Apostolicam Sedem maiorem in modum instructos reperimus. Quae animorum vestrorum praeclara ornamenta, si nullo non tempore sunt patefacta, hisce tamen diebus mirifice colluxerunt, quum per eam sensuum significationem fuerint relata atque expressa quam, e conventu vos discessuri Eystadii habito, exhibendam Nobis duxistis. Nimirum celebritas haec Iubilaei Nostri Pontificalis, perrara illa quidem maiorisque idcirco laetitiae procreatrix, mentes vestras tenet admiratione affectas et gaudio, easque ad gratias

Deo persolvendas atque ad eximia nuncupanda vota compellit. Sed enim illud quoque gaudium studia vestra praesenserunt, quod comparari iam a benignissimo Deo animo Nostro videtur, ob episcopatus annos auctos Nobis tali dierum accessione, quam expectare nemo aut praecipere potuit. Quod si nova atque ampliora divinae dilectionis indicia Nos manent, haec sane summa Dei Providentia largiatur, at Ecclesiae bono vertat eadem fideliumque solatio. Dum autem lectissima quaeque munera enixe vobis a Domino adprecamur, memoria vos et gratia prosequi non desinimus, qui, pietate demonstrata, clarum etiam ac iucundissimum Nobis obsequium praestitistis. Auspex vero divinorum donorum sit Apostolica benedictio, quam unicuique vestrum, iisque omnibus qui in Bavariae regno praesunt vel parent, peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die V Maii MDCCCCII, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo quinto.

LEO PP. XIII.

THE BENEDICTINES OF BRASIL

TRANSLATIO SEDIS ABBATIS GENERALIS CONGREGATIONIS BRASILIENSIS ORDINIS S. BENEDICTI, AB ABBATIA S. SEBASTIANI BAHIAE AD ABBATIAM B. M. V. MONTISSERRATI FLUMINIS JANUARII

LEO PP. XIII.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

Singulare studium ac paterna charitas, qua Catholicam Brasiliensem nationem Sancta haec Apostolica Sedes prosequitur, Nos admonet, ut in ea summopere curas cogitationesque Nostras intendamus, quae pertinet ad veterum religiosorum Ordinum instaurationem, ex quibus ipsa respublica tot tantaque jugiter emolumenta nacta est.

Quoad vero Ordinem S. Benedicti, quo non alter vetustate clarior ac doctrina, Nos votis annuentes Capituli Gen. anno MDCCCLXXXX Bahiae rite habiti, dilecto filio Dominico a Transfiguratione Machado Abbati Generali ipsius Congregationis Benedictinae Brasiliensis, necessaria atque opportuna subsidia ultro suppeditavimus, quibus eadem Congregatio ad pristinum decus ac florem revocaretur. Et iucundum quidem nuntium accepimus, quatuor ex antiquis Benedictini Ordinis in Brasilia Abbatiis, Olindae scilicet, Bahiae, S. Pauli et Beatae M. V. de

Gratia, iam ad regularem disciplinam iterum adductas, ferventi religiosa familia laetari ; novamque conditam fuisse in honorem S. Crucis in Statu de '*Ceará*' nuncupato, magno cum plausu voti compotum civium, qui Conlegium pro liberis instituendis iamdiu exoptabant ; insuper Abbatiam S. Andreae in Belgio instauratam fuisse ut Congregationi Brasiliensi Ordinis S. Benedicti in perpetuum cedat auxilium ; neque Nos latet aliquot iam Brasilienses adolescentes sese Benedictino Ordini mancipasse ut iterum in patria terra antiqua et venerabilis Congregatio renovato cultu floreret. Felicis autem faustique huius eventus laus, de Abbatem Generalem supradictum spectat potissimum, qui ta impensum studium, et actuosam sedulitatem et acris ingenii vires in Benedictinae Brasiliensis familiae instaurationem naviter posuit.

Quo meritis praemium ferret, illum donec vivat Abbatis Generalis titulo auximus ; nunc vero ut idem dilectus filius, atque universa simul Benedictina Brasiliensis Congregatio novum sortiatur et singulare Pontificea benevolentiae pignus, ut magis incremento ac prosperitati Ordinis illius, eadem in regione, Nos prospiciamus, haec quae infrascripta sunt statuimus, edicimus, mandamus. Nimirum omnes et singulos quibus Nostrae hae Litterae favent, peculiari benevolentia complectentes et a quibusvis excommunicationis et interdicti, aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris et poenis si quas forte incurrerint, huius tantum rei gratia absolventes et absolutos fore censentes, collatis consiliis cum VV. FF. NN. S. R. E. Cardinalibus Congregationi negotiis et consultationibus Episcoporum et Regularium expediendis praepositis, omnibus rei momentis attente perpensis, Motu proprio, ac ex certa scientia et matura deliberatione Nostris, deque Apostolicae Nostrae potestatis plenitudine, praesentium vi, Sedem Abbatis Generalis Congregationis enunciati Ordinis S. Benedicti in Brasilia constitutae, a Monasterio S. Sebastiani de Bahia ad Monasterium B. Mariae Virginis Montisserrati, vulgo S. Benedicti, Fluminis Januarii, transferimus ac translatam esse declaramus. Oportet enim quo facilius Congregationis universae regimen gerat, Abbatem Generalem penes civilis gubernii et Apostolicae Nunciaturae Sedem commorari ; et summopere decet in ipso intellectuali magnae Brasiliensis nationis centro, Ordinem scientiarum ac literarum laude clarissimum principem sedem habere.

Praeterea auctoritate similiter Nostra, dilectum filium Domi-

nicum a Transfiguratione Machado, Congregationis Brasiliensis Abbatem Generalem et huc usque Abbatem S. Sebastiani de Bahia, ab omni vinculo, quatenus opus sit, solventes, ad abbatiam transferimus B. Mariae Virginis Montisserrati civitatis Fluminis Januarii, sed volumus ut ipsam priorem S. Sebastiani de Bahia Abbatiam retineat in administrationem Apostolicam, facta illi insuper venia attenta dignitate primatialis Sedis Bahianae,cuius Praesul Benedictinum Ordinem speciali benevolentia prosequitur, in utraque ex dictis Abbatiis pro suo arbitrio residendi.

Exinde spem fovemus prope certam futurum ut idem Generalis Abbas memoratam Fluminis Januarii Abbatiam, prout iam illam Bahiae, instauret, atque ad pristinum decus restituat et Conlegium optime de iuvenum illius principis civitatis institutione meritum amplificet, et cum monachorum numerus id sinat, partem monasterii illius reddituum eroget ad indigenarum silvestrium evangelizationem, ita ut qui in tenebris et in umbra mortis adhuc sedent, cura monachorum Ordinis Benedictini ad christianae veritatis lumen adducantur, et ad patriae Brasiliensis prosperitatem etiam ipsi in posterum concurrant.

Porro haec concedimus decernentes praesentes Litteras firmas, validas et efficaces semper existere et fore, suosque plenarios te integros effectus sortiri et obtinere, ac illis ad quos spectat et pro tempore quomodolibet spectabit, in omnibus et per omnia plenissime suffragari, sicque in praemissis per quoscumque iudices ordinarios et delegatos iudicari et definiri debere, atque irritum esse et inane si secus super his a quoquam quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari. Non obstantibus contrariis quibuscumque.

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris die XXVIII Novembris MDCCCCII, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vigesimoquinto

ALOIS. Card. MACCHI.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

DISSERTATIO HISTORICO-THEOLOGICA DE LAPSU ET PECCATO ORIGINALI: Quam ad Lauream Consequendam in Collegio S. Patricii apud Manutiam Scripsit ac cum Subjectis Thesibus Publice Propugnavit Patricius J. Toner, Presbyter Dioecesis Armacanae. Dublini: Browne et Nolan, Ltd., Nassau-st. 1904. Price, 2s.

THIS is the tractate which the author recently submitted as part of the examination for the degree of Doctor of Divinity at Maynooth. It deals principally with the development of doctrine as to the nature and the effects of original sin, touching lightly on exposition, and more lightly still on what may be called philosophical as distinguished from historical defence. From the titles of the various chapters and the numbers of pages devoted to each, intending purchasers can form a pretty accurate notion of the nature and scope of the work.

After the Proemium (pp. 1-4) there is an introductory chapter (Cap. I., pp. 4-6), 'De doctriina S. Scripturae.' The work is then divided into two Sections, of which the first treats of the development of the doctrine of original sin down to the death of St. Augustine, and in particular during the controversy which he conducted with the Pelagians; while the second deals with the further development that has taken place since Augustine's time.

Section I. (pp. 6-67) comprises three chapters, in the following order :—II. 'De doctrina Patrum primorum quatuor Saeculorum' (pp. 7-28) :—§ i. 'De affirmatione lapsus et peccati originalis' (pp. 7-20) ; § ii. 'De notione lapsus et peccati originalis' (pp. 20-28) ; III. 'De controversia pelagiana' (pp.28-35) IV. 'De doctrina S. Augustini' (pp. 36-67):—§ i. 'Ante controversiam pelagianam' (pp. 36-40) ; § ii. 'De defensione doctrinae catholicae' (pp. 40-44); § iii. 'De essentia et propagatione peccati originalis' (pp. 45-56) ; § iv. 'De effectibus peccati originalis' (pp. 56-63) ; § 5 'Conclusio : crisis' (pp. 63-67).

Section II., dealing with the development of the doctrine after the death of St. Augustine (pp. 67-148), comprises five chapters :—V. 'De doctrina catholica' (pp. 68-71) ; VI. 'De innocentiae statu et de lapsu' (pp. 72-77) ; VII. 'De essentia

peccati originalis' (pp. 78-110):—§ i. (Doctrine of St. Anselm as opposed to that of St. Augustine, pp. 78-95); § ii. (distinction of material and formal constituents in original sin, pp. 96-102); § iii. (development of the doctrine of St. Anselm, pp. 102-110): VIII. 'De propagatione peccati originalis' (pp. 110-124): IX. 'De effectibus peccati originalis' (125-148):—§ i. 'In hac vita praesenti' (pp. 125-134); § ii. 'In vita fufura' (pp. 135-148).

The treatment of the entire subject shows very extensive and careful reading and an intimate acquaintance with the works of St. Augustine and of the early schoolmen. The book comes from the mint of a strong and original mind; the author has not borrowed either his citations or his conclusions from others, but has gone straight to the original sources. Such a work, from the pen of one who has many years before him, gives promise of others of great value, in a department to which in recent times Protestant theologians have given much more attention than Catholics.

Of the questions raised and discussed by Dr. Toner, three were to me of especial interest: the teaching of St. Augustine as to the sinfulness of concupiscence; the distinction introduced later, between the material and the formal constituent of original sin; and the very curious history of the controversy as to the efficacy of original sin (1) to deprive adults of all right to the means necessary to avoid personal sins of a grievous kind, and (2) to deprive of natural happiness those who die in infancy.

I was surprised to find that so much could be said in support of the contention of the Jansenists, that their teaching as to the sinfulness of concupiscence is derived from St. Augustine; and I should like to see the evidence set forth by Dr. Toner sifted by some one as well acquainted as he is with the works of St. Augustine. The evidence, as submitted by him, looks conclusive; the same may be said of the passages which he quotes from St. Thomas and his early interpreters—down, indeed, to the authors of the Salamanca course—in proof of the contention that concupiscence was regarded by all those theologians as an intrinsic constituent—the material element—of original sin.

It will, I have no doubt, come as an equal surprise to most of those who have been content with the ordinary modern treatises on grace, to find it stated (p. 65) that 'Augustinus nullo modo favet hypothesi purae naturae.' The evidence

which Dr. Toner submits in proof of this is very strong ; but one would like to see it also sifted by an expert.

This introduces the question as to the effects of original sin. Every theologian is more or less familiar with the formula 'vulneratus in naturalibus, spoliatus gratuitis,' and the controversy as to the nature of the wound to which reference is made ; but the history of the controversy has an interest of its own. Dr. Toner's account is full and impartial, and the writer of this notice is pleased to find that the somewhat severe view which he, influenced by intrinsic evidence, has advocated for some time, is so moderate as compared to what was at one time the Catholic tradition. This reminds me that in this little book of Dr. Toner's we have plentiful illustration of the freedom with which theologians gave up the traditional teaching of the schools, when they found that it conflicted with principles which, for one reason or another, came to be regarded as certain or practically certain.

I have found Dr. Toner's book decidedly stimulating,—perhaps because I have been interested for some time in the philosophical aspect of the question of original sin. I like the book particularly for its originality, its manliness, and withal its modesty ; and regret only that, owing to the conditions of its production, it has been written in Latin. An author endowed with Dr. Toner's gifts is not likely to produce books such as appeal to any wide circle of readers ; I hope, however, that those which he is pretty sure to give us in future, will be written in English, and thereby be made accessible to a greater number—not only of Catholics, but of those who are without the fold.

W. McD.

THE OLD RIDDLE AND THE NEWEST ANSWER. By John Gerard, S.J., F.L.S. London ; Longmans, Green & Co. 1904. Price 5s. nett.

THIS is the latest work from the pen of Father Gerard on the subject of Evolution. In it he insists mainly on two ideas—first, that whatever light Physical Science may cast upon the workings of Nature, there will still remain the fundamental question of the origin of Nature and its laws ; and, secondly, that Evolution—at least, Darwinian Evolution—is not only insufficient to solve that question, but is not even a solidly

based hypothesis. With regard to the first point, it is a matter for deep surprise that able men should seek to find in Physical Science the ultimate explanation of the Universe. At our present stage of progress it would seem sufficiently clear that the most Science can do is accurately to investigate and determine the nature and activities of matter. In other words, Physical Science pre-supposes a material order of things in existence; it scrutinises this, thereby furnishing the metaphysician with *data* upon which to base an argument as to how things came into existence; but it should be remembered that such philosophising upon the findings of Science is metaphysics, and cannot be classed amongst the conclusions of Science. Physical Science, in so far as it deserves the name, deals with facts that come within the scope of observation and experiment. 'The origin and nature of matter and force,' to quote Father Gerard, 'the source of motion of life, of sensation and consciousness, of rational intelligence and language of Free-will, of the reign of law and order to which all Nature testifies—all these are for Science utterly unsolved problems, which, as some amongst her teachers tell us, must ever remain insoluble.' The author insists strongly upon the indications of purpose to be found in the wonderful mechanism of Nature, especially in such delicate organs as the eye and ear: objects which are altogether inexplicable upon ordinary principles of common sense, except on the supposition of an external, intelligent cause, directing and marshalling the operations of Nature towards a definite end.

In the latter part of the book Father Gerard deals with the question of Evolution. Here his position is that of the ordinary Catholic theologian,—if Evolution can be proved there is no reason why we should hesitate to accept it. But attractive and fascinating though the theory of Evolution certainly is, it has not been proved. Genetic Evolution upon the Darwinian principle of Natural Selection is effectually negatived by the evidence of the strata. Here it is found that quite a number of distinct species appear simultaneously at various epochs of geological time, without any traces of common ancestry; and what is more significant, they appear, not as generalized types of future species, but with organisms as highly specialised as that of their remote descendants. It is rather a pity that Father Gerard devoted so much space to the refutation of the

Darwinian system: a system in defence of which little can be urged except possibilities and personal convictions. We should have welcomed some discussion of the theory of Evolution by leaps, in favour of which some very striking analogies are to be found in inorganic nature. Even here, however, the testimony of observation and experience is altogether adverse.

In the present volume Father Gerard has not broken much new ground. The case for or against Evolution has not been notably modified within recent years. Yet the book is thoroughly up to date, and notices such subjects as the effects of the revelations of radium upon our present ideas of the constitution of matter. Perhaps the most interesting chapter in the book is the author's discussion of the supposed pedigree of the horse: a pedigree considered by Huxley perfectly demonstrative of the theory of Evolution. The book is very interestingly written: it states the main issues clearly, while supplying abundant details; and this, together with the previous reputation of the author, cannot fail to insure it a wide circulation even amongst non-scientific readers.

A. H. B.

DIE RUTHENISCH-ROMISCHE KIRCHENVEREINIGUNG GENANNT 'UNION ZU BREST.' Rt. Rev. E. Likowski. Herder. 1904.

IT would seem that if Russia is to be converted, the Greek Uniats will be the chief instruments in preaching the Faith throughout its vast extent. Russia got the rite and ceremonies it loves from Constantinople, it has kept them with the utmost tenacity for centuries, and will probably preserve them to the end. It is true, on the other hand, that the Greeks united to Rome have been the objects of violent persecution, but this may be, and presumably is, part of their preparation for the apostolate. And it is obvious that the fittest among them for the work of evangelizing Russia are those of Slav race and language, and liturgy, or, in other words, the Ruthenians.

In fact they are the genuine Russians, for in Kiew, their ancient metropolitan see, the foundations both of empire and civilization were laid. They, and they alone, have pure Slav blood in their veins, for the so-called Russian, but accurately speaking, Muscovite, is half a Mongol or Tartar. The Ruthenian—

or as they rightly style themselves 'Russ'—were converted in great numbers during the reign of their holy emperor Vladimir the Great (980-1015), but owing to various causes, the Tartar invasion included, by the first half of the sixteenth century the whole Ruthenian Church had fallen into schism. However, a change for the better came before long. At the end of the century the Ruthenian bishops, alarmed by the growth of abuses of every kind, spontaneously petitioned for union with Rome. The happy result was attained in 1595, when two prelates went to the Vatican, and on the part of their nation made submission to Clement VIII. In the following year the famous Synod was held at Brest, or Brzesc, in the district of Grodno, Volhynia. It was a miniature Council of Florence, and the greater part of the Ruthenians have ever since remained faithful to the Holy See.

The history of the union forms the subject of the present work, the author of which—Right Rev. E. Likowski, Auxiliary Bishop of Posen—is considered to be one of the greatest authorities on Ruthenian ecclesiastical history. He employed eleven years in collecting materials for his book. The most important MSS. accounts have been found in the archives of Propaganda, but some of almost equal value were discovered in Cracow, Lemberg, and Posen. Besides these, the author has used about a hundred printed books, many of which were published soon after the Synod. Dr. Jedzink, who translated this history from Polish into German, says that it is regarded by competent scholars in Poland as the best work on the subject.

Its introductory chapter describes the relations which existed between the Holy See and the Ruthenians from the time of their conversion down to the latter half of the sixteenth century. Then come chapters that give a detailed account of the good work done by Sigismund III. of Poland, and the two celebrated Jesuits, Skarga and Possevin, of the preliminaries of the Synod of Brest, of the great event itself, of the dangers which subsequently threatened the union, and of its preservation. One of the chief instruments of this was the great Basilian monk and Archbishop of Posen, St. Josaphat the Martyr. Few pages of Bishop Likowski's learned work are more instructive than those which describe the saint's heroic struggle to maintain the union with Rome. The narrative reminds one of what is told about the Maronites. The author is perfectly impartial. He does not

suppress the mistakes and the faults of the Polish government, or those of the Latin clergy, in their treatment of the Ruthenians. The whole race, however, remained Catholic till the dismemberment of Poland (1773), when the greater part of it was handed over to the tender merices of Russia. The Czar's government gradually deprived the people of bishops and priests, and at the present day they are, unhappily, separated from the Church. Only the dioceses that were situated in what became Austrian Poland continue to exist, and these now form the ecclesiastical province of Lemberg (Greek rite). Thousands of Ruthenians migrated into Hungary, and their descendants fill three dioceses in the Carpathians and elsewhere. At present there are about three million united Ruthenians in the dual empire. Its rulers, from Maria Theresa on, with the exception of her son, have ever been great benefactors of this Slav race which has suffered elsewhere, but which probably has a work to do.

G. P. M.

STORIES FROM IRISH HISTORY. Told for Children by Mrs. Stephen Gwynn: with Pictures by George Morrow and Arthur Donnelly. Dublin: Browne & Nolan, Ltd. Price 2*s*.

MRS. GWYNN has written a very entertaining, and, at the same time, a very useful book. Adhering conscientiously to fact she has made a book which must prove more interesting to an Irish child than any book of fiction. We should like to see this work widely circulated among the children of Ireland. The child that has mastered it will have laid the foundation of an intelligent knowledge of Irish History. It should be drawn on largely as a prize volume at *Feiseanna* and in schools and seminaries. The book has been printed in Dublin on good paper, and is illustrated by several pictures by Irish artists.



NEO-SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY

'That there are men of remarkable ability still cultivating Philosophy in England we are assured; they publish little, because there is no public. And why is there no public?—In one word, the *gros bon sens*—the plain practical reasoning of the English public pronounces Philosophy unworthy of study; and neglects it. Let steady progress in Positive Science be our glory; Metaphysical speculation let us leave to others.'

'I have been prompted by the one steady aim which gives this book its unity, viz.: That of showing by Argument, what History shows by facts—that to attempt to construct a science of Metaphysics is to attempt an impossibility.'

THESE passages occur in a well-known history of Philosophy by George H. Lewes. Scholastic Philosophy has no place in his history, being, in his opinion, unworthy of the name of Philosophy. Consequently what he says about the impossibility of Philosophy refers directly to all other systems, whether ancient or modern. Indirectly it refers to Scholastic Philosophy, inasmuch as he has not excepted from his sweeping condemnation Aristotle, whose system is the foundation of Scholasticism. We agree with him in finding modern Philosophy futile and unreal; we are convinced that the late Pope Leo XIII. made no false step when he recalled Catholic students to the principles of Aristotle and the Schoolmen; and we believe that on these principles alone is it possible to build a satisfactory system of Philosophy. And if it is unworthy of the *gros bon sens* of any people to devote themselves to an unreal Philosophy, we hold that, given a real Philosophy, a Philosophy which affords certitude and which will bear being pushed to its ultimate conclusions without ending either in Scepticism or Pantheism, there is no higher study

no study more elevating, more deserving of the attention of the student.

In the fifteenth century numerous Greeks, fleeing from Constantinople, found a refuge in Florence. There, under the patronage of the Medici, the study of the literature and philosophy of Greece began to flourish. Plethon, Bessarion and Marsilio Ficino interpreted and translated the great masterpieces of Greece, and soon an extravagant pursuit of Hellenic form and ideals engaged the scholars of the Italian cities. The works of Plato were diffused, and his philosophy began to have the vogue. The German humanists, notably Reuchlin, Erasmus and Melancthon, imitated the Florentines. The authority of Aristotle waned, and already the influences which culminated in the Reformation were beginning to be felt. The Reformation itself, and the progress made in positive science during the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, further contributed to prepare the way for the birth of modern Philosophy. The Metaphysics of the Schoolmen were set aside as mere chimeras, unworthy of the attention of the learned. Ontology, Logic, Psychology, were neglected and Philosophy tended to become mere Empiricism. Descartes, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, found contemporary Philosophy in a desperate tangle. The spirit of the age rejected the ancient doctrines and he set himself to excogitate a new method. Beginning with universal doubt he settled on the famous *Cogito, ergo sum* as a first principle, certain and evident, making consciousness the basis of all truth. We know how Spinoza developed the principles of Descartes, and how they led him to Pantheism. Hobbes and Locke went back again to the investigation of the foundations of knowledge, limiting all our ideas to sensations and paving the way for Idealism and Scepticism. According to Locke the existence of substance might be inferred from our experience. Berkeley denied that substance existed at all, and Hume went further by denying the existence of mind. Reid's appeal to common sense failed to settle the dispute, and it remained for Kant to try once

more to analyze the powers of the soul and to set Philosophy on a firm foundation.

The *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* was in its teaching a plea for subjectivism, and it led Fichte to subjective, and Schelling to objective Idealism. Finally Hegel's absolute Idealism followed as the crown of all previous absurdities. To Kant may be traced too the mixed Idealism of Herbart, Benecke, Fechner and Lotze, and the Pessimism of Schopenhauer and Hartmann. The Materialism of Vogt, Büchner, and Haeckel; the Posivitism of Comte; the Eclecticism of Cousin; Empiricism and Evolutionism, have since had their vogue. And it would seem as if, after all have been found insufficient, we are nearer, at the close of Spencer's life, to a return to the old principles of Scholastic Philosophy than at any time during the past three centuries.' Reading a History of Philosophy by any writer of the modern schools of thought would lead one to think that the old Philosophy had occupied no place in men's minds all these years. The names of Melchior Canus, Soto, Velasquez, Medina, Suarez, Tournely, Billuart, Sattler and others sufficiently prove that it flourished in Europe during the past three centuries, and that men of keenest intelligence found it far more deserving of their study than any system which had its day in that time. The effects of German and English Philosophy were perceptible in Italy too. Galuppi, Groberti, Rosmini, Mamiani, were all influenced by modern thought and led to many of its erroneous conclusions. Contemporary with them, Liberatore, Signorelli, Taparelli, and many others held fast by the Scholastic doctrines, and by their writings opened the way for the great revival which Leo XIII. was to initiate.

We have already noticed that the late Pope directed Catholic schools to abide by the principles of the Scholastics. In the Encyclical 'Aeterni Patris' we have his authoritative pronouncement. He believed that only by following in the footsteps of Aristotle and Thomas of Aquin could the perplexities and inconsistencies which attend modern speculation be evaded, that their principles

were the sanest and surest, and their method the safest and most satisfactory. Yet, let it be observed, he did not advocate nor intend that we should neglect altogether the works of modern thinkers. To suppose that St. Thomas has said the last word on the problems of Criteriology, Ontology, and Psychology is a manifest absurdity. Bacon and Kant and Mill and Spencer have not been merely beating the air ; and the wonderful development of positive science in recent years has shed new light on many points discussed by the schoolmen. I know that there are men narrow enough in their views to look with disfavour on anything coming from those who disagree with their principles, men who will slavishly follow the cosmology of Aquinas, who imagine that Psychology can be taught without reference to the researches of the biologists and naturalists of our day. Such a method of teaching is not in accordance with the intentions of Leo XIII. ; it is not worthy of a philosopher. I have heard a professor of this type go so far as to insist that an exact knowledge of positive science was not at all necessary for the student of Metaphysics, and with all his zeal for the doctrines of Aristotle and St. Thomas I could not help thinking that such a statement was completely at variance with their notions of Philosophy. Whatever could be known in the domains of positive science in their day they knew it ; and their readiness to embrace such knowledge and their adherence to the realities of things, are at the root of their Philosophy. Only a Philosophy founded upon and safeguarded by experience, can be coherent and stable, and the superiority of Scholastic Philosophy is due to the fact that it was based on reality and that its ultimate criterion of truth was that objective evidence which necessitates assent.

Descartes imagined that he could doubt of the truth of such evident propositions as, Two and two make four, and not even trusting to the veracity of the senses regarding their proper objects, he passed, illogically enough, from universal, methodic doubt to his *Cogito, ergo sum* as to an undeniable certainty. Later on he was driven to the hypothesis of innate ideas to save himself from the logical

consequences of his principles, and ultimately his system ended in Scepticism. Kant denied that we can have certitude regarding the objects of the exterior world, and invented his *a priori* synthetic judgments to give his system a foundation. As a result we find him compelled to demand the existence of God and the immortality of the soul as postulates in his *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft.* Incoherent and unstable, the modern systems continually change with time. They do not work out in practice, and time brings their strongest refutation.

In such a maze of speculations, among so many contradictions of theories and of facts, and so many theses repugnant to that *gros bon sens* which is certainly a reliable criterion in most cases, George Lewes wrote his verdict that Philosophy was a failure. That this is true of modern Philosophy we admit. Only the Philosophy of the scholastics, which he judged to be beneath his consideration, is coherent throughout ; it alone can stand the test of time and find in the discoveries of modern scientific research a vindication of its principles. This is its most eloquent commendation, its amplest justification. If the laws of science,—not mere temporary hypotheses, but verified and universally recognised truths—were contradictory to its principles and their logical conclusions, we could not reasonably assert its superiority. But that no such contradiction exists, that the progress of the experimental sciences is nowise detrimental to the philosophical principles of St. Thomas, is a clear proof that Scholastic Philosophy is superior to the modern systems invented to replace it. Those who approach the writings of St. Thomas with prejudiced minds and those who have never seriously studied his works at all, can discount their value ; but anyone who has the love of truth at heart, and who takes the trouble to follow this master, cannot fail to appreciate his broad views and his cogent reasoning, and to recognise how admirably his principles adapt themselves to the results of scientific investigation at the present day. So far as I am aware this is best seen in the works of Mercier and his colleagues in Louvain. Take, as an instance, the pages

which Mercier devotes to the study of sensation in his work on Psychology. There we see what Anatomy, Histology, and Biology can tell us. Weber, Fechner, and Wundt are not ignored. The causes of sensation, its nature, its intensity, its duration are discussed in the lights of contemporary science. What is certain is distinguished from what is merely hypothetical. Explanations and theories are examined without any shirking of difficulties, and in the midst of so much that is new and hitherto unknown we come upon a sentence taken from the *Summa* or the work *De Anima*, giving, in a few luminous words, a satisfactory explanation of the phenomena under discussion. What more could be said in favour of the Philosophy commended to us in the Encyclical, 'Aeterni Patris.'

The following extract from the preface to Mercier's *Psychologie* is worth quoting here :—

> Seule la psychologie scolastique possède à la fois un corps de doctrines systématisé, et des cadres assez larges pour accueillir et synthétiser les résultats croissants des sciences d'observation.
>
> Est-ce à dire que nous regardions la psychologie de l'École comme le monument achevé de la science, devant lequel l'esprit devrait s'arrêter dans une contemplation stérile ?
>
> Evidemment non. La psychologie est une science vivante ; elle doit évoluer avec les sciences biologiques et anthropologiques qui sont ses tributaires. L'arrêt de developpement est, pour l'être vivant, une cause fatale d'anomalies un de monstruosités.
>
> Le meilleur service à rendre aux doctrines générales de la psychologie scolastique, c'est de les mettre en rapport avec les resultats acquis en biologie cellulaire, en histologie, en embryogénie.

These lines echo the true spirit of Neo-Scholastic Philosophy, and interpret admirably the mind of Leo XIII. Philosophy is progressive ; it is absurd to suppose that St. Thomas could have said the last word on any of the problems of his day ; it is equally absurd to suppose that there were no philosohpers previous to Bacon or Kant. The object of the Scholastic revival is not the mere repetition of the doctrines of St. Thomas, but rather the adaptation of his method to our times—in a word, to continue

his work as he himself would have done did he live now, to welcome truth whenever it comes and from wherever it comes, embracing the old and the new, rejecting nothing but error. St. Thomas was versed in all the sciences of his time; these have progressed much during the six centuries that have passed since his death, and it would be altogether in opposition to the spirit of St. Thomas to overlook this fact. That it is not overlooked, that the Neo-Scholastic Philosophy is well up to date, is a reality, and we can count many professors of the ancient Philosophy who are devoted to modern science.[1]

Thus it is necessary that Scholastic Philosophy in the twentieth century be something more than it was in the thirteenth. It is a natural growth from the ancient doctrines, one with them still in principles and method, one in the solid basis of its Metaphysics and the objective character it presents; different only in that the development of the sciences has thrown more light on many of its problems and enabled us to make our analyses more exactly. It is often said by people who might be expected to know what they speak about, that Scholastic Philosophy is a simple chain of abstractions, nugatory because of its neglect of the Inductive method. Yet the observation of Aristotle was so universal, and his knowledge of the sensible world so exact, that it used to be said of him that nature had revealed all her secrets to him.[2] No student of St. Thomas can fail to remark how important a part experimental science plays in his arguments. And it is unquestionably in the Scholastic teaching as to the origin of our ideas—that they all come to the mind through the senses, that the mind can generalize and abstract, and that the senses

[1] "Io penso a Riviste come la *Révue néoscholastique* o la *Révue de philosophie* (Giovane ancora e pur così seria) o gli *Annales de philosophie chrètienne* (così vecchi e pure così rinnovati)—penso a scuole come l'Instituto di Lovanio—a nomini come Mons. Mercier, come il Gardair, il Peillaube, il Piat, il Domet des Virges . . . per tacere del Blondel, del Laberthonnière, del Fonsegrine, la cui modernità scientifica è si indiscussa, ma il cui *tomismo*, o via, la cui fedeltà alle tradizionale filosofia christiana è pure indiscutibile."—Giovanni Semeria, *Scienza e Fede*. Pustet, Roma, 1903.

[2] Cfr. *Il Convitto* di Dante Allighieri, iii., cap. 5.

are to be trusted in their reports of the causes which act on them—that its superiority lies. Its views on this fundamental question offer the only plausible solution. Descartes, Kant, and Locke tried to solve it in other ways and failed. Mercier's *Critériologie* gives a clear exposition of the Scholastic theory of certitude, showing how the entire system is based on reality, how objective evidence is the ultimate control of certitude, and how futile are the theories propounded by philosophers of the modern schools. The method of Aristotle, the method of St. Thomas, stands where the others fall, and it appears to be the only one which will make mental and moral science a fruitful study.

The recommendation to study Philosophy on these lines has come from the highest authority. Those who devote themselves to it will find it worthy of such a recommendation ; and if the development be in the future in keeping with what it has been in the last decade, Scholastic Philosophy cannot be ignored as it has been in the past by those who set themselves to write the history of Philosophy. No Catholic student will fail to see how important this branch of study is, and all who help to bring it into prominence and to diffuse its sane principles will be doing much in the interests not only of science, but also of Christianity. Other systems may, indeed, be declared impossible. Neo-Scholastic Philosophy is not only possible but it is thoroughly scientific, logical and sound. And to those who have leisure for serious study we can say with confidence that they will not find any subject more deserving of their attention, more interesting, or more calculated to make for increased mental power, correctness of judgment and general culture.

J. KELLY, PH.D.

ALLEGORICAL AND LITERAL IN THE FATHERS

THERE is no more picturesque chapter in the whole history of Biblical exegesis than that which tells of the rise, growth, and fortunes of the allegorical method of interpretation. It recalls the age when Patristic literature was at the zenith of its glory—the golden age that witnessed the output of that wondrous wealth of Scripture commentary on which theologian and homilist have never ceased to draw; it tells of the rich store of oral tradition with which the early centuries of Christianity were heavily laden—of the efforts of paganism to bring the sacred volume into disrepute by calling attention to its many anthropomorphisms and imagined immoralities; while on the otherthand it unveils the skilful counter-efforts of Christian apologists to uphold the truth by the very method of interpretation which had been sanctioned for centuries by the pagans themselves.

These are some of the points which it is the purpose of this essay to develop; but it may be premised that to the priest the question is not one of historic interest merely. His daily recitation of the Breviary brings him into constant contact with the older methods of Scripture commentary. Almost every day he has to draw from the fountains of Patristic literature. The 'Lections' of the third nocturn and in some offices of the second also, are so many precious gems from an inexhaustible mine of wealth; but the gems will sparkle only in proportion as one can enter into the spirit of the writer, his aim, his difficulties, the times in which he lived, his personality, the bent of his mind, and above all, perhaps, the atmosphere in which he had studied.

The allegorical method of treating Holy Scripture is greatly in evidence in the Breviary excerpts from the Fathers. At first to the young levite there is all the richness and halo of novelty about them; doubtless, even in seminary days, long before ordination, many a priest has

been struck by the extraordinary quaintness of passages from the Homilies—which seemed to open out to him a new world of thought—and he hoped accordingly to drink more deeply at some future time of the Patristic springs ; but alas! his good intentions were crowded out by a thousand and one other subjects. He reads the same passages now, but not with the same charm ; the spirit of inquiry is defunct within him : he covers the ground in perfunctory fashion, and the most beautiful specimens of mystical rendering are lost upon him. Such passages have, of course, an intrinsic beauty all their own, but it would be vain to deny that a knowledge of the circumstances under which they were written serves considerably to enhance their interest and to shed greater light upon their meaning. Bishop Hedley makes the terrible indictment that 'there are students who go through their course without distinguishing Origen from Damascene, Irenaeus from Gregory the Great, or even Clement of Alexandria from Leo.'[1] If only from the point of view of the Divine Office, it is to be hoped that these are the very rare cases, and that the student will endeavour to acquaint himself with at least the outlines of Patrology. Among these stands out prominently the study of the allegorical sense in sacred Scripture. Its historic setting is replete with interest and furnishes many of those side lights of information so necessary to the student, enabling him to penetrate to the spirit and gauge accurately the mind of the writer.

The subject may be treated under four headings :—

I. The method of allegorical interpretation applied by pagans to pagan literature.

II. The method applied by Jewish writers to the Old Testament.

III. The method applied by Christian writers to both Testaments.

IV. The reaction to literal interpretation.

[1] Preface to Schmidt's *Manual of Patrology*.

I.

We must not suppose that the method originated in connection with the Sacred Books. Long before the coming of Christ, Greek philosophers had frequently to abandon the strictly literal interpretation of monumental classic works in order to reconcile the various religious tenets found therein, with their own modified views. The almost interminable disputations which arose anent the Homeric literature seem to have been a potent factor in giving an impetus —perhaps the first impetus—to the allegorical method of interpretation. Homer was not merely a wonderful writer of epic poetry, he was also a sophist whose aim was to instruct and educate. His labours thus assumed a double aspect—the 'didactic' as well as the 'poetic'

He became the text-book in use in the various schools for the inculcation of virtue and for moral training generally; and thus it became the practice of moralists to interpret the great master in accordance with their own preconceived ideas, and to submit the author thus interpreted to their pupils as the true Homeric ideal.

Their position, consequently, was this: that whereas in the far-off ages men had to be taught by tales, those tales were told with a moral purpose, and required to be interpreted as something more substantial than a mere tale. Homer was the authority *par excellence* on matters ethical.

Some such view of the Homeric and other literary masterpieces became more necessary every day. Homer as he stood,—it was urged by the literalists—was clearly immoral: a mass of fables, of discreditable stories, of manifold contradictions. At the same time his never-waning popularity, the universal veneration in which he was held—so great that many believed him to have been inspired—rendered his disuse quite out of the question. Clearly it was essential to find a reconciliation between the older religion as embodied in the poets and the new ideas which were fast drifting away from Homeric influences. The key to the compromise was simply this, that the narrative

of actions, no less than the actions themselves, might be symbolic. Men who retained their reverence for Homer began to search for hidden meanings ; and without much difficulty a whole system of allegorical interpretation was woven together.

> Thus, if Homer, the mirror in which the Greek saw his religion reflected, described Jupiter as suspending Juno between heaven and earth, Heracleitus was indignant with the atheists who did not see that it meant how the *world and the elements were formed.* Men were told that only soft Phaeacians could see in the loves of Mars and Venus a consecration of adultery ; to the man of sense it meant that valour and beauty were worthy of each other.[1]

It is certain that this method of interpretation was applied to ancient literature long before Christ. It seems, indeed, to have been a part of the general intellectual movement five hundred years before. Naturally it was elaborated by the sophists, for whom anything that savoured of forced reasoning or interpretation would have a special charm.

Plato after them would not admit that the ' theory of the allegoric sense ' was a sufficient vindication of Homer, though he, too, allegorised Homer ; but the chief supporters of the method were Anaxagoras, who recognised in Homer a symbolic account of the movements of mental powers and moral virtues ; Metrodorus, his disciple, and Heracleitus, whose avowed purpose was a vindication of Homer from the charge of impiety.

Similarly with the Stoic allegorists. Their endeavour was always to bring their views into line with popular religion. As often as they found passages in Homer to be undignified or morally reprehensible, they studiously explained them away as containing some sacred recondite truth or mystery.

It was neither a long nor an unlikely stride from literature to religion. Mythology died a natural death. Its gods and goddesses, heroes and heroines, came to be registered on the cold chronicles of time as nothing more than the

[1] *Cfr.* Allies, *Formation of Christendom*, ii., 458.

chapter-heads of ancient literature; but meantime the system of allegorical exegesis had been growing apace and rose up, phœnix-like, from the ashes of the dead mythology. Centuries of training had accustomed men's minds to approach any religious truth with the pre-conceived notion of symbolism. Divine truth especially, argued the devotees of the allegorical method, was far too precious a commodity to be found haphazard on the surface; the casket of gems must be opened, the gold ore must be sifted.

II.

This precisely was the course adopted by educated Jews some two centuries before Christ in regard to the interpretation of the Pentateuch. To judge from the Jewish apologists of this period, it is clear that the Pentateuch was submitted to a great amount of obloquy and rough treatment at the hands of Grecian criticism, and pronounced to be barbarous, unmeaning, and immoral.

It was perfectly natural that the Hebrew controversialist should shield himself behind a rampart which his opponent had made use of for so long. He was ready to admit the presence of apparent immoralities in the Pentateuch, *e.g.*, that God should 'tempt' men, that He should 'harden their hearts,' and the like; but he explained, as the Greek did his Homer, that the words were but the veils of a hidden meaning. The anthropomorphisms of the Old Testament were explained on the same principle. The 'hand' of God, *v.g.*, meant the power of God; the 'feet' of God would stand for the stability of the world; the 'eye' of God would refer to His far-seeing providence; the 'speech' of God would be God's influence on the soul of man.

Naturally enough the cultivated Alexandrian would shrink from having the 'God of Israel' represented to the Gentiles as a mere human being; and so with the 'anthropopathy,' also, of the sacred pages, he took care to go beyond the literal rendering of all passages which attributed to the Deity feelings of 'anger' or 'repentance' or any merely human emotion.

In this connection the Jewish commentator, Philo,

stands out pre-eminent. He was a native of Alexandria, and there received his education. He is spoken of by Eusebius as a man copious in speech, rich in sentiments, eminent and sublime in his acquaintance with Holy Scripture. He was particularly well versed in the Platonic philosophy, and made copious application of what he styles the 'method of the Greek mysteries' to the interpretation of Holy Scripture. He finds in the narratives of familiar incidents, the most extraordinary hidden meanings.

As a specimen we may adduce his Commentary on Genesis xxviii. 11 :—'He took of the stones that lay there, and putting under his head, slept in the same place.'

> The words [he writes] are wonderful, not only because of their allegorical and physical meaning, but also because of their literal teaching of trouble and endurance. The writer does not think that a student of virtue should have a delicate and luxurious life, imitating those who are called fortunate, but who are in reality full of misfortunes, eager anxieties, and rivalries. . . . Such men are not the disciples of the Sacred Word. Its disciples are real men, lovers of temperance, and sobriety, and modesty, who make self-restraint and contentment and endurance the corner stones, as it were, of their lives . . . whose costly couch is a soft turf, whose bedding is grass and leaves, whose pillow is a heap of stones or a hillock rising a little above the ground. *Of such men Jacob is an example :* he put a stone for his pillow ; a little while afterwards we find him asking only for nature's wealth of food and raiment : he is the archetype of a soul that disciplines itself, one who is at war with every kind of effeminacy. . . .
>
> But the passage has a *further meaning which is conveyed in symbol.* You must know that the divine place and the holy ground is full of incorporeal Intelligences, who are immortal souls. It is one of these that Jacob takes and puts close to his mind which is, as it were, the head of the combined person, body and soul. He does so under the pretext of going to sleep, but in reality to find repose in the Intelligence which he has chosen, and to place all the burden of his life upon it.[1]

The touching incident of the blessing of the two sons of Joseph is made to signify that Jacob, the supplanter of the passions and practiser of virtue, gives his right hand to Ephraim, who stands for prolific memory, and his left to

[1] *De Somniis*, i., Magney, p. 639.

Mannaseh, who stands for recollection aroused from forgetfulness.

Similarly, Abraham, leaving his country and kindred, is a symbol of the soul seeking God—leaving behind the Chaldaea of sensual understanding in search of the land of pure reason, and turning its back upon inordinate desire, fear, ambition. Abraham's further wanderings signify that he attains to the knowledge of God. Sarah's laughter is the joy of the philosopher who has conquered every evil impulse. Sarah and Agar are contrasted—the one to represent virtue and wisdom in the abstract, the other representing the general sciences of grammar, geometry, dialectics, rhetoric.

Philo's etymological fancies, too, are wild and unstable, and made to help out allegorical meanings in the most arbitrary manner.

Thus did the most learned commentator of his time endeavour to read into the written Word, his own subjective fancies—a process, however, which according to the spirit of the age, he might well claim to have been a legitimate scientific exegesis. Like Clement of Alexandria a couple of centuries later, he openly regarded pagan philosophy as a powerful aid to the study of theology, and was not afraid to utilise pagan methods and pagan learning as long as they served to unravel revealed truth. This was the attitude of most educated Hebrews of the period. Their contact with the 'true wisdom' outside their own nation and religion generally succeeded in rubbing away all unnecessary conservatism and introduced them rather to what we should now call liberalism in religion. At least such was the tendency. A passage in a modern writer[1] very accurately hits off the position :—

> It was no wonder that a man of high intellectual gifts, who was profoundly penetrated with the truth and goodness of the Hebrew revelation, yet by learning and education a Greek, should wish to join together in a sort of marriage the two parts of his own being. He would, in fact, espouse the fair Grecian captive, whose beauty had delighted his senses, with the Hebrew

[1] Allies, *op. cit.*, iii., 156.

husband whose dignity and authority were paramount over his soul. And to this end, according to the precepts of his law, he would prepare her for the ennoblement she was to meet. The myths which disfigured her worship were to be explained and purified by a moral interpretation, just as on the other side revelation itself, in condescension to human weakness, had veiled high spiritual truths under a homely literal expression. . . . In the mind of Philo, philosophy, as such, was the handmaid of theology; in the mixed religious and philosophical system which he was attempting to construct, he was exalting her to the rank of a wife, but she was still to be subordinate to the husband. The form of Greek thought was to be fused with the substance of Jewish belief.

Philo may thus be regarded historically as the connecting link between the Grecian Homeric interpreters and the first Christian exegetes who followed in the wake of the Hebrew Pentateuchal apologists.

III.

It was inevitable that the method should be adopted by Christian writers and applied as fancy suggested and orthodoxy warranted not merely to the Pentateuch, but to the Hagiographa, the Prophets, and the New Testament.

In interpreting the Prophets, Christian apologists used the method with great effect; and if some of their explanations and commentaries seem strange and forced to modern ideas, we must always remember that the method adopted by them was the prevalent practice of the time, accepted on all hands and used largely by friend and foe alike. It was the legacy left by Greek philosophers and Hellenist Jews to Christian commentators and exegetes.

Nor was this allegorical rendering of the Sacred Books of a half-hearted or desultory character. The feeling on reading some of the Fathers is that they regarded the Old Testament an allegory of the New, from beginning to end

The writer of the *Epistle of Barnabas* seems to hold that the Old Testament was written partly for Jews and partly for Christians. Justin Martyr after him thought that it was mainly for Christians; and in consequence he pushes

the allegorical method to every excess. When, *e.g.*, it was said, 'the government is upon his shoulder,' or again, 'I have stretched forth My hand to Thee,' it meant that Christ should be extended on the cross. 'Tying His foal to the vineyard. . . . He shall wash His robe in wine, and His garment in the blood of the grape'[1] is made to refer to the Passion: the 'robe' being all true believers, and the 'blood of the grape' signifying that the life-blood of the Redeemer was not fashioned 'ex humano semine' but by the operation of the Holy Spirit. The same writer allegorises the stories about David's adultery, Jacob's wives, Judah's immorality, etc.[2]

It is true that among the Westerns both Irenaeus and Tertullian scornfully reject the method in theory, but they do not fail to make use of it when it suits their purpose.

It goes almost without saying that there are very early instances of 'allegorist' adherents among the Alexandrian Fathers. The great catechetical school of Alexandria had been formed in an atmosphere of pagan learning; and certainly its first 'Headmasters' believed in moving with the times. Clement of Alexandria was particularly hard on those 'who were frightened at philosophy as children at a mask,' and who repudiated pagan methods indiscriminately, simply because they were pagan, or at any rate had pagan source or sanction. Orthodoxy at Alexandria was not afraid to attempt the task of reconciling Greek philosophy with Hebrew theology and apparent Old Testament extravagances with the ethics of the Gospel.

It seems to have been the latter task which especially evoked the use of the allegorical method; that is to say, that in Alexandria as in the West the method was first resorted to as an apologetic expedient.

> Far be it from us to believe [says the author of the *Clementine Homilies*] that the Lord of all, the Maker of heaven and earth, *makes experiments* as though He did not know—for who, then, does foreknow? And if He *repents*, who is perfect in thought and firm in judgment? And if He *hardens* men's hearts, who makes them wise? And if He *blinds* them, who makes

[1] Gen. xlix. 11.

[2] Vid. *Apol.*, i., 35, 32: *Dial. Tryph.*, 134-141.

them see ? And if He *desires* a fruitful hill, whose then are all things ? And if He *wants* the savour of sacrifices, who is it that needeth nothing ? And if He *delights in lamps*, who is it that set the stars in heaven ? [1]

Reading between the lines, one sees here a specimen of the kind of attacks the author had to face. How summarily they were dealt with at Alexandria, is clear from the following passage in the *De Principiis* (iv. 175) :—

What man of sense [asks Origen] will suppose that the first, and the second, and the third day, and the evening, and the morning, existed without a sun, and moon, and stars ? Who is so foolish as to believe that God, like a husbandman, planted a garden in Eden, and placed in it a tree of life, that might be seen and touched, so that one who tasted of the fruit by his bodily lips obtained life ? Or, again, that one was partaker of good and evil by eating that which was taken from a tree ? And if God is said to have walked in a garden in the evening, and Adam to have hidden under a tree, I do not suppose that anyone doubts that these things *figuratively indicate certain mysteries*, the history being apparently, but *not literally true*. . . . Nay, the Gospels themselves are filled with the same kind of narratives. Take, for example, the story of the devil taking Jesus up into a high mountain to show Him from thence the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them ; what thoughtful reader would not condemn those who teach that it was with the eyes of the body—which needs a lofty height that even the near neighbourhood may be seen—that Jesus beheld the kingdoms of the Persians, and Scythians, and Indians, and Parthians, and the manner in which their rulers were glorified among men.

Thus did Origen, following closely in the wake of his predecessor in the Chair of Alexandria, find in the figurative treatment of both Testaments a handy and complete vindication of the more difficult passages—the improbabilities, the apparent contradictions and immoralities.

This, however, was only one aspect of the question. The allegorical method was made to be something more than a mere rationalising expedient for the solution of difficulties. What the apologist adopted, the exegete elaborated. Both Testaments were submitted to the process, and allegories were found to bristle on every page.

[1] Hom. ii., 43, 44.

When, *e.g.*, we read of the anointing of Christ's feet, we read of both His teaching and His passion ; for the feet are a symbol of divine instruction travelling to the ends of the earth, and carried by the Apostles who had received the fragrant unction of the Holy Spirit. When Christ said : 'The foxes have holes, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head,' He meant that on the believer alone, who is separated from the wild beasts of the world, rests the Head of the universe—the kind and gentle Word. When He is said to have fed the multitude on five barley loaves and two fishes, it meant that He gave mankind the preparatory training of the law (*i.e.*, barley which ripens early), and of philosophy which had grown like fishes in the waves of the Gentile world.[1]

In the Old Testament we find the Decalogue allegorised. In the Fourth Commandment, *e.g.*, we are told that 'By father, God is meant ; by mother, the divine knowledge and wisdom, called by Solomon "the mother of the just."' In the Sixth, adultery means the desertion of the true knowledge of God, and the propagation of some false opinion. Murder is the destruction of the truth ; theft is when men claim to be masters of what God alone has made, thus taking away God's honour.

The 'clean beasts' imply the orthodox who are steadfast and meditative, since rumination stands for thought, and a divided hoof implies stability. The forbidden animals, which ruminate but do not divide the hoof, stand for the Jews ; those which divide the hoof but do not ruminate are heretics ; those who do neither are the impure.[2]

The exegesis of Origen is no less extraordinary. When we are told that Rebecca comes to draw water at the well and so meets the servant of Abraham, the meaning is 'that we must daily come to the wells of Scripture in order to meet with Christ.' Again, 'Of what use is it to me,' asks Origen, 'who have come to hear what the Holy Spirit teaches the human race, to be told that Abraham stood

[1] Clem. Alex., *Paedag.* 2, 8, *Strom.* i., 3 ; vi., 280.
[2] *Ibid.*, *Stromata*, vi., c. 16 ; vii., § 107.

under the oak of Mamre ? Mamre means " vision," and the sense of the passage is that God was pleased with the insight of Abraham.' On the words ' The Lord opened the eyes of Agar,' he comments, ' Where do we read that she had closed eyes ? Is it not clear as daylight that the mystic sense implies the blindness of the Jewish synagogue !' Similarly with the New Testament ; he has some fanciful interpretation always ready to hand for the most trivial circumstances. The ' water-pots of stone containing two or three measures apiece ' are understood by him to mean the Scriptures which were intended to purify the Jews, and which sometimes exhibit two senses, sometimes three ; namely, the moral, the literal, and the spiritual. The first two of these do not find much favour with him ; and although he does, at times, busy himself with the strictly literal truth of the text, he was anything but a literalist, and it is clear that he was wedded very closely to Philonian methods.

Following him in the Chair of Alexandria came Heraclas and Dionysius his quondam pupils, who with Pierius, their successor, were pronounced allegorists. The impetus thus imparted to this method by its early exponents carried it on to the beginning of the fourth century, when the glory of the school, as such, came to an end. Not so, however, its influence. The greatest names among the Fathers are associated with it in varying degrees :—Eusebius of Caesarea, Epiphanius, St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nyssa, of whom Cornely says :[1] ' qui allegorias non tantum non respuit, sed praediligere videtur.' St. Hippolytus and St. Victorinus Petavionensis also at times indulge in the same method. The writings of St. Hilary are full of allegorical fancies ; and St. Jerome said that to be content with the literal sense of Scripture was ' to eat dust like the serpent.' So that Origen was not the only writer who could be accused of ' digging wells beneath the surface ;' in fact St. Ambrose formally adopts the ' triple sense ' of Origen, and on account of his exege-

[1] *Introd. Sacr. Scr.*, p. 153.

tical excesses incurred the displeasure of St. Jerome who says of him: 'in verbis ludere et in sententiis dormitare.'[1] St. Augustine, too, introduces one of his mystical interpretations with the following statement :—

In lectionibus, quae nobis diebus istis recitantur, frequenter admonui ut non sequamur litteram occidentem, et vivificantem spiritum relinquamus . . . si enim hoc tantum volumus intelligere quod sonat in littera, aut parvam aut prope nullam aedificationem de divinis lectionibus capiemus. Illa enim omnia quae recitantur typus erant et imago futurorum.[2]

IV

THE REACTION

Allusion has already been made to the vigorous efforts of Irenaeus and Tertullian to bring the allegorical method into disrepute, but it was in the East that opposition was strongest and longest maintained. During the course of the fourth century a school of interpretation arose which opposed with might and main the glaring excesses of the Alexandrian school. This was the celebrated school of Antioch, the existence of which was due largely to the reaction which inevitably followed the strained and in some cases it must be said, the almost grotesque use of the allegorical method. The one by its extravagances called forth the other.

Undoubtedly many exponents of the Alexandrian method had gone too far. The true Word of God was hardly visible through the mist of esoteric teaching in which they had enveloped it. They had busied themselves reading into the Sacred Text their own preconceived ideas rather than drawing out from it the truth it intended to convey. It was a process of application rather than of explication —of introducing alien ideas into the divine pages—so that written revealed truth was fast becoming the slave of an arbitrary 'gnosis.' Not that the Antiochene school were disloyal to orthodox unwritten tradition. Their aim was

[1] Cornely, *loc cit.*, p. 155. [2] Serm. cci., *de Temp.*

to preserve the written word of God pure and unadulterated, free from unorthodox and unauthorised subjective fancies. Their opposition to the allegorical method was in the main due to an honest fear that the Bible was gradually ceasing to be the Bible, that it was becoming more difficult every day to extricate the straightforward teaching of Scripture from the morass of the then modern exegesis. There was a feeling that Alexandria especially, had come to regard Revelation as the legitimate field for all kinds of doctrinal speculation, and so the first Antiochene scholars considered themselves in duty bound to adhere in season and out of season to the rigidly historical and literal aspect of Holy Scripture. This was the task they set themselves to accomplish. It was in sympathy with these good intentions that St. Basil (though not exclusively a literalist) plainly states :—

> When I hear of grass, I understand it to mean grass, and so of plants, and fishes, and beasts, and cattle ; all of them as they are spoken of so I receive. . . . Many interpreters pervert all this according to meanings of their own, much like those who profess to interpret dreams. . . . Some have tried by I know not what allurements and figures of speech to get the Scriptures credit for a kind of dignity, which is in fact of their own devising, and under show of interpretation to introduce matters of their own.[1]

Running side by side, however, with the question of doctrinal orthodoxy, there seems to have been a further reason which led to this great reaction in hermeneutic methods ; or if not a reason, it furnishes a somewhat curious coincidence of a very interesting character, namely that the allegorical and literal methods of exegesis were adopted respectively by schools of thought whose philosophic systems were mutually adverse, and calculated *a priori* to foster the particular methods of interpretation adopted by each respectively. Religious beliefs outside Christianity have always been formed or swayed by the philosopher rather than by the priest ; and the same principle within

[1] *Hexaem.*, ix. 1.

its legitimate limits has held good also even in the Church ; philosophy is the hand-maiden of theology.

The philosophy of Alexandria was of an eclectic cast, but Platonism was its chief constituent. Antioch, on the contrary, leaned to and gradually adopted the philosophy of the Stagyrite. The cardinal principle of Plato's dialectical system, *i.e.*, the doctrine of ideas, taught men to abstract altogether from material forms and soar aloft to higher and more perfect patterns ; and the habit of thought thus assumed was only being applied in another sphere, when from the low level of literal interpretation the mind rose to higher and nobler realms of allegory, and evolved hidden meanings therefrom which none but the initiated ever hope to discover.

And thus at Alexandria Platonism and allegorism held the field, while in the school at Antioch Aristotelianism was accompanied by literalism. And logically so. The connection is fairly obvious. Plato was an idealist ; Aristotle a realist, who bequeathed to his followers and admirers a legacy of hard logic and system, an objective method of reasoning which was well calculated to lead its clients along the direct paths of literal interpretation. They would wrestle with the text as it stood before them in a matter-of-fact way ; but it was quite contrary to the genius of an Aristotelian to import fanciful readings into a passage such as to give it a fictitious value. The Antiochene school accordingly fell foul of the methods of Alexandria. It was not going to soar on the wings of speculation, to substitute mere idealism or subjective caprice for the plain truths of the Gospel ; but it regarded revelation and set it forth as the historian might the positive facts before him.

Though the school of Antioch did not arrive at its full development till the latter half of the fourth century, its foreshadowings are seen more than a century earlier. *Julius Africanus* is sometimes pointed to as a precursor, possibly because of his letter on the genuineness of ' Susanna,' which is a model of sober criticism and much in advance of his age. *Lucian* (M.), who died in 311, is regarded by some as its founder, by others as only a forerunner. The presbyter

Dorotheus, master of Eusebius of Caesarea, was one of its earliest teachers. Mention must be made also of a formal work against the Alexandrian method, written by the learned Egyptian bishop Nepos, and styled 'A Refutation of the Allegorists.'[1] But these writers only paved the way for the labours of the real representatives of the Antiochene school.

Diodorus of Tarsus, the first of these, devoted himself to the exposition of Scripture in its literal sense. His influence must have been great, though it is impossible for us to gauge its extent now, inasmuch as his works were almost all destroyed, probably by the Arians. Whilst he was presbyter he had the direction of a school in or near Antioch, where he instructed young persons in the knowledge of Scripture and the principles of religion. His works were numerous, the most important of which were commentaries on almost all the books of the Old Testament and some of the New. But only fragments remain, sufficient however to prove him to have been a man of great learning and zeal; a powerful factor, too, in instilling into Biblical scholars the necessity of cultivating the literal sense of Sacred Scripture. His labours and abilities are much commended by Theodoret, Basil, and other Fathers of the Church. But his influence was not confined to his writings. His predilection for literalism was transmitted to his pupils, amongst whom was *Theodore of Mopsuestia*, who is regarded as the most pronounced representative and exponent of Antiochene methods.

Theodore was a man of great endowments, of remarkable learning and energy, and was known as the 'exegete' of the early Church—a name which he bears among the Nestorians to this day. But he was a thorough rationalist, and a stern opponent of the allegorical method with its congenial Platonic philosophy. This is manifest from the whole tenour of his works, but he explicitly attacked the principles of the Origenists in a treatise 'De allegoria et historia' in five books; a work which caused him to be

[1] Eusebius, H. E. vii. 24.

the victim of bitter obloquy. He stood his ground firmly on the doctrine of Unity of sense ; for example, treating the Canticle of Canticles as a nuptial poem without any mystical application, and in his commentary on the Psalms, assigning each to its own age and surroundings. His success, however, was only partial, due mainly to the charge of Nestorianism which obscured in great measure his reputation for learning and retarded the onward march of Antiochene views.

His fellow-pupil and intimate friend the great *St. Chrysostom*, is claimed as the crowning glory of the school of Antioch. He regarded everything more from a practical than a speculative point of view, a fact which is especially noticeable in his expository sermons. His method of exegesis was almost always the same. First he sets himself to explain the grammatical sense of text and context, that he endeavours to enter into the spirit and feelings of the writer, to see with his eyes, to interpret his thoughts, and from this he advances not to allegory, but to the important task of drawing useful moral or ascetical lessons from the passage. The many vicissitudes of his life had unfolded to him the manifold weaknesses and needs of human life. He knew how to sympathise with human nature, and as the Word of God had been the subject of his daily contemplation, his comfort alike in solitude and in the press of battle, it was his constant endeavour to set it before his hearers in all its divine simplicity. He did not adopt Antiochene methods in a controversial frame of mind. He has left behind him no work in which, like his fellow-disciple Theodore, he inveighed against the excesses of the allegorists. On the contrary, he approved of allegory in theory[1] but his practice stamps him as a true son of Antioch—a true disciple of his learned and painstaking master, Diodorus of Tarsus.

Although the ' mystical interpretation ' has come to us with all the credentials of old age and a galaxy of honoured names, it is impossible not to feel a large amount of

[1] Hom. in I. Cor. xxxix.

sympathy for the strenuous though unsuccessful efforts of the Antiochian school. Protestant writers naturally have nothing but praise for it. They see in Antiochene methods a healthy glow which was pre-eminently Protestant. The system at Antioch was the 'Bible and the Bible only'; and its exponents were the 'reformers' of the ancient Church, freed from the leash of ecclesiastical dogmatism, unfettered with the chains forged by a dominant orthodoxy.

We can, however, pay a tribute of respect to the methods of Antioch without altogether ante-dating Protestantism in this way. There was no question at Antioch of wavering loyalty to authority. The Church had expressed no formal opinion on the respective methods of the two schools. Fathers and writers were free to wander in either field and frame their commentaries according to their particular cast of thought, which was greatly dependent on the atmosphere in which they studied and first became acquainted with the principles of exegesis. Moreover, their stern adherence to the strictly literal sense of sacred Scripture was not so much a protest against allegory as against allegorical license—an exaggerated desire to spiritualise the simplest matters of faith. There seemed to them to be no end to the possible extravagances of the 'allegorist' method, no check to the play of its fanciful suggestions. Every allegorist might have developed into a 'Woolston,' —an English deist of the seventeenth century, of whom Trench, in his *Essay on Miracles*, writes as follows :—

> He first attracted unfavourable notice by a certain crack-brained enthusiasm for the allegorical interpretation of Scripture, which he carried to all lengths. Whether he owed this bias to the works of Philo and Origen, or only strengthened and nourished an already existing predilection by the study of their writings, is not exactly clear; but it became a sort of 'fixed idea' in his mind. . . . Meeting, however, with opposition in many quarters, and unable to carry the clergy with him, he broke out at last in unmeasured invectives against them, and in a virulent pamphlet styled them 'slaves of the letter,' 'Baal priests,' blind leaders of the blind,' and the like . . . and when in that great controversy which was raging in the early part of the last century, the defenders of revealed religion entrenched themselves behind the miracles, as defences from which they

could never be driven, as irrefragable proofs of the Divine origin of Christianity. Woolston undertook, by the engines of his allegorical interpretations, to dislodge them from these also, and with this view published his notorious *Letters on the Miracles*. . . . He seeks to show that the miracles, understood in their literal sense, are stuffed so full with extravagances, contradictions, absurdities, that no reasonable man can suppose Christ actually to have wrought them ; while as little could the Evangelists, as honest men, men who had the credit of their Lord at heart, have intended to record them as actually wrought, or desired us to receive them as other than allegories, spiritual truths clothed in the garb of historic events.

Here is allegory running riot in hopeless fashion ; and although no such specimen is to be found among the most advanced adherents of the Alexandrian school, it serves to show what an Antiochene ' literalist ' might reasonably have feared. It seemed to him that the Alexandrian had slipped his cable and was tossing about rudderless on a sea of fancy, with inevitable shipwreck staring him in the face. He learned his lesson accordingly. The ' Unity of sense ' was his refuge, his harbour. There he rode securely at anchor ; never did he venture far, and when he did he hugged the shore, timid to a degree, and fearful of the dread consequences he beheld in others. In a word, the Antiochenes were more discreet, more sober-minded, less venturesome, less volatile and discursive ; but it must be confessed that they had to forfeit in consequence that vast store of real wealth which was obtainable by a legitimate use of the allegorical method. Catholic faith is to be found in Scripture, but not on the surface of it ; and even so it must be supplemented by the aid of tradition.

The truth seems to be that there were excesses in both schools, and the three great Cappadocians struck the right note when they propounded their *via media* in exegesis—a middle term between a servile cult of literalism on the one hand and an unbridled display of the imagination on the other. One's sympathies are at first inclined to go out towards the former. A literal treatment seems to offer less opportunities for abusing the Sacred Text, whereas the opposite method opens the way to every kind of eccen-

tricity ; but strangely enough it is among the Antiochene writers that heresy thrives best. On this point Cardinal Newman has a striking passage[1] which it may be well to quote :—

> The school of Antioch, which adopted the literal interpretation, was the very metropolis of heresy. Not to speak of Lucian, whose history is but imperfectly known,—one of the first masters of this school, and also teacher of Arius and his principal supporters,—Diodorus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, who were the most eminent masters of literalism in the succeeding generation, were the forerunners of Nestorianism. The case had been the same in a still earlier age ; the Jews clung to the literal sense of the Old Testament and rejected the Gospel ; the Christian apologists proved its divinity by means of the allegorical. The formal connection of this mode of interpretation with Christian theology is noticed by Porphyry who speaks of Origen and others as borrowing it from heathen philosophy, both in explanation of the Old Testament and in defence of their own doctrine. It may be almost laid down as an historical fact, that the mystical interpretation and orthodoxy will stand or fall together.

These remarks, however, must be taken to apply to the over-zealous exponents of the ' literal ' method rather than to the ' school ' as a whole. In fact, Cornely[2] lays down the principle that with the exception of a few of the Antiochene interpreters, who fell away from the faith, the hermeneutic system of Antioch is the one which the Catholic interpreter ought to follow. ' Si pauci Antiocheni interpretes, qui a vera fide defecerunt, excipiuntur, fatendum est, ab Antiochena schola illud hermeneuticum systema esse statutum, quod Catholicus interpres sequi debet.'

We are not, however, dealing with the relative merits of Antioch and Alexandria, but only with facts. The methods of Antioch were adopted by many about whose orthodoxy there was never any question—notably St. John Chrysostom—and who, although belonging to the school, never entirely threw in their lot with the re-actionists. It is necessary to bear this in mind to pevent

[1] *Development of Christian Doctrine*, p. 324.
[2] *Compend. Sacr. Scr.*, iv., 3°.

confusion. To find a Father classified under the 'School of Antioch,' who is responsible for several, perhaps many allegorical expositions, is somewhat bewildering.[1] But the explanation is obvious. Antioch, no less than Alexandria could be carried away by zeal into extreme views, and while many of the Fathers saw ample justification for the original protest of the one against the other, and resolved in the main to follow on the lines laid down by the 'reformers,' they were careful not to commit themselves to exegetical extravagances. The first tendency of Antioch to overdo the literal method was gradually checked; the 'school' was purged of its excesses, and there can be no doubt that it exercised a powerful influence on subsequent Patristic writings.

G. E. PRICE.

[1] Of the Fathers who sometimes utilise the allegorical method Cornely writes:—'Reliqui Patres omnes mediam quasi viam inter Originem et Theodorum Mopsuest tenuerunt, licet ex eorum frequentione vel minus frequente allegorica explicatione innotescat, *quanam ex schola prodierint*.'

DENIFLE'S 'LUTHER UND LUTHERTHUM'[1]

FOR reasons that will be obvious this is a remarkable book, and one that appears destined to attain a permanent place in theological literature. It deals with the tactics of perhaps the bitterest enemy the Catholic Church ever had; it describes the doings of an apostate who wielded so mighty an influence for evil that he has ruined the supernatural life of whole nations for more than three hundred years. And it is written by a scholar who possesses a unique knowledge of the most recondite sources of information on the religious history of the sixteenth century in general and on the apostate's career in particular. Hence it places the man in a light where the majority of modern readers never saw him before.

So well is this done that an authority on the subject writing in the Jesuit periodical, *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, observes, that all the numerous biographies of Luther and the annotated editions of his works if combined would not enlighten us so much as this one volume. Such an advance is in great measure due to Father Denifle's being thoroughly conversant with every one of the theological works, patristic or scholastic, that Luther either used or said he used. Then the varied literature of his period, consisting of chronicles, memoirs, letters, theological tracts, polemical pamphlets, etc., has been brought out from the recesses of German libraries, and employed to advantage. Another, and obviously a still more fruitful source of information, is found in the heresiarch's own writings, one of which is here given to the public for the first time. His books, and treatises, and table-talk have been made to show what in reality was the origin of Protestantism, and what was the character of its author. Special attention has been paid to this part, for these various productions stand

[1] *Luther und Lutherthum*. Heinrich Denifle, O.P. Kircheim, Mainz, 1904 (1st vol.).

like milestones on Luther's downward path to mark his progress in crime and error.

From what has just been said it will be understood that *Luther und Lutherthum* is not a literary essay nor a biographical sketch, in the conventional sense of these terms. It does not describe the result of the Leipzig disputations, nor tell us anything about 'the war of the peasants.' It leaves untouched all questions regarding chronology, and it is not concerned with the popular belief about Luther's miserable end. For information respecting matters of this kind, people must betake themselves to works like those by Michelet or Evers. The author of *Luther und Lutherthum* presupposes such knowledge on the part of his readers, and his sole object is to depict the heresiarch's personality in its true colours, to indicate the various passions that combined to make him the monster he was, and to show his ignorance and his insincerity together with the brutal strength of his inclinations and his want of respect for things sacred. Father Denifle's standpoint is that of the theological critic, and his work is a psychological study. Some idea of its nature may be gathered from these titles of chapters and sections, *e.g.*, I. (The turning point in Luther's career). 1. The *splendida vitia*, and the mistakes of Seeberg, Harnack, Kolde, and Prantl, regarding the origin of the expression. 2. Luther's explanation of Rom. i. 17. 3. Luther and Occam. 4. Luther's want of acquaintance with the works of the great scholastic theologians. 5. His interpretation of the axiom, *Facienti quod in se est*, etc. II. (Luther's notions about religious vows). 1. His interpretation of St. Bernard's *Perdite vixi*. 2. 'The vows lead a person away from Christ.' 3. The counsels and Christian perfection—the real teaching of St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, Peter of Tarentaise (Innocent V.), etc. 4. Ritschl and Harnack misled by Luther. Luther's views on prayer and mortification, etc., on marriage, etc. Here we may notice in passing that Father Denifle completely disposes of Luther's lies about his own life as a religious.

Parts of these chapters are not suitable or fit reading

for the young. But this is due to Luther himself. If the author lets Luther expose himself and show himself such as he really was in his shameful doctrines and practices, this is permitted exclusively for the sake of enabling men to understand the genesis of Protestantism. And we feel all the more confidence in Father Denifle's book, when we learn that not until it was substantially written did the author take up any of the current biographies of Luther, whether Catholic or Protestant. He had determined to study the question independently, and he kept his resolve. During the composition of *Luther und Lutherthum* he had recourse to original sources only. His book is, therefore, no mere literary record of secondhand impressions; on the contrary every page of it shows that it is the work of one who is himself a competent critic, theologian, and historian.

This is what led to its being undertaken. Father Denifle, who is at home in the great libraries and archives of the Continent, tells us in his preface that for many years past a phenomenon he had met with in the course of his researches occupied a great deal of his attention. It was the decadence of the clergy for generations from about the middle of the fifteenth century onwards. This was noticeable in France and Germany especially. The records of cathedrals and of cloisters bore indubitable witness to it. It left its mark everywhere. Not, indeed, that earnest-minded men filled with the spirit of their state did not do their utmost to stem the torrent of corruption, but that those who so strove or who even stood firm were the exceptions. For such was the volume and velocity of the current that it swept nearly everyone away. The humanists of Italy and of Germany did more harm than good; in polished verse they satirised the fallen priest, but this was a mere display of their familiarity with Juvenal and Persius; for their own lives, too, were scandalous. It is, indeed, true that some of the French humanists gave proof of their sincerity by withdrawing from the world, but nevertheless the Renaissance was anything but a reformation. A sad spectacle presented itself to the investigator, for the contemporary accounts of the period showed that both in

monasteries and outside them scandals of the gravest kind abounded.

But in the sixteenth century a still lower degree of the most abandoned immorality, a yawning abyss of degradation was reached, and then men bound by vow of chastity not only wallowed in its depths but actually boasted that their own filthy lives were pleasing to God. They proclaimed from the housetops that it was 'Gospel liberty.' The chief difference between them and the former criminals consisted in this: in the fifteenth century bad priests, monks and friars had some dread of the consequences of exposure, but now they sought publicity—as practisers and teachers of the word of God. So far from being ashamed of themselves or of admitting their guilt, they had the effrontery to alter the teaching of Christianity in order to make it agree with their bestial appetites. As a matter of course the word 'concubinage' became obsolete; 'priest-marriage' took its place. One wretch writes thus to another: 'Tu ora Dominum, ut det sacerdotibus uxores christianas.' Of a certain priest we read that he had twelve 'wives' in succession! The state of Germany grew worse year by year, while those who were the cause of it regarded themselves as perfect Christians. 'We are all saints,' cried their leader, 'and cursed be he that does not recognize his own holiness and glory in it. Such glorying is not pride; it is humility and gratitude. Just as you believe the words, "I ascend to my Father and your Father," so are you a saint equally with Peter and the others. The reason is that Christ who cannot lie has said: "I ascend to your Father."'[1]

Never before in all the eventful ages of Christianity was there seen on a gigantic scale so fearful an instance of what Scripture calls 'a reprobate sense.' Such was the outcome of fifteenth century depravity. Father Denifle used at first while reading its own records to wonder if things could possibly be worse, but as he proceeded in his researches he perceived that 'in its lowest depths there

[1] *Luther's Works*, Erlangen edition, vol. xvii., p. 76.

was deeper still.' He tells us that in the continuation of the investigation he had no thought of looking at Luther's disgraceful career in particular, he watched only the broad torrent of corruption plunging into the darkness beneath, but gradually he perceived that the torrent's rage and fury centred in Luther. His amazing success in disseminating heresy, his overwhelming influence in making men think as he himself did, was due to his being in his own life the embodiment and expression of an unclean age. He drew multitudes to destruction simply because he personified the spirit of his time.

One of the chief services that Father Denifle has ever rendered to the cause of truth is his demolition of the idol worshipped by Protestants of every species. Many of us remember the mad enthusiasm displayed in England on the occasion of Luther's centenary, but all of us may not be aware of the *cultus* he receives at all times from many in Germany. To these devotees, Eisleben, Wittenberg, and especially the Wartburg (Luther's *Patmos !*), are places of pilgrimage. Little do these deluded victims of Luther's pride and lust dream of the priceless gift of true religion which he has deprived them of. Many among them are university students, yet they do not know that figment and fable have been presented to them as history. To their imagination Luther appears to be the fearless advocate of pure Christianity and the unsparing reformer of every abuse. He has even been adorned with a reputation for learning. From Glassius, who calls him 'Beatus Lutherus,' to Winer, Dillmann, and Meyer—his version of Scripture has been ostentatiously quoted. Protestant commentators lose no opportunity of obtruding it on the attention of their readers. On knotty points of exegesis it has been referred to as decisive. Protestants have cherished the pious belief that Luther's version of the Scriptures was a masterpiece, just as they believed that it was only his desire to spread the knowledge of the divine Word among the benighted people that compelled him to break with Rome.

Since the complete revelation of the real Luther, this

mythical tale may be said to have received its deathblow. It will disappear in proportion as Denifle's work becomes known. There can be no doubt that the works of his predecessors in this field, Döllinger and Janssens for instance, contributed a great deal towards the refutation of the Luther legend, but it was reserved for the Sub-Archivist of the Vatican to demonstrate once for all its utter falsehood. This he has done with an unsparing hand. As we saw above, it is in Luther's Commentary on the Romans that the virus of his heresy is found in concentrated form. It was Father Denifle's good fortune that during his study of Luther and his times, Professor Ficker discovered a transcript of the long lost manuscript in the Vatican Archives. Many of our readers know that for years Father Denifle has held a foremost place among European scholars, and is regarded as the greatest authority on certain points in the history of the Middle Ages. He has brought to light and annotated numerous documents now embodied in his *Histoire de l'Université de Paris*, with the accompanying Chartularium and Auctarium, besides his work *Desolation des églises, monastères, hôpitaux en France vers le milieu du XV. siècle*, his works on the German mystics, Suso, Tauler, etc., his and Father Ehrle's *Archiv fur die Geshichte des Mittelalters*, etc. But probably not one of his publications is more important than the one now before us. By means of the Vatican copy of Luther's commentary, which the Strassburg professor discovered, it is now possible to describe more exactly than heretofore in what the heresiarch's system consisted, why it was invented, and how it began. All the other writings group themselves round it, and are easily judged of when it is understood. The result left on an unprejudiced reader's mind is that Luther's is one of the vilest characters of which there is record in the pages of history.

A revelation of such deceitfulness and such infamy has rarely been made. So shocking are some of Luther's favourite expressions, and so filthy is the abuse he pours out on the holiest objects, that one person has had to skip several pages in Denifle's work. But another section

amply repaid perusal. It was that in which the author exposes Luther's ignorance of the Fathers, and his interpolation of passages ostensibly taken from their writings. The heresiarch was very fond of such 'quotations'—from no less a personage than St. Augustine. The following examples will sufficiently illustrate his method of making them. Speaking in defence of his favourite assertions he says: 'cum peccatum remittatur ibi (in baptismo) non ut non sit, sed ut non imputetur, ut b. Augustinus ait. Est ergo peccatum ibi verissime,' etc. Every theologian knows that St. Augustine held the contradictory of this, that his teaching on the point is most explicit, and that it is to be found in several parts of his works. The passage which Luther pretends to refer to, really runs thus: 'Ad haec respondetur, dimitti concupiscentiam carnis in baptismo, non ut non sit, sed ut in peccatum non imputetur.'[1] Luther was not satisfied with this, he has recourse to the same device elsewhere. His words are: 'Quid hic dicere possum, nisi quod urgentibus eodem argumento Pelaganis Augustinus dixit, scil. peccatum remitti quoad reatum, sed non quoad actum, seu ut ipsius verbis utar: Peccatum istud reatu transit, actu manet. Sicut enim, ut idem ait, aliquod peccatum transit actu et manet reatu (sicut est omne actuale), ita econtra hoc originis peccatum transit reatu et manet actu.' What St. Augustine said, was: 'Dixi sane, quomodo manent peccata reatu, quae praeterierunt actu; sic econtra fieri potest, ut concupiscentia maneat actu, et praetereat reatu.' The denial of this truth was one of the foundations of Protestantism, so if arguments from authority were wanted, these alterations were looked on as a matter of no consequence. In his so-called Commentary on Romans, as might be anticipated, he speaks of his own difficulties in respect of the dogma: 'Quae cum ita sint, aut ego nunquam intellexi, aut non bene satis de peccato et gratia theologi scholastici sunt locuti, qui originale totum auferri somniant, sicut et actuale, quasi sint quaedam amovibilia in ictu oculi, sicut tenebrae per lucem,' and he then proceeds to manipulate texts, 'Sed

[1] *De nuptiis, et concupiscentia*, I., c. 25, n. 28.

b. Augustinus praeclarissime dixit: peccatum in baptismate remitti, non ut non sit, sed ut non imputetur, Et b. Ambrosius ait: Semper pecco, ideo semper communico.' This is what Father Denifle calls Luther's first falsification. They are numerous.

He was equally unscrupulous in ascribing heresy to some of his opponents when he found that he could not answer their arguments. He attempted to rid himself of the troublesome theologian Eck in this way. He boldly asserted that Eck's theses, which were published in 1519, contained no fewer than twenty heretical propositions. It would be hard to imagine a more shameless and a more absurd fabrication. The first of these propositions was 'The Council of Nice and the four following ones are heretical;' the fifth and sixth stated that 'Augustine, Ambrose, Martin, Nicholas, Gregory of Nazianzen, etc., are heretics'!

Throughout this section of his work Father Denifle points out ever so many blunders of which the 'critical' editors of Luther's works are guilty. And men with a reputation for learning, as Harnack and Seeberg, also regard Luther's statement as true and rely on his alleged quotations. They appear not to have examined things for themselves. Father Denifle's solid erudition enables him to set them right in innumerable instances. If an ordinary person differed from them in their estimate of Luther's knowledge, they would probably ignore his remarks. But a scholar of world-wide fame cannot be treated in this way. His words command attention and will be listened to, whether Kolde, Buchwald, Kawerau, Harnack, Seeberg and others like or no.

It can easily be understood that a work such as this would raise a storm of indignation in Protestant Germany. In fact, writers of every calibre and of every religious species, have joined in denouncing Denifle. The Lutheran papers, *Berlin Post*, *Kreuzzeitung*, etc., have swelled the chorus, and the *Evangelisches Bund* lately distributed 100,000 copies of an inflammatory pamphlet. Naturally enough the author took no notice of these worthies, but when 'from devotion to history and from love of truth' univer-

sity professors entered the lists to do battle for Luther, he considered it a duty to refute them. Harnack's and Seeberg's united attack was repulsed in the pamphlet published last April, *Luther in rationalistischer und christlicher Beleuchtung : prinzipielle Auseinandersetzung mit A. Harnack und R. Seeberg*. It is enough here to say that neither of them was able to discover any error in Denifle's work ; they abused him, however, for pointing out several in theirs. Other university professors have followed the Berlin champions ; but with no better success, namely Haussleiter (Greifswald), Lösche (Vienna), Walther (Rostock), Kolde and Fester (Erlangen), Kohler (Giessen), Kawerau (Breslau), Hausrath (Heidelberg), and Baumann (Göttingen).

Denifle replies to these critics will be found in his second edition, part of which has just been issued. It is no uncertain sign of the excellence of *Luther und Lutherthum*, that a new edition should be required in a few months. The book is one that does not appeal to the *profanum vulgus*. It can be appreciated only by scholars. Soon after its appearance, the great German reviews said that for years no book had created such a sensation, and we see now that they were right. The reprint has given the author a welcome opportunity of developing some parts, of adding proofs and references, and of arranging the enormous mass of matter in a more convenient form. The result is that we have a thoroughly trustworthy analysis of Luther's untruths, an irrefutable description of his personal doings and character, and also a masterly exposition and defence of the Catholic doctrines which he denied. An acute critic has observed : ' Il ne sera plus possible de parler de Luther sans avoir lu le P. Denifle,' and with these words this brief sketch may fittingly be concluded.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

PREACHING IN THE DAYS OF OUR LORD

IT may be said that the Sermon received its origin and underwent its gradual development in the Jewish synagogue from the peculiar religious history and the politico-religious hopes of the chosen people. Previous to the establishment of synagogues we have no proof of the existence of preaching as a custom, although in sacred Scripture we see distinct signs leading us to suppose that religious addresses were not of unfrequent occurrence from the earliest and most remote times. That Moses himself preached to the people, in the sense of recording what were the things and how important were the matters he had received from Jehovah, seems clear from the very structure of the Book of Deuteronomy, which is one long exhortation directed by the great legislator to the wandering Israelites. After his time vestiges of orations treating of religious subjects are now and again to be met with in the Old Testament ; but, while we are there admonished that it is from the lips of the priest the interpretation of the law was to be sought, we find those not connected with the family of Aaron frequently, and, indeed, generally, performing the office of the preacher. There is some reason to suppose that the Judges made addresses not necessarily of a political nature. There is absolute proof that the last and the greatest of them, Samuel, did so ; and when we bear in mind that the name *Choze*—Seer—by which he and his predecessors were called, is undoubtedly the same in meaning as *Chazan*,[1] the minister of the synagogue, it might with some probability be assumed that the judicial addresses to the people would be regarded in the same light as the later and more distinctly religious sermon. Again, we see the prophets addressing the people ; and, indeed, it is very evident that most of those mentioned in sacred Writ were sent by God to the Jews with the express command to deliver His

[1] I am following Buxdorf and Lightfoot in the opinion that the *Sheliach Tsibbur* and the Chazan were one and the same person.

message. But this was no essential part of the prophetical office. They might have been prophets even had they not uttered a syllable ; for the school of the prophets to which some, if not all, of them belonged, presumed the possibility of its members residing always in its midst unchosen by God as instruments of the Holy Spirit, or, if chosen, simply receiving a message for themselves, or one only to be committed to writing.

The Babylonian Captivity changed the conditions of the Jewish people in a very extraordinary degree. Previous to that calamity they had had a language of their own—a language that will ever be precious to the human race, because, by means of it, the Creator deigned to speak with the creature ; and which, moreover, will always stand out in the midst of the rest of languages as one, in itself, indeed, rugged, simple, and even rudimentary, but bearing, as a vehicle, thoughts more sublime and poetry more beautiful than any of its brethren whether ancient or modern. That language, the Hebrew, became a dead one during the Babylonian Captivity. The Jews adopted the tongue of their captors, while that which, with their fathers, had been so full of vitality and power was first of all discarded and afterwards forgotten. Of the complete difference between the sacred language and the Aramaic which took its place on the lips of the Hebrew settlers in Babylon there can be no doubt in the mind of the student who endeavours, with only a knowledge of one of these tongues, to read through either the Book of the Prophet Daniel or that of Esdras. They are as dissimilar as are German and English. Very far-reaching were the effects of this adoption of the Babylonian speech during the captivity. It accompanied the Jews on their return to their native land ; it existed, with the necessary variations which all languages undergo in the course of ages, as the vulgar tongue of the inhabitants of Palestine for nearly a thousand years ; it even lent its form of letters to the Hebrew, with which, up till to-day, the sacred Scripture has been presented to all nations, and, combined with the old language, it has produced one differing from both in what is known as Rabbinic or New Hebrew.

Together with this change of national language, yet another circumstance influenced in a very decided manner the religious habits of the people. The sacred Scripture came to be regarded more than ever as something totally different from a code of laws dealing with the civil and spiritual life of the nation. Each inhabitant of Palestine, whether learned or ignorant, considered it to be the treasure house of the most precious promises, on which the largest hopes of the advent of the Messianic kingdom, the Kingdom of God, were grounded. And these promises, with the time of their fulfilment and the extent of their meaning, were not evident to the naked eye of the mind, but might be found out only by the student and the mystic—persons who had carefully prepared the powers of the soul, the faculties of the intelligence, and, perhaps, also the condition of the body itself.

This, then, was the condition of affairs from the time of the Babylonian Captivity. We see a people ignorant of the language, the knowledge of which alone could lay bare the commandments and the statutes their God had asserted must necessarily be obeyed and observed should they expect from Him either prosperity or immunity from evil. We see, moreover, a people who regarded it as a first principle that, even were they able to read the sacred text, there yet remained a sense hidden beneath it which no mere grammatical ingenuity might elucidate nor the most intimate knowledge of the ancient tongue make plain. In the first instance an interpreter became an absolute necessity, and in the second some kind of preacher was indispensable. It is in the service of the synagogue that we meet with both of these officials.

It is remarkable that when, in ecclesiastical terminology Judaism and Christianity are mentioned in contradistinction the one to the other, the former finds itself most frequently called by the name of synagogue and the latter by that of church. Rarely, if ever, do we find the two systems compared or opposed with the word *Temple* employed for expressing the Faith which our Lord brought to an end, and from which the first adherents to Christianity

broke away. This is the more surprising when we remember that there is a far greater difference between the religion of Christ and the Temple service than there is between the services of the Church and those which took place in the Synagogues. It would not be difficult to prove that, if we except the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, Christian worship in its outward forms was influenced to a very large extent by that of the synagogue ; while, on the other hand, were one to endeavour to draw any parallel, excepting of a very symbolic nature, between the forms and ceremonies of Christianity and those of the Temple, the attempt would be more or less of a failure.

Yet the reason of the selection of the word Synagogue in preference to that of Temple is far from being a difficult one to give. That selection was indeed a very natural one. For years before our Lord came the Temple, solemn and awe-inspiring as it undoubtedly was to the Jew, had ceased to enter, even if it ever had entered, into the continual and perpetual religious thoughts of the people. There are grave reasons for believing that one half at least of the population during their whole life never saw the Temple. The people of the soil, as the Rabbins somewhat contemptuously called those who were without learning and without religion, were on the one hand so poor, and on the other so negligent as to make it inconceivable that the yearly custom of going up to Jerusalem had not, in their case, fallen completely into desuetude. While the more pious and better instructed, who, if we except the inhabitants of the Holy City itself, entered the precincts of the Temple only at rare intervals, would not find their thoughts so centred in that building as they would in one whose threshold they crossed three times a week for the public services, and in which twice a day they preferred to repeat in private the *Shemang*, the special profession of Jewish faith in the unity of the Godhead. Such a building was the synagogue. We are not obliged to agree with Lightfoot, who, following the Rabbinical tradition, asserts that there were some five hundred of these buildings in Jerusalem alone ; but it is admitted on all sides that there were there a very great number, many

of them occupying a position and supplying a want held and felt by a modern cathedral city, and some of them erected at the cost of the professional crafts, to whose spiritual needs they ministered, like the guild chapels of the Middle Ages. The smaller places, so long as they could procure ten men of leisure to carry out the services, had a synagogue : larger towns and cities had many. The Temple stood out in the mind of the Jews as the embodiment of the idea that they were a holy people on a holy soil, the government of which was a theocracy, the God of which dwelt in the land He ruled over. The synagogue was a place in which each soul entered into intimate communion with its Maker ; where the holiest moments of a lifetime were spent, and the most serious actions of the human career were performed ; and where, too, occupied in a service of prayer and praise in which the Jews of the whole world likewise engaged, they forgot the smallness of their country in thinking of the multitudes of their numbers dispersed throughout the globe. To them and to the first followers of our Lord the word synagogue stood for the Jewish religion in much the same manner as the word church from that time to the present stands for that of Christianity.

The most important and by no means the shortest portion of the Synagogue service was that of reading the Law. Originally meaning only the five books of Moses this word *Torah*, Law, was applied to the whole twenty-two of those comprised in the Jewish canon ; and these, as is well known, were regarded as of equal weight, all of them having received from God the same quality and degree of inspiration. To hear it read was at the same time a duty and the greatest blessing the Jew could enjoy. To endeavour to grasp its meaning was a matter held to be so generally important that Jehovah Himself was believed to pass some hours of the Sabbath day in its study. If it was objected that the Law was given to Moses when the world was already advanced some centuries in its history, they answered by pointing out that it was written by God before the creation was even thought of ; and they maintained that the Patriarchs, far from being ignorant of its existence, carried out

each one of its ordinances with the punctiliousness of the most exact Scribe or Pharisee. From the moment on Friday evening when they lighted the Sabbath lamp and recited that very beautiful apostrophe to Jerusalem commencing 'Come my beloved to meet the bride. Let us greet the face of the Sabbath,' the reading of the Law at the end of the morning service was regarded as the crown of the day, in much the same way as the seventh day itself was said by them to be the jewel set in the ring formed by God of the other six. When the *Sheliach Tsibbur* approached the Ark in which the scroll of the Law was kept, a feeling similar to that which moves in the breast of the devout Catholic at the Elevation sprang up paramount within each one. It was the most solemn moment of the day. It was almost as if the High Priest were going into the Holy of Holies, of which this part of the synagogue was purposely a copy. They heard the words addressed to them as the door was unlocked and the sacred text brought without the curtain, 'Magnify the Lord with me and let us together extol His name for ever;' and they answered, 'For ever extol ye the Lord our God. The Law which Moses commanded us is the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob: the tree of life to those who hold fast by it; its paths are pleasantness and its ways peace.' The reader would approach the *bima* or desk, would salute the 'Angel of the congregation'—the Sheliach Tsibbur—who would answer to his salutation, and the reading would commence.

The particular part of the synagogue which was set aside for the reading of the Law was as near as possible the centre; and the Ark, which was at the south end, would be behind the reader, as would also be, with their faces turned towards him, the principal officials connected with the sacred building. Facing him would be the members of the congregation, at the far north end being the gallery for women who, at the time we mention, were not allowed to worship with the men, an arrangement the strictness of which was afterwards considerably relaxed. By the side of the reader would be the interpreter, who was, as we have already suggested, an outcome of those peculiar religious

needs of the Jewish people arising in post exilic times. This individual was a much more important personage, so far as erudition is concerned, than any one of those seven singled out by the Sheliach Tsibbur for the mere reading of the Scriptures ; for, while with the latter no more extensive culture was necessary than a moderate knowledge of the ancient tongue, the very office of the former made an exact study of Hebrew, of the history of his own people, and that of the nations with whom they had come into contact, and, to some extent at least, of their language as well, almost a necessity. The reader had merely to use his voice, and that only sufficiently, to make sure of the interpreter's catching his words ; but he who was qualified to interpret had to make his version reach with distinctness the farthest corner of the building, and, at the same time, to render the absolutely correct meaning of the word which fell on his ears. Not that he was always obliged to give a *verbatim* translation. He was not, in certain words, tied down to supplying their equivalent in the vernacular. There were passages, readily occurring to the mind of the student of sacred Scripture, which he was even commanded to pass over in silence ; there were words, evident misprints, which the Jew could not then, and will not now, allow to be expunged from the Word of God, which both the reader and he had to omit for the proper ones ; and there were coarse expressions, offensive both to pious and to polite ears, which he was expected to change for something more polished. He might even make a paraphrase, and frequently did so. An example of this is seen in the following extract taken from the Targum—interpretation—of Jonathan, who is giving in the vulgar Aramaic what he considers a fair rendering of the eighteenth verse of the third chapter of Genesis.

Thorns and briars shall it bring forth in abundance on thy account, and thou shalt eat the grass which is on the face of the field. And Adam answered and said : 'I pray thee, O merciful Jehovah, let us not be reckoned as the animals that we should eat the grass which is on the face of the field. But let us labour with the work of our hands and eat food from the produce of the land. So shall there be before Thee a distinction made between the sons of men and the offspring of the beasts of the field.

Nor did he, on all occasions, confine his efforts even to producing a paraphrase ; but, as we shall see from the Jerusalem Targum, he went so far as to endeavour to amuse his audience with a short instruction filled with that traditional lore, which, at that time, formed the very warp and woof of Scriptural interpretation. The following is the explanation of the twenty-fourth verse of the third chapter of Genesis according to the Jerusalem Targum :—

> Two thousand years before He created the world He created the Law, and made the Garden of Eden (Paradise) and Gehenna (Hell). He made the Garden of Eden for the righteous, who shall eat and enjoy the fruit of its trees because they have kept the commandments of the Law in this world. He made Gehenna for the wicked, and it is like a sharp, consuming, two edged sword. In the middle of it He made sparks of fire and burning coals so as to be avenged, by means of them, of the wicked in the world to come ; because they kept not the commandments of the Law in this world. For the Law is the tree of life. Whosoever keepeth it in this world liveth and flourisheth as the tree of life. Good is the Law in this world to him that doeth it ; just as the fruit of the tree of life will be good to him in the world to come.

Yet the interpreter, with all the endowments he was supposed to possess, and in many cases actually did possess, and in spite of his being a preacher in so far as his interpretation was a commentary of the sacred text that was being read, was neither regarded as the most cultured person, whose business it was to address the assembly each Sabbath morning, nor was he looked upon by them as being the preacher *par excellence*. This office and honour belonged to one who, so soon as the reading of the Law was finished, advanced to the *Bima* and took up his position in front of the people, this time not standing but sitting in a seat prepared for the purpose. This was the great man of the hour ; perhaps the great person of the day, whose name was known far beyond the limits of the city or the village where now he was about to give evidence of his wonderful sagacity—a power, even, it might be, throughout the length and the breadth of that seemingly insignificant land of Palestine. He was *the* preacher. Taking his name of *Darshan* from

the Hebrew root *Darash*, meaning to enquire or to penetrate, he was credited with the special endowment of being able to dive into that sea of mysteries which flowed, as it were, over the whole of the passages of sacred Writ, and to bring up for the admiring mind of all the pearl of great price. At first no particular commission and no form of ordination gave him the requisite qualification to preach the *derasha* or sermon. Anyone of noted ability might be requested by the ruler of the synagogue to fill the position so admired by all, and to sit in the chair and enjoy the honour so generally coveted. But the propensity, noticeable even in our Lord's time, of limiting the position of the Darshan to those whom we may call the caste of the Scribes and Pharisees became a universal rule ; and a kind of ordination came to be looked on as a necessity previously to unlocking to the expectant Israelite the hidden treasure-house of the Scriptures.

But, preacher though he was, we should err very much were we to imagine that he performed his task in a manner calculated to occasion a modern audience much enjoyment or even edification. Not only did he sit, but there stood by his side the interpreter, prepared to do for him the same kind offices he had already bestowed on the readers. The preacher's own manner, delivery, eloquence, or want of it, were not, in the estimation of the Rabbins themselves, of much importance ; although, as we shall see, at the time we are now considering they began to be apprehensive lest, if something in that respect were not attempted by them, the influence which they exercised over the people might gradually decline. The interpreter was the channel through which the result of the wonderful penetration of the Darshan into divine mysteries was imparted to the assembled congregation, his business being sometimes to translate, and sometimes only to cry out in a louder voice that which was frequently merely whispered into his ears. It is to this preaching in the ears that our Lord alludes when he exhorts His disciples to proclaim from the housetops that which they had heard almost in silence. 'Quod in aure auditis predicate super tecta,' were words which, when spoken, brought

vividly to the minds of the first followers of Christ the scene they had so often witnessed in the synagogue, and must, in aftertimes, when their Lord was departed, have reminded them of how they were privileged to act as interpreters to Him who was the King of Preachers and the Darshan sent from heaven.

But the rule of making use of the interpreter by the preacher was by no means a universal one. There were some Rabbins who clearly preceived that, if it looked wise to sermonise in the ancient Hebrew, and to employ a third person to give the burthen of their thoughts to the audience, yet such a system, besides involving a double amount of labour, was hardly so satisfactory in its results as one which demands that the person who has thought out or prepared the discourse should be the same as he who preaches it. Moreover, given a good voice and a fair state of health, it is human nature for him who has composed the speech which is to be presented to the public, to suppose that he, too, is more likely than any other to deliver it to the best purpose. We find, therefore, Jewish preachers now and again casting aside what they could not help seeing was a useless and an effete custom, and addressing the people themselves without the assistance of any intermediary whatever.

The New Testament, in drawing a comparison between the preaching of our Lord and that of the Scribes and Pharisees, leaves us with the distinct impression on our mind that the people listened to the latter, at least sometimes, not gladly, and that these learned persons taught without authority. We may well believe it. Nothing, surely, could be imagined as so suitable for wearying one part of the popular audience and for irritating the other as the ordinary Rabbinic sermon. It was a Cabbalistic effusion ; and the Cabbala was not merely a system of mystical theology, but a theology which, when applied to a text or a passage of Scripture, could, as it were, shake out from it every conceivable meaning. The first letters of each word with which the erudite Rabbi had prefaced his discourse would be ingeniously placed together, and immediately

some new one would be evolved pregnant with signification. The letters of one word might numerically be the same as those of another in the text ; and in that fact would appear some point worthy of the deepest consideration. Perhaps the fate of the world or of some person in the world might hang on the coincidence ! Then, what might not be done were the letters of a word simply taken from its place, the first occupying the position of the last or *vice versa*, and the centre one left out entirely or placed at the beginning or at the end ? In a language like the Hebrew, at that time without vowel points, where the very same letters might have sometimes eleven and more different meanings, where each letter, as with most of the ancient tongues, stands also for a number, and where some of the consonants are so very similar in their forms, what opportunities were given by the Cabbala for running riot with a text, and how easy to prove that black, after all, is white ! The Talmud supplies us with abundant testimony that these subterfuges, or, as the Rabbi would honestly suppose them to be, embellishments, were employed by the preacher on a very extensive scale. For, although the Babylonian Talmud is a work composed after the times which we are now considering, taking from the second to the fifth centuries before it reached the form in which we have it, it undoubtedly, in many places, puts before its readers the words of the Rabbins, delivered to the people either in the synagogues or the Beth Midrash in days long preceding the date of its own compilation. There we see the Cabbala in all its glory. There Rabbi this, or Abba Ben that, will, in discussing a matter ask, ' what saith the Scripture,' and will at once triumphantly adduce some text or other from that authority. In any case he is successful. If the words have a bearing on the question at issue no more is to be said ; but if, at first sight, they seem utterly irrelevant, the irrelevancy is soon made to disappear by introducing a word so seemingly like one in the text as to require a most discerning eye to see the difference. ' Do not read this,' exclaims the Rabbi, as he dismisses the words to be found in the sacred text, ' but read this,' the one so like it in sound or in structure. It is wonderful how much can

be done in the tongue he was quoting from by such a system of exegetics! If needs be, the adroit preacher can turn 'milk' into 'fat,' a 'word' into a 'pestilence,' and with a little extra manipulation into a 'bee,' 'lambs' into 'mysteries,' 'ways' into 'traditions,' 'children' into 'builders,' 'trembling' into 'reverence' or even 'a court,' and so on almost indefinitely. Indeed, without the Cabbala. he was never at a loss in finding meanings which could not, we think, occur to any other but one brought up as he was, to hold that the Word of God is to be translated in accordance with tradition. Tradition was everything with them. God had given it equally with the rest of the sacred Scripture on Mount Sinai.

Rabbi Levi Bar Chamah following Rabbi Simeon Ben Lachish asketh, what is the meaning of the Scripture: 'I have given to thee the tables of stone, and the Law, and the commandment, which I have written that you should teach them.' The tables of stone, these are the ten commandments; the Law, this is the Scripture; the commandment, this is the Mishnah (the first part of the tradition); which I have written, these are the prophets and the sacred writings; that you should teach them, this is the Gemara (the second part of the tradition). From this we learn that the whole was given to Moses on Mount Sinai. All of these are the words of the Living God.[1]

Nay, the tradition was more than the written Word itself. It was by word of mouth that God had spoken with the great legislator, Moses, and only, therefore, by oral tradition had He made His covenant with Israel; for, 'Rabbi Jochanan saith: The Holy and Blessed Lord made no covenant with Israel except by means of the words of the *Baal Peh*.'[2] With regard to the study of the Scripture they asserted that there might be some merit in it and there might be none; but when the Mishnah and the Gemara came into question the study of the former was always meritorious and brought its reward, while, 'as to the Gemara, thou canst not do an action more meritorious than study that.'[3] True, the study of the *Torah*, the written Word, was one of

[1] Beracoth, sec. 5, and Gittim, sec. 2.
[2] Gittim, 60 (oral tradition).
[3] Baba Metsiaha, 32.

the greatest virtues a man could practice, greater than good works, more praiseworthy than obedience and honour to father and mother ; but then,

> In searching out the meaning of the Scripture running : My son be heedful of the making of many books, the Rav saith, its signification is : My son be more heedful of the words of the Scribes than of the words of the Torah ; for the words of the Torah are but positive and negative commands, while, whosoever transgresseth the words of the Scribes is guilty of death.[1]

On such a system as this was the preacher's office erected. His only anxiety was not to contradict in any way the brilliant inanities of those wonderful Rabbins who had lived in the old time before him. His ambition and great desire was to evolve from his own fertile brain some new idea which he might demonstrate in the same bewildering manner as his forerunners had done, a fair example of which we see in the learned performances of the innumerable Rabbis Akiba, Gamaliel, Eliezar, Jochanan and others in the Talmud. So he hoped would posterity hold his name in veneration ; and so would he, to use the strong utterances of our Lord, make still more insupportable the burden which the Scribes and Pharisees had placed about the necks of the Jewish people, a burden which they refused to stir so much as the little finger to alleviate.

Yet, in spite of a gradually increasing disinclination on the part of the people to listen to sermons of this description, the Rabbins found little difficulty in gathering together an audience which, on occasions, would assume even very large proportions. After all, even with them there was some scope for introducing matter which might pass for knowledge, and for using illustrations which, whether apt or not, might, at any rate, prove amusing. If the tradition had handed it down as a fact that there were three hundred and sixty-five negative commandments in the Law, just as there are that number of days in the year, and two hundred and forty-eight positive ones, just as there was supposed to be a similar number of limbs in the human

[1] Erubin, 21.

body, *they* surely might introduce their own knowledge of astronomy and of medicine, and show some connection between these sciences and the more divine science of preaching the Word. The ancients had given no reason why they should have stopped at the number of the commandments mentioned, nor, indeed, why they should have found so many; they gave no proof that since the destruction of the temple the firmament, as they said, had never shone with its proper lustre, or that there was at the head of the Psalmist's bed a harp over which at midnight the wind gently swept, causing the strings to play the tune which awoke that 'sweet singer in Israel;' and what the ancients could do without proof surely might be similarly done without proof by those who sat now in their seat.

There was, however, another kind of preaching, engaged in by persons who were not always Scribes and Pharisees, which attracted popular attention and drew after it, wherever it was practised, great assemblies made up of those who cared nothing for subtle explanations or traditional intricacies. This consisted largely of discourses filled with stories and narratives taken from the Haggadah, a branch of Rabbinical literature pretending to present to the reader the lives of the patriarchs and other holy and remarkable personages. This class of sermon was despised by the more cultured of the Darshanin. It was unlearned; which was true. But it was also very successful, particularly with the lower stratum of society who, at that time, as, indeed, at the present, are as interested in a tale as much as any children. These felt little concern in the precise signification of this word or of that, and failed to find amusement in the exegetical gymnastics of the graver and more scholarly preacher. It was a real difficulty to many of the Rabbins to understand how their weighty effusions could be treated with indifference by the people, while they flocked to hear, and were enraptured by, some unlettered person waxing eloquent in the extraordinary adventures of Abraham, Isaac, or of Jacob. Certainly the stories *were* extraordinary. We read that Abraham was

much occupied in preaching to the inhabitants of Ur of the Chaldeans, and that Isaac spent his time in performing the same office to the people round about him. He revealed the secret of the truth to Jacob, who, in his turn, instructed Levi to keep alive the faith of his brothers, and to bring back the worship of the true God to the heathen, the Rabbinical name for whom, no matter what particular form of heathenism they favoured, was the 'adorers of the stars.' One account of their origin is very simple—men soon after the creation began to be charmed with the brightness of the heavenly bodies, and, forgetting the Creator, whom they did not see, adored these creatures whose excellence was so apparent. Another account, highly Haggadistic, mentions the patriarch Enos as the *fons et origo* of all the mischief. He early in life became eager to solve the mystery of existence, and one day startled Seth, his father, by asking him the question: 'My father, who was thy father?' 'Adam,' was the answer. But the youth followed up the question with another, 'And who was Adam's father?' this time to be told that Adam was formed out of the dust of the earth by the Creator. Then Enos himself went and took dust from the ground, and made the image of a human being; but found to his great surprise that the form which he had shaped possessed neither life nor movement. Again the father was consulted; and the perplexity of Enos was relieved by the information that, when the Creator had taken dust from the earth and built up the first man, He breathed into his face the breath of life and man became a living soul. Thereupon the lad approached the figure he had formed and breathed upon it, with the result that it commenced to live, and, indeed, continued to live, the one great difference between it and the race springing from Adam consisting in the fact that it despised the Lordship of Jehovah and worshipped the sun, the moon and the stars.

Some of these Rabbinical stories might have been well dispensed with as having neither point nor beauty. Some again to older minds will appear foolish and empty. Nevertheless in a great many the thoughtful person will rarely

fail to be impressed by some sentiment of real wisdom and by a prevailing atmosphere of simple, childlike charm. Not everyone, we feel sure, will be inclined to ridicule the tale in which the letter Aleph is represented as disappointed at not being chosen by the Creator to commence the writing of the Law. Beth, the second letter, was the favoured sign. It stands for the word *In* in the first text of the Bible ; and it pleased the Lord to begin the Law with it because it is also the first letter of the Hebrew word for blessing. Then Aleph, we are told, flew up before the throne of the Almighty, and said : ' Begin the Law with me ; I am the first letter of the alphabet.' Jehovah was obdurate ; was resolute in His determination to confer the honour on Beth ; and yet, feeling that some slight had been administered to the unfortunate first letter, and being moved with compassion, he promised that an equal, if not a greater honour, should be awarded her by commencing the ten commandments with Aleph at their head. He prefaced the Decalogue with the words, ' I am the Lord thy God,' the first letter of which and that of the alphabet are the same.

On the lips of these Haggadistic preachers every inanimate thing assumed a kind of life and gave utterance to sentiments, if not at all times overflowing with wisdom, yet not invariably more foolish than those which now and again fall from the tongue of the members of the human race. The moon can tell the Supreme Being that it is inconvenient to have two great lights shining in the firmament, a divided monarchy always presenting a contradiction in more ways than one. The Torah seeks protection at the throne of her Maker against the unscrupulous manner in which she, his daughter, was sometimes used by His children the Israelites. The earth, the sea, the wilderness, have conversations with Satan, and with other spiritual personages good and bad.

Nor were some of these stories devoid of what might be termed very beneficial and very religious lessons. Job, it was said, had always the four doors of his house wide open ; one to the north, another to the south, a third to the east, and a fourth to the west. He did this in order that the

wandering poor might find him without difficulty, and might feel no temptation to pass without asking the alms they needed, as they would do, perhaps, did they meet with the least obstacle in attempting to reach the holy man. By such an example did the Rabbins teach the duty of bestowing charity on the indigent, a duty, moreover, which they emphasised by the principle 'Let thy house be open to the winds, and let the poor be thy children.' Again, there were tales of how in this world a beneficent action had met with its reward. What could so much arouse the parsimonious to an honest endeavour to assist those in distress as the episode connected with the man who was sinking in the waves of the sea, and was given up by his friends and neighbours for drowned, but who appeared in their midst a day or two afterwards, nothing the worse for his misadventure? As he was nearing the bottom of the ocean, so he maintained, he heard the conversation of ministering angels, the burthen of which was that one so charitable as he had shown himself to be, merited both a longer life and a less disastrous death than shipwreck. They then hastily flew up to Jehovah and obtained his deliverance just as he was in the act of succumbing. Another, too whose office it was to administer public charity, had met one day with the distressing case of a widow and her four children perishing from starvation. The public purse was empty; but, moved by the piteous cries of the woman, the worthy man had relieved their great want out of his own pocket. Eventually the reward came. It came to pass that the Rabbi sickened and was at the point of death. The ministering angels could not support the thought that he should thus quickly be taken out of the world, and they proceeded to Jehovah and entered into the divine presence. Was it not a fact, they asked, that salvation was a sure thing to that Israelite who had brought about the salvation of one soul? Well, then, how much more did it seem fitting that this pious person, who had saved from death not one, but a widow and her four little ones, should himself be delivered from his sickness and restored to health. Their argument, we are informed, was successful; for, three and twenty

years were thereupon added to the life of Rabbi Benjamin the righteous.

From what has been said we are able to form an idea, if only an imperfect one, of the preaching which took place in the Holy Land two thousand years ago. The scenes we have endeavoured to describe were witnessed by our Lord Himself; His eyes and ears, and those of the Apostles, were well used to the things we have mentioned, and to many others, connected with this subject, we have left unsaid. Often, doubtless, they had asked questions after the discourse, as the enquiring among the hearers frequently did and, indeed, were expected to do, did they feel so disposed. Often, too, they must have wondered at the strange sight, and the still stranger words, of the Rabbins disputing, or rather wrangling, with one another in the Beth Midrash. There a new feature was frequently introduced in the shape of heated dialectics between two persons of rival schools of Rabbinic thought. These would thresh out their views by arguments, so far as they were capable of arguments; by miracles, some of which are gravely described; and by appealing even to heaven. The voice of God—the Bath Qol as it was called—would, so it is asserted, sometimes answer in favour of the view held by the contending speaker; but no sooner had the Bath Qol deigned to reply than the triumphant Rabbi would find his defeat the more signal and marked. He would be ridiculed by his opponent. The voice of God, he would be told, was no proof. Truth is not to be sought from heaven, for Jehovah had left the possession of it on earth in the hands ot the Rabbins! At this, we are told, God only smiles, and says: 'I am conquered by My own children'—meaning that, by their refusal to take the evidence of the Bath Qol as an argument, they were simply reminding him of the w rds written in the Scripture: 'These things are not in .eaven,' for in that passage He was supposed to have intended the conclusion to be drawn that the decision of all doubts and difficulties had been resigned by Him into the hands of the Rabbins.

But all this was, as it were, on its deathbed. A greater than Moses was at that very time walking the earth. On

that occasion when, as we are told in the New Testament, the supposed carpenter's son arose in the synagogue to address the people, another kind of preaching was inaugurated which was eventually to empty the synagogues themselves, and to shake the very foundations of the Jewish religion. On that day when, at the beckon of the Chazan, He advanced and read that passage from Isaias, and commenced to explain it by the memorable words, 'this day is this word fulfilled in your ears,' the death knell of the old Rabbinic sermon was tolled. It was, as it were, the rift in the lute. Wider and wider became the influence of that Divine Preacher, the introducer of a higher method. The fame of Him spread abroad into all that country; and for three years He held the people spell-bound by His words, entranced by His ideas. From that time, whether in the Jewish community or out of it, began, at least, the end to subtle distinctions and to smart applications of Holy Writ. The story, too, as the very essence of a sermon had had its day. God and His care over us; the soul and its needs; the consolations in religion for the ills of this life; the hope of heaven and of everlasting peace and joy—these were subjects henceforth first to engage the preacher's thoughts and words, after which they were to be eagerly hailed by a devout and a delighted audience.

JOHN FREELAND.

NOTE—The references in this paper would be so many that I think it less wearisome both to the reader and myself merely to say that my information is gathered from Jewish Liturgical Prayerbooks, Babylonian Talmud, Rabbinical Commentaries on Genesis, The Targums, Buxdorf, Lightfoot, Edersheim, etc.

SOME ENTRIES RELATING TO THE IRISH CHURCH

AS CALENDARED IN THE STUART PAPERS, 1700-1715

THE subject of domestic nomination by the exiled Stuarts has never been adequately treated, and therefore the entries relating to Ireland, as calendared in the Stuart Papers (belonging to his Majesty King Edward VII.), cannot fail to be of service to some future Irish ecclesiastical historian. In addition, there are many other entries, not to be found elsewhere, of deep interest to students of our history in the early eighteenth century, to which much obscurity previously attached. With the entries from 1700 to 1715 I shall deal in the present paper.

King James II. died on September 16th, 1701, and immediately his son was proclaimed as James III., *de jure* King of Great Britain and Ireland. On September 22nd, the young king, 'the old Pretender,' wrote to Pope Clement XI., announcing the death of his father, adding :—'His last charges to us on his death-bed will, we hope, never be forgotten by us, namely, that we should always prefer the eternal salvation of our soul and the profession of the Roman Catholic faith to all transitory things and to all temporal advantages whatsoever.'

On October 3rd, 1701, Queen Mary writes to the Bishop of Ypres recommending to his care Father O'Donnell who had just been appointed confessor to the Irish Benedictine Nuns at Ypres—a foundation dating from the year 1612. This Father O'Donnell converted to the faith Miss Mary Louisa Maclean (daughter of Sir Alexander Maclean), whose sister Letitia joined the community of Ypres in 1705 and died there in 1754. Let me add that from 1701 to 1840 a long line of Irish abbesses ruled the Benedictine convent of Ypres, a convent alluded to in Davis's song, 'The Flower of Finae.'

On November 4th, James III. issued an order that the

full court ceremonial of the English court should be observed at St. Germain's; and, accordingly, state officers, and officers of the household, etc., were appointed, with James Porter as vice-chamberlain to the king, and John Stafford in a similar capacity to the queen mother.

A French document, dated November 12th, is a recommendation from James III. to the General of the Capuchins, in favour of Father Robert Tyrrell, 'Warden of the Irish province of Capuchins,' who was journeying to Rome on business of his Order. Previously, the Irish Capuchins had convents at Charleville and Sedan, but since 1696 they had centred their community at Bar-sur-Aube, of which Father Nugent was Guardian in that year. This Father Richard Nugent was fourth Earl of Westmeath, who resigned his patrimony to his brother, and became a Capuchin. As is well known, the Irish College at Lille was governed by a Rector nominated by the Irish Capuchins of Bar-sur-Aube.

In 1697, Father Francis Bermingham, Provincial of the Augustinian Friars of Ireland, as also Father Bernard O'Kennedy, Guardian of Dublin, and Father O'Carroll, Guardian of Callan, Co. Kilkenny, had fled to France owing to the severity of the Penal Laws. From the Stuart Papers we learn that Father Bermingham went to Rome in the autumn of 1698 to represent to the Pope 'the excessive persecution which had arisen against the Catholics of the kingdom of Ireland.' His successor, Father Bernard O'Kennedy, undertook a journey to Spain to collect funds, and was favourably recommended to Cardinal Portocarrero by the queen mother, on December 3rd, 1701. This good Irish friar made his will at Madrid, on February 29th, 1704, and died shortly afterwards. His 'testament' is most interesting, and he twice alludes to the 'King and Queen of England,' who had befriended him in 1700—of course ignoring King William.

From a letter, dated January 16th, 1702, it appears that Father O'Sullivan was President of the Irish College at Louvain. The queen recommended a certain William Hurley, 'the son of a gentleman who has served with

much zeal in the Irish regiment,' for a place in the college. We get a glimpse of another forgotten Irish College, on February 27th, 1702, when, in a letter to the Bishop of Amiens, the queen praises 'Ever Magennis, a priest, Superior of the Community of Irish of the College of Grassin.'

In March, 1702, certificates were issued testifying to the gentle birth of Daniel O'Riordan, Theobald Roche, and Oliver Bermingham. Similar certificates were issued in April, in favour of George Morrogh, Daniel O'Dunne, and Thomas Grace.

Fidelity to the Stuarts by Protestant dignitaries is shown in the case of Denis Granville, D.D., Dean of Durham, 'Chaplain in ordinary to the last two Kings,' who, on April 29th, 1702, was received as a member of the royal household at St. Germain's, at a salary, and a promise to be 'mindful of his services and sufferings on our happy and wished-for restoration.'

In the autumn of the year 1702, declarations of *noblesse* were issued in favour of Nicholas Luker, Daniel O'Brien, John Kelly, Miss Mary Fleming, and Miss Mary Gernon.

On February 8th, 1703, Queen Mary granted power of attorney to Henry Conquest 'to receive the pension granted by his Most Christian Majesty to the young Earl of Lucan.' This was James, son of the gallant Patrick Sarsfield, and the step-son of the Marshal Duke of Berwick, as Sarsfield's widow married the Duke in 1695. The pension was 3,000 livres a year, which continued to be paid until 1712.

Queen Mary, writing to the Archbishop of Tuam, on March 6th, 1704, enquires of the names and qualifications of the three dignitaries fittest to fill the vacant see of Elphin. The then Archbishop of Tuam was the exiled Dr. James Lynch, who died at Paris, on October 31st, 1713.

Under date of August 25th, 1704, there is a letter from Queen Mary to Père La Chaise, from which we learn that Dominic Maguire, O.P., the exiled Primate of Armagh, had been given a pension by King James III. Archbishop Maguire died at Paris, on September 21st, 1707, and was buried in the church of the Irish College.

King James III. writes, on October 23rd, 1704, to the King of Spain (Philip V.), recommending Father Ambrose O'Connor, Provincial of the Irish Dominicans, to his favourable consideration. Less than five years later, namely on June 10th, 1709, King James nominated Father O'Connor as Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise, who was accordingly approved of at Rome, but died at London, on February 20th, 1711, before consecration.

On May 11th, 1705, Queen Mary wrote to Count Caprara to solicit (on the part of herself and her son) Pope Clement XI. to hasten the beatification of Father Vincent de Paul, 'who had sent missionaries to Ireland and Scotland in very dangerous times.'[1]

The following extract of a letter from the queen to the Bishop of St. Omer, dated September 28th, 1705, is of more than passing interest, as it refers to an Irish nun of Ypres, who was a 'Jubilarian' of thirteen years standing at her death :—

> This letter will be delivered by Mr. Creagh, Canon of Strasburg, nephew of the late Archbishop of Dublin,[2] whose niece, Miss Creagh, is one of the two Irish girls you charitably maintain in the convents of your diocese. As she has the vocation to become a nun in the Convent of the Irish Benedictines at Ypres, where her cousin provides her with a dowry, I ask you to let the Canon conduct her thither.

This nun, known in religion as Dame Mary Bridget Creagh, died on May 29th, 1768, aged 83.

James III. having attained his majority, on June 21st, 1706, wrote to Pope Clement XI. rendering him homage and filial obedience. On September 9th, he again wrote expressing his satisfaction at the Pope's confirmation of Cardinal Imperiali, as Protector of the Kingdom of Ireland.

From a long letter written by James III. to Cardinal Imperiali, on February 7th, 1707, we gather that there

[1] For the fullest account of the Vincentian Order in Ireland see Father Boyle's admirable paper, 'Hibernia Vincentiana,' in the I. E. RECORD, for November, 1903.

[2] This was Dr. Peter Creagh, who had been promoted from the united sees of Corkand Cloyne to the Archbishopric of Dublin, on March 9th, 1693, at the request of King James II., and who died as coadjutor to the Cardinal Archbishop of Strasburg, at Alsace, in 1705.

were only two bishops in Ireland, 'of whom but one is at liberty to exercise his functions, the other being in prison' —on which account he urges the appointment of three bishops to the sees of Kilmacduagh, Ardfert and Aghadoe, and Killala, namely, Drs. Ambrose Madden, Denis Moriarty, and Thaddeus O'Rourke, O.S.F., respectively, whom he had named to these sees three years previously 'at the desire and request of his Holiness himself.' Two months later, James III. nominated Ambrose MacDermot, O.P., Penitentiary of St. Mary Major, to the vacant see of Elphin. It may be well to explain that the bishop who was in prison in 1707 was Dr. Patrick Donnelly of Dromore, and he it was who consecrated Father Thady O'Rourke, above named, as Bishop of Killala, in Newgate prison, Dublin, on August 24th, 1707.

Father Nugent, Superior of the Irish Capuchins, went to Rome in July, 1708, and was given high recommendations from Queen Mary to Cardinal Caprara, praising the great missionary zeal of the Irish Capuchin friars.

On June 16th, 1709, James III. nominated John Verdon, D.D., Vicar-General of the diocese of Armagh, as Bishop of Ferns, which appointment was confirmed by the Pope on September 14th, on which date the brief of his consecration was issued. On March 2nd following, King James nominated Christopher Butler, Doctor of the Sorbonne, to the see of Cashel, 'for whose appointment the clergy of the diocese had petitioned.' This nomination was duly confirmed by the Pope.

By Brief of May 5th, 1714, Pope Clement XI. formally acknowledged James's right to nominate bishops for Irish sees, and assured the exiled monarch that there would in future 'be no interruption of the power of nominating effectually to all the bishoprics of Ireland.' Accordingly we find that on May 24th, 1715, James nominated Dr. Hugh MacMahon, Bishop of Clogher, to the Archbishopric of Armagh—but it must be noted that the translation had been effected by decree of the Propaganda in August of the preceding year.

On August 16th, 1715, James III. wrote from Bar-le-

Duc to Pope Clement XI., nominating Edward Murphy, Vicar-General of the Diocese of Dublin, to the Bishopric of Kildare. This nomination was duly confirmed by Pope Clement XI., and, on October 18th, James wrote from Commercy thanking the Sovereign Pontiff for appointing Dr. Murphy, also requesting that the administration of the diocese of Leighlin would also be entrusted to said prelate.

In a letter from James to the Abbé Innes, dated St. Malo, November 11th, 1715, we get a curious confirmation of the identity of the Highland Scotch language with the Irish. He thus writes :—

> I shall not wait for Farquarson, for besides that Mr. O'Flanagan speaks very good Irish, we have found a very honest man here called Drummond, who is a physician, speaks the language, and knows the country.

With this extract I end for the present, but the value of the documents from 1715 to 1745 is even greater, as the letters and memoranda number about fifty thousand of an uninterrupted series.

WILLIAM H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

Notes and Queries

LITURGY

THE USE OF LIGHTS BEFORE STATUES OF SAINTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—May I trouble you for an opinion on the following matters ? Is it lawful to place lights before statues ? And, if the practice is generally lawful, may I further ask if an oil lamp, or lighted candle, may lawfully be placed before a statue which happens to be in a church or oratory where the Blessed Sacrament is reserved ? The point is one of some importance, and an answer in an early issue of the I. E. RECORD would greatly oblige—Yours, etc.,

SUBSCRIBER.

We shall state a few well-authenticated principles in reference to the custom of using lights before statues that will probably cover any case that is likely to arise in this connection.

1. The practice is quite lawful. It is authorised by the *Ceremoniale Episcoporum*,[1] and is also referred to with approval by the Congregation of Rites,[2] not to mention other authorities of lesser import. What applies to the statues, is true with even greater force of the Relics of Saints. The use of lights in these circumstances is indicative of the respect, honour and devotion that we desire to pay to the saints, as well as representative of some symbolical meaning. As the *Ceremoniale*, already quoted, expresses it : Lampades adhibeantur . . . tum ad cultum et ornatum, tum ad mysticum sensum.'

2. It is unnecessary to mention that, as it is only canonized saints who are entitled to a public and universal *cultus*, so it is only before the statues or relics of these that lights may be publicly placed without special authorization. The

---

[1] Lib. i., cap. xii., 17.

[2] Decr., edition March, 1821.

veneration and honour due, for instance, to the Blessed are limited, and may not be publicly exhibited except in those districts for which permission is had. Hence it follows that in the case of the former class of saints—those, namely, that are canonized—when the fact of canonization is ascertained no further permission is required to warrant the use of lights before their statues.

3. May lights be used before statues in churches where the Blessed Sacrament is preserved? The *Ceremoniale Episcoporum* makes no distinction between churches where the Blessed Sacrament is present and those where it is not. Hence it allows them indiscriminately. So, too, the Congregation of Rites. But, of course, the altar of the Blessed Sacrament should be easily distinguishable from the others either by a greater display of lights, or by a more elaborate illumination. In fact the Roman Ritual insinuates that there ought to be at least two lights before the Blessed Sacrament: 'Lampades coram eo plures, vel saltem una, die noctuque perpetuo colluceat.'[1] Images and relics may be arranged on an altar where the Blessed Sacrament reposes, provided they do not rest on the tabernacle, or directly in front of it.[2] They may be put between the candlesticks. Here, however, it would not be proper to use lights before them on account of the possible danger of confounding the cultus of the images with that due to the Most Holy Sacrament.

4. When the Blessed Sacrament is solemnly exposed for the adoration of the faithful, all statues and relics are to be removed from the altar of exposition; or, if this is inconvenient, they should be covered. It is not forbidden, at the same time, to use lights before statues which may be in some other part of the church.

5. It is fitting and congruous that a statue, or picture of a saint, should hold a prominent position on an altar dedicated to him, that the faithful may be reminded of him, and of the duty of having recourse to his intercession.

6. We shall conclude our observations by giving some

[1] *De Sac. Euch.* [2] S.R.C. Decr., nn. 2067, 2906.

extracts from the Church legislation bearing on this matter :

Non licet imagines exponere cum alio habitu et forma quam in Catholica Ecclesia ab antiquo tempore consuerit.[1]

Illicitum est ullo in loco (publico) aliquam insolitam exponere imaginem nisi ab Episcopo probata fuerit.[2]

Imagines virorum et mulierum qui . . . nondum Beatificationis aut Canonizationis honores consecuti sunt, neque altaribus utcumque imponi possunt, neque intra altaria depingi cum aureolis, radiis, aliisve sanctitatis signis.[3]

P. MORRISROE.

[1] Urbanus VIII. [2] Conc. Trid. *De Maginter.*
[3] S.R.C. Decr., n. 3835.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE ORIGIN OF THE SCAPULAR

REV. DEAR SIR,—Father Thurston has done me the honour of subjecting my articles to friendly criticism. It is gratifying to know that while our conclusions differ, we are agreed on the main facts. On one point I owe him and the readers of my papers an explanation. In 1901 I assumed, with the vast majority of our writers, that Swanyngton's document purported being a letter written after St. Simon's vision. Afterwards, having obtained a copy of Lezana's fourth volume of Annals, I found it there distinctly and repeatedly described as part of the Life of the Saint attributed to Swanyngton. I accepted this statement all the more readily as I had serious reasons for distrusting the integrity of the document as a letter, whereas as a record written fifty years after the event, it left a margin for the inaccuracies I have pointed out, though it necessarily loses in value. Father Thurston will pardon me if I say that I am not yet convinced of its spuriousness, but hope that the archives of Bordeaux may some day shed further light upon it. The fact that Bale, who is our chief authority on Carmelite literature, never was at Bordeaux, helps us to understand why nothing has ever been heard of this Life. I must exonerate Chéron of the charge of having invented the Dean of St. Helen's. He is mentioned two hundred years previously as the founder of Winchester *propter miraculum sibi per gloriosam Virginem Mariam ostensum*. The whole scapular tradition was fully developed at the time of John Grossi, General of the Order from 1389 till 1430, and though his work may have been written towards the end of his administration, its evidence covers probably the whole time of his generalship, as he must have been acquainted with the traditions of the Order. Bale's *Heliades*, on the other hand, was composed at the very moment of his apostacy; he was a married man before the book was completed.—I am, rev. dear Sir, faithfully yours,

BENEDICT ZIMMERMAN, O.C.D.

DOCUMENTS

THE VISITS AND FAST OF THE JUBILEE

E SACRA POENITENTIARIA.

WRATISLAVIEN.

DUBIA CIRCA VISITATIONES ET IEIUNIUM, OCCASIONE IUBILAEI IMMAC. CONCEPTIONIS.

Beatissime Pater,

Episcopi regni Borussici per infrascriptum Episcopum Wratislaviensem quoad obligationes pro Iubilaeo lucrando Litteris Encyclicis Sanctitatis Tuae d. d. 2 Februarii a. c. impositas, sequentia exponunt dubia, quorum solutionem humillime efflagitant.

1. Potestne ecclesia respectiva visitari ter uno eodemque die, an debet hoc fieri tribus diversis diebus ?

2. Debetne Episcopus in iis locis, in quibus non est ecclesia cathedralis, sed plures sunt ecclesiae parochiales, designare unam ex istis, quae visitetur, an ab omnibus et singulis est visitanda propria ecclesia parochialis ?

3. Ieiunium et abstinentia praescripta estne ieiunium dictum '*magro stretto*' an licet saltem apud nos usus ovorum, lacticiniorum, pinguedinis, vel *strutto*, *iuris* ex carnibus expressi, qui usus apud nos in diebus ieiunii sive cum sive absque abstinentia permissus est ? Et Deus.

Sanctitatis Vestrae,

Humillimus et devmus. servus
G. Card. KOPP,
Princeps Epus. Wratislaviensis.

Sacra Poenitentiaria perpensis propositis dubiis,

Ad 1 respondet : '*Visitationes fieri posse pro lubitu fidelium sive tantum uno sive diversis diebus.*'

Ad 2 : '*In casu iuxta Litteras Apostolicas visitandam esse ecclesiam parochialem propriam uniuscuiusque fidelis.*'

Ad 3 : '*Ieiunium pro iubilaeo consequendo praescriptam adimpleri non posse nisi adhibeantur cibi esuriales vetito usu circa*

qualitatem ciborum cuiusvisque indulti seu privilegii.—In iis vero locis ubi cibis esurialibus uti difficile sit, Ordinarios posse indulgere ut ova et lacticinia adhibeantur, servata in caeteris ieiunii ecclesiastici forma.'

Romae, 23 Martii 1904.

L. ✠ S. B. Pompili, *S. P. Dat.*

FAST OF THE JUBILEE

E SACRA POENITENTIARIA

CIRCA IEIUNIUM PRO PRAESENTI IUBILAEO MINORI ANNI 1904.

Beatissime Pater :

Episcopus Metensis humiliter a S. V. solutionem implorat sequentis dubii : An in ieiunio praescripto pro praesenti iubilaeo consequendo, valeat declaratio a S. Poenitentiaria edita die 15 Ianuarii 1886, quod nempe in iis locis, ubi cibis esurialibus uti difficile sit, possint Ordinarii indulgere ut ova et lacticinia adhibeantur, servata in caeteris ieiunii ecclesiastici forma ?

Sacra Poenitentiaria, de mandato Sanctissimi D. N. Pii Pp. X, declarat *posse Ordinarios etiam in praesenti iubilaeo indulgere ut in locis, ubi cibis esurialibus uti difficile est, ova et lacticinia adhibeantur, servata in caeteris ieiunii ecclesiastici forma.*

Datum Romae in S. Poenitentiaria die 27 Februarii 1904.

V. Luchetti, *S.P. Sig.*

L. ✠ S.

F. Can. Pascucci, *S.P. Subst.*

DOUBTS RELATING TO THE JUBILEE

E SACRA POENITENTIARIA

PLURA SOLVUNTUR DUBIA CIRCA IUBILAEUM MINUS ANNI 1904.

Eminentissime et Reverendissime Domine :

Cum circa interpretationem Litterarum Apostolicarum de iubilaeo quaedam dubia mota sint, Sacra Poenitentiaria pro declaratione humillime supplicatur.

Dubia autem haec sunt :

I. Edicunt Litterae Apostolicae ieiunium peragendum '*praeter dies in quadragesimali indulto* NON *comprehensos*,' seu gallice : 'hormis les jours NON *compris* dans l'indult quadragésimal.' Quae tamen verba mendose, ut videtur, in gallicam linguam

vertunt Typi Vaticani : ' Hors des jours *compris* dans l'indult quadragésimal.' Ne sit igitur ambigendi locus, quaeritur utrum in hac Tolosana dioecesi ubi diebus quatuor Temporum et Vigiliarum ex indulto licet uti lacticiniis et condimento ex adipe, possit his diebus (dummodo indulti dispensationibus non utantur) peragi ieiunium pro iubilaeo ?

II. Extant, in suburbana regione (*banlieue*), oppida quaedam, in municipio Tolosano civiliter comprehensa, quae tamen distinctas efformant parochias, nec ipsi urbi sunt materialiter continentia. Quaeritur utrum in his oppidis pro iubilaeo visitationes faciendae sint in respectivis ecclesiis parochialibus, an in Ecclesia Cathedrali Tolosana ?

III. Utrum idem dicendum sit de externis suburbiis urbi adiacentibus et continentibus (*faubourgs*) ?

IV. Quaedam parochiae rurales pluribus coalescent viculis satis inter se dissitis, quorum quidam capellam, ut aiunt, auxiliarem habent. Quaeritur utrum in his capellis visitationes peragi possint ?

V. Et ubi huiusmodi dubia oriuntur, ne frustretur devotio fidelium, utrum ius sit Ordinario authentice determinandi quaenam sit visitanda ecclesia oratoriumve ?

VI. Cum Litterae definiunt menses iubilares designandos esse ANTE *diem VIII Decembris*, quaeritur utrum dies illa comprehendi possit intra trimestre iubilaei ?

VII. Facultas eligendi confessarium ex approbatis, quadamtenus restringitur, ad *moniales* quod attinet : quaeritur utrum haec restrictio afficiat

(*a*) Sorores Institutorum votorum simplicium ;

(*b*) Religiosas quorumdam Ordinum, ubi quidem ex primitivis Constitutionibus habetur professio solemnis, in Gallia tamen ex mente S. sedis non emittuntur nisi vota simplicia ?

VIII. Quaeritur utrum in hoc iubilaeo possit unus idemque poenitens pluries eligere confessarium, et erga illum confessarius confessariive pluries uti facultatibus iubilaei, quamdiu dictus poenitens opera omnia iubilaei nondum perfecerit ?

Et Deus.

Sacra Poenitentiaria mature consideratis expositis respondet :

Ad I. *Affirmative.*

Ad II. *In praefatis oppidis visitationes faciendas esse in propria ecclesia parochiali uniuscuiusque fidelis.*

Ad III. *Negative, et visitandam esse Ecclesiam Cathedralem.*

Ad IV. *Affirmative.*

Ad V. *Provisum in praecedentibus.*

Ad VI. *Comprehendi.*

Ad VII. *Restrictionem eligendi confessarium tantummodo inter approbatos pro monialibus, afficere eas quae nedum in communitate vivunt, sed habent praeterea confessarium ab Ordinario designatum qui ad eas accedit, ut earum confessiones unus excipiat.*

Ad VIII. *Affirmative.*

Datum Romae in S. Poenitentiaria, die 3 Aprilis 1904.

B. Pompili, *S.P. Datarius.*

F. Can. Pascucci, *S. P. Subst.*

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER, PATRON OF THE PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM.

LITT. APLICAE QUIBUS PIO OPERI PROPAGATIONIS FIDEI PATRONUS COELESTIS DATUR FRANCISCUS XAVERIUS, HUIUSQUE SOLLEMNE AD RITUM DUPLICEM MAIOREM EVEHITUR.

PIUS PP. X.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

In Apostolicum sublecti munus atque in ipso christiani sacerdotii vertice divinae clementiae dono collocati longe maiorem profecto sollicitudinem sustinendam suscepimus, quam quae Romani vigilantia gregis contineatur. Excessurus enim e terris Christus Apostolos iussit, et in his Petrum praecipue, quem, non modo dignitate, sed etiam caelestis gloriae studio praelucere caeteris voluit, gentes edocere universas, salubremque doctrinae novae praedicationem ad remotissimas quasque aut immanissimas orbis partes afferre. Porro divinis praeceptis obsequentes, Decessorumque Nostrorum clarissima exempla sectantes, nihil esse magis officio Nostro consentaneum arbitramur, quam ut si quae ad patefaciendum Evangelii lumen atque ad proferendos Ecclesiae terminos videantur conducere, iis voluntatem omnem gratiamque impertiamus. Inter haec autem utilitate atque opera praestat Opus illud summa laude dignum, quod a *Fidei propagatione* nobile nomen accepit. Huius origo Operis divino plane instinctu in medios homines profecta videtur. Nam fidelis Ecclesiae populus, quia non in praedi-

canda Christi doctrina haberet sibi demandatam provinciam, consultum Dei providentia est ut stipe ac subsidiis Evangelii praecones iuvaret. Suasit hac de causa charitas, qua in Redemptorem Christum optimorum hominum pectora urgebantur, fideles ex omni gente ac natione coalescere in unum, conferre ex opibus aliquid in expeditiones sacras submittendum, sociata etiam prece administris sacrorum succurrere, atque ita id assequi quod votorum summa esset, divini nempe regni in terris incrementum. Compertum autem apud omnes est id genus Sodalitatem praeclare de propaganda christiana fide meruisse. Quod enim suppeteret unde catholicae doctrinae nuntii ad dissita ac barbara loca contenderent, beneficia illuc Religionis nostrae humanique cultus allaturi, tam nobilis coetus tribui largitati debet. Hinc initia salutis innumeris populis parta ; hinc fructus animorum comparati tanti, quantos nemo aestimet rite, nisi qui effusi per Christum sanguinis virtutem pernorit ; hinc contrai quam expectari a disiunctis hominum viribus posset Evangelii evulgandi legi mire obtemperatum. Haec Nobiscum Sodalitatis promerita reputantes nullo non tempore sensimus in coetum insignem Nos studio ferri, nec tamen illi pro tenui adiumenti parte defuimus, maiora tamen animo spectantes, si facultas, Deo propitio, daretur. Iam quoniam id Nobis Omnipotentis Dei benignitas dedit, ut ex hac Petri Cathedra spiritualia fidelibus commoda dispertire possemus, praetermittere nolumus ut quem supra laudavimus coetum peculiari quodam benevolentiae argumento honestemus. Quae cum ita sint, omnes et singulos, quibus Nostrae hae Literae favent, a quibusvis excommunicationis et interdicti, aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris, et poenis, si quas forte incurrerint, huius tantum rei gratia absolventes, et absolutos fore censentes, Auctoritate Nostra Apostolica praesentium vi, quo cum externis Sodalitatis praesidiis tutela quoque et gratia de superis congruat, Sanctum Franciscum Xaverium caelestem eidem Patronum eligimus, damus, eique volumus omnes honorificentias tribui caelestibus Patronis competentes ; huiusque diem festum, ut ad amplificandam ipsius celebritatem humanae quoque observantiae ampliorisque liturgiae accessio ne desit, Apostolica similiter Nostra Auctoritate per praesentes ad ritum duplicem maiorem, servatis rubricis, apud universam Ecclesiam provehimus. Est huic Caeliti cum opere '*Fidei propagandae*' ratio quaedam singularis et propria. Etenim cum vitam Franciscus

ageret tanto animum studio talique cum eventu ad imbuendos christiana veritate populos appulit, ut instrumentum Numinis electum in eo reviviscere non secus atque in ipsis Apostolis videretur. Quapropter spes Nos bona tenet coetum hunc nobilissimum maiora in dies incrementa, deprecatore Francisco, fore suscepturum, atque etiam ubertate fructuum, numero Sodalium, omniumque qui stipem conferant liberalitate ac diligentia eo deventurum brevi, ut hanc eminentum atque apparentem rem praestet sicut a Christo est Ecclesia condita, in qua salus credenti omni paretur, ita Sodalitatem Fidei Propagandae esse divino consilio excitatam, ut nondum credenti Evangelii lumen effulgeat. Quam quidem ad rem multum procul dubio proficient Catholicorum voluntates etsi disiuncte ac privatim liberales se praebebunt ad munera ; verum nihil erit ad utilitatem praestantius quam si decuriati catholici viri conferant, quemadmodum est prudentia summa provisum. Scilicet quae minus inter se vires cohaerent minus valent ad caussam, valent vero quamplurimum coniuncta et colligata ordine studia. Illas recte facere dicemus, ista etiam rite. Servator autem et Instaurator humani generis Christus, cuius sanctissimo propagando nomini coetus incumbit, tegat gratia praesidioque opus : qui enim non auro vel argento, sed pretioso Filii Dei sanguine redempti vivimus divinam in primis opem contendere cum magna prece debemus. Haec mandamus, praecipimus decernentes praesentes Literas firmas, validas, et efficaces existere et fore, suosque plenarios et integros effectus sortiri et obtinere, illisque ad quod spectat et spectare poterit in omnibus et per omnia plenissime suffragari, sicque in praemissis per quoscumque iudices ordinarios et delegatos iudicari et definiri debere, atque irritum et inane si secus super his a quoquam quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari. Non obstantibus Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apostolicis, caeterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Volumus autem ut praesentium Litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis manu alicuius notarii publici subscriptis, et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur, quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die XXV Martii MDCCCCIV, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Primo.

Alois. Card. Macchi.

PORTUGUESE COLLEGE IN ROME

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM.

PIUS X COLLEGIUM LUSITANUM DE URBE MERITA LAUDE CONDECORAT, ILLUDQUE EPIS LUSITANIS VALAE COMMENDAT.

DILECTO FILIO NOSTRO IOSEPHO SEBASTIANO, TIT. BASILICAE DUODECIM APOSTOLORUM S.R.E. PRESBYTERO CARD. NETO, OLYSIPPONENSIUM PATRIARCHAE.

Dilecte Fili Noster, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Supremi pastoralis muneris, quo in Christo fungimur, pars quidem non ultima est exterae iuventutis variis domiciliis in Urbe positis omni utilitate prospicere, ubi iuvenes omni ex gente delecti in spem Ecclesiae veluti in plantario succrescunt. Hi enim quasi in oculis Nostris quotidie versantes, incorruptam Christi sapientiam ex ipso Petri fonte hauriunt, quam sacerdotio aucti iidemque in patriam remissi faciliori ratione inter suos praedicare consueverint. In horum collegiorum numero illud quippe recensemus, ubi flos Lusitanae iuventutis ad sacerdotale munus formatur : quod a Leone XIII, immortalis memoriae, Decessore Nostro conditum, veluti caeteris aetate in Urbe recentius est, ita maiori cura atque effusiori charitate complectimur. Emolumentorum enim non mediocris copia brevi temporis spatio exinde relata certam ampliorum fructuum spem praebet, qui in Lusitanum Clerum in posterum dimanabunt. Porro sacrorum alumni eo recepti iidemque dilecti filii Iacobi Sinibaldi Sacerdotis optima disciplina instituti, virtutis, doctrinaeque laude sic florent ut non modo facile hinc Nobis coniectare liceat eorum ministerium religioni neque minus civitati fore perutile, sed ipsimet iam pridem constituerimus omnes vires Nostras in huius Instituti bonum utilitatemque conferre. Verum in tanta benevolentis animi, qua ducimur, propensione, dolet vehementer quod non Lusitani omnes inceptis studiisque Nostris eo animi ardore consenserint, quem operis excellentia expostulabat. Qua ex re factum putamus ut incerti quidam rumores serpant ad Lusitani Collegii decus minuendum ab iis plane conflati, qui aut animum instituto iniuste adversantem gerunt aut conditionem eius male docti levi mente diiudicant.

Quae omnia tibi, dilecte Fili Noster, aperire voluimus ut quibus charitatis et iustitiae sensibus praestas omnes et singulos

religiosissimos Lusitaniae Antistites de hac mente Nostra certiores faceres eosque omni officiorum genere incenderes in hoc opus, quod quum iis summo emolumento erit, tum genti vestrae universae decore insigni futurum esse promittit. Interea bene sperantes ut Virginis ab omni labe immunis patrocinio omnia feliciter exeant, et tibi et omnibus Venerabilibus Fratribus Lusitaniae Episcopis benedictionem Apostolicam amantissime impertimur.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die XIX Aprilis anno MCMIV, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

PIUS PP. X.

INDULGENCES FOR A TEMPERANCE SOCIETY

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM.

CONCEDUNTUR INDULGENTIAE 300 DIER. RECITANTIBUS ORATIONES SEU FORMULAM OBLATIONIS PRO TEMPERANTIA, ETC.

PIUS PAPA X.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

Cum, sicuti ad Nos retulit dilectus filius Iosephus-Blasius Senden, Sacerdos in dioecesi Leodiensi, pia, suffragante Episcopo, temperantiae Societas instituta reperiatur, cuius Socii abstinentiam ab excessibus ebrietatis inter fideles provehere student, potissimum quotidiana recitatione piae oblationis seu deprecationis, qua salutarem ipsam abstinentiam pollicentur; Nos, ut exercitatio tam frugifera cum uberiori spirituali emolumento evadat, de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia ac Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius auctoritate confisi, omnibus et singulis ex utroque sexu fidelibus, ubique terrarum degentibus, qui quovis anni die, contrito saltem corde, quocumque idiomate, dummodo versio sit fidelis, piam oblationem, quae, iuxta exemplar quod a Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione probatum et latina lingua inscriptum in Tabularium Secretariae Nostrae Brevium asservari iussimus, verbis incipit 'Deus Pater meus' et desinit in haec verba 'ad gloriam tuam immolat in altari. Amen' devote recitent, in forma Ecclesiae consueta de numero poenalium dierum trecentos expungimus. Largimur insuper fidelibus iisdem, si malint, liceat partiali supradicta indulgentia functorum vita labes poenasque expiare. Non obstantibus contrariis quibuscumque. Praesentibus in perpetuum valituris.

Volumus autem ut praesentium Litterarum authenticum exemplar transmittatur ad Secretariam Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae ; utque pariter praesentium transumptis seu exemplis, etiam impressis, manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis, eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris die XXIX Martii MCMIV. Pontificatus Nostri Anno Primo.

ALOISIUS Card. MACCHI.

Praesentium Litterarum authenticum exemplar transmissum fuit ad hanc Secretariam Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae.

In quorum fidem, etc.

Datum Romae, ex eadem Secretaria die 16 Aprilis 1904.

L. ✠ S. IOSEPHUS M. Can. COSELLI, *Subst.*

Tenor autem Oblationis sequens est :

OBLATIO.

Deus Pater meus, ad ostendendum meum erga te amorem, ad reparandum honorem tuum sauciatum, ad obtinendam salutem animarum, firmiter statuo hac die neque vinum, neque siceram, nec ullum potum inebriantem sumere.

Hanc tibi mortificationem offero in unione sacrificii Filii tui Iesu Christi, qui quotidie sese ad gloriam tuam immolat in altari. Amen.

POVERTY AND MATRIMONIAL DISPENSATIONS IN ITALY

E SACRA POENITENTIARIA

CIRCA DETERMINATIONEM PAUPERTATIS PRO DISPENSATIONIBUS MATR., IN ITALIA.

Il Vescovo di Nicastro prega di volergli indicare la norma precisa che, in tante opinioni di varî Autori, debba tenersi nell'indicare lo stato di povertà o quasi povertà degli oratori per le dispense matrimoniali.

Che ecc.

Sacra Poenitentiaria ad praemissa respondet : Donec aliud a S. Sede non statuatur, standum decreto Benedicti XIV, dato

per S. Congr. S. Officii fer. V. die 25 Septembris 1754, iuxta quod, in ordine ad dispensationes matrimoniales, pauperes, in Italia, censendi sunt tum qui ex labore et industria tantum vivunt, tum, qui aliqua possident bona, sed non ultra summam scutatorum romanorum 300 in capitali (idest libellarum 1612, 50). Fere pauperes autem ibidem ii dicendi sunt, quorum bona non excedunt in capitali summam scutatorum mille (idest libellarum 5735), a quibus tamen fere pauperibus modicum taxae augmentum exigi solet.

Datum in S. Poenitentiaria, die 20 Ianuarii 1904.

ALEXANDER CARCANI, *Regens.*

I. PALICA, *Secretarius.*

CANONICAL APPEALS IN GERMANY

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM.

CURIA ROTTEMBURGEN. IUDICARE POSSIT AD SEPTENNIUM IN SECUNDA INSTANTIA, CAUSAS IUDICATAS A CURIA ARCHIEP. FRIBURGENSI.

PIUS PAPA X.

Ad futuram rei memoriam.

Inter multiplices et gravissimas quibus assidue detinemur Apostolici ministerii curas, Praedecessorum Nostrorum exempla sequuti, opportunum ducimus sacros quandoque delegare Antistites, ut in causis ecclesiasticis in quibus ad hanc Sanctam Sedem provocatio sit, Nostro et Sanctae eiusdem Sedis nomine causas ipsas de more cognoscant, ac sententiam ferant, quo fidelibus expeditiori ratione iustitia reddatur. Hoc Nos consilio spirituali potissimum fidelium bono prospicere volentes, hodierno ac pro tempore existenti Episcopo Rottemburgen. facultatem facimus ad proqimum septennium, a die inchoandum quo praesentes datae fuere, duraturam, ut tamquam Apostolicae Sedis Delegatus in secunda provocatione sive instantia tam matrimoniales, quam ecclesiasticas alias causas de quibus Archiepiscopus Friburgensis, sive, illa Sede Archiepiscopali vacante, Vicarius Capitularis legitime electus, in prima instantia iudicaverit, cognoscere deque illis sententiam dicere queat, servata tamen in causis matrimonialibus Constitutione felicis recordationis Benedicti XIV Praedecessoris Nostri quae incipit ' Dei miseratione ' habitisque etiam ob oculos providis Praedecessoris eiusdem Nostri litteris datis ad Poloniae Antistites die XI mensis Aprilis anni MDCCXLI ac die XVIII Maii anni MDCCLIII,

ut in re tanti momenti necessaria maturitas adhibeatur. Volumus etiam dictus Rottemburgen. Antistes in singulis huiusmodi causarum actis, delegatae a Sede Apostolica facultatis mentionem expresse faciat. Caeterum si qui ex fidelibus in causis praefatis provocare ad Sanctam Sedem directe velint, hoc ipsis liberum integrumque fore declaramus. Non obstantibus Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apostolicis, caeterisque licet speciali et individua mentione ac derogatione dignis in contrarium facientibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die XVI Aprilis MCMIV, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Primo.

L. ✠ S. ALOIS. Card. MACCHI.

CANONICAL APPEALS IN GERMANY

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM.

CURIA COLONIEN. IUDICARE POTERIT AD SEPTENNIUM IN TERTIA INSTANTIA, CAUSAS IUDICATAS IN PRIMA INSTANTIA A CURIA FRIBURGEN. ET IN SECUNDA A CURIA ROTTEMBURGEN.

PIUS PP. X.

Ad futuram rei memoriam.

Romani Pontifices ad quos, utpote supremum Ecclesiae regimen divinitus habentes, accipere appellationes pertinet in ecclesiasticis causis, quas iuxta canonicas sanctiones Catholicum per orbem Episcopi sive Metropolitae iudicaverint, quandoque consueverunt sacros eligere antistites qui sua vice ac nomine hanc ipsam iudicandi potestatem exercerent, ut nimirum iudiciorum cursus expeditior esset eaque ratione fidelium commoditati prospiceretur. Nos porro huiusmodi insistentes exemplis, fidelium commoditati potissimum prospicientes, hodierno pro tempore existenti Archiepiscopo Coloniensi harum tenore litterarum facultatem facimus, duraturam ad septennium proximum, inchoandum a die quo praesentes litterae datae sunt, ut in tertio gradu iurisdictonis veluti Noster ac S. huius Sedis Delegatus cognoscere usque ad definitivam sententiam inclusive possit ac valeat, tum matrimoniales, tum ecclesiasticas alias causas quas in prima instantia Ordinarius Friburgensis, dein in secunda instantia Episcopis Rottemburgensis et delegata per Apostolicam Sedem potestate iudicaverint. Mandamus vero ut in causis matrimonialibus accurate servetur Constitutio Benedicti PP. XIV Praed, Nri. quae incipit: 'Dei miseratione' atque ad adhibendam in tanti momenti causis necessariam

sedulitatem, maturitatem, consilium, prae oculis haberi volumus sapientes memorati Praedecessoris Nostri litteras quae ob Ipso datae sunt ad Poloniae Antistites die XI mensis Aprilis anno MDCCLXI et die VIII Maii MDCCXLIII. In caeteris vero ecclesiasticis causis omnia et singula observentur. quae canonicae sanctiones praescribunt. Volumus autem ut Coloniensis idem Antistes in omnibus et singulis iudiciorum huiusmodi Actis Delegationis Apostolicae expressam et specificam mentionem faciat. Quod si qui fidelium in huiusmodi appellationibus experiri directe velint S. huius Sedis iudicium, hoc ipsis integrum liberumque fore intelligimus atque edicimus. Haec Nos concedimus mandamus non obstantibus Constitutionibus et ordinationibus Apostolicis caeterisque omnibus etiam speciali ac individua mentione ac derogatione dignis in contrarium facientibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die XVI Aprilis MCMIV Pont. Nostri Anno Primo.

L. ✠ S. ALOIS. Card. MACCHI.

HIS HOLINESS PIUS X. CONGRATULATES THE EDITORS OF THE WORKS OF ST. BONAVENTURE

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM.

PIUS X GRATULATUR MINISTRO GEN. ORDINIS MIN. DE EDITA SERIE OPERUM S. BONAVENTURAE.

DILECTO FILIO DIONYSIO SCHULER, ORDINIS MINORUM MINISTRO GENERALI.

PIUS PP. X.

Dilecte fili, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Doctoris Seraphici sapientiam, Ecclesiae Catholicae non minus quam Franciscalis familiae immortale lumen, optimo sane consilio sodales Ordinis tui suscepere refovendam, cum abhinc non paucis annis Opera eius, quae extarent, omnia rursus edere, congruenter eruditioni horum temporum, aggressi tunt. Cuius quidem magni laboriosique incoepti, uti Decessor Noster fel. rec. Leo XIII primitias progressionesque admodum probavit, ita Nos felicem exitum, integra voluminum accepta dono serie, vehementer gratulamur. Id autem non vestra solum causa facimus, sed communi.

Etenim Bonaventuram, utpote non suo dumtaxat saeculo,

sed omni posteritati, quemadmodum caeteros summos Ecclesiae Doctores, datum divinitus, egregie prodesse huic etiam aetati posse arbitramur, si, quod sperare post vestros labores licet, multo plures invenerit studiosos sui. Eo magis quod is princeps Scholasticorum alter extitit cum Aquinate, cuius in Philosophia ac Theologia disciplinam Nos, Decessorem secuti, magnopere commendandam, datis proxime ad Urbanam S. Thomae Academiam litteris, censuimus. Sed praecipuos ex hac editione fructus doctrinae, fore ut alumni tui scripta S. Bonaventurae pervolvendo percipiant, non modo confidimus, certum habemus. Novimus enim in tuo Ordine, una cum amore nobilium Magistrorum, qui Franciscanam Scholam medio maxime aevo illustrarunt, doctrinarum studia, at rationem viamque exacta quam requirunt tempora, dudum revirescere in speme dignitatis pristinae coepisse.

Quo in genere duo, honoris causa, Collegia nominamus: Antonianum in Urbe, ubi delectorum ex universo Ordine Alumnorum flos ad magisteria gravioraque munia rite educitur, et S. Bonaventurae Collegium ad Claras Aquas, unde ipsius Seraphici Doctoris, typis impressa, prodiere nuper Opera, itemque alios Minorum auctores de integro vulgatum iri intelligimus.—Omnino istum studiorum optimum cultum, in Minoritica familia incalescentem, Nos et ornandum laude, et hortatione acuendum etiam putamus.—Siquidem praeter artes exercitationesque virtutum, quae ad confirmandos recte spiritus pertinent, nihil est quod ad sacra digne exequenda officia et munera magis opus sit, quam doctrina; cuius ipsa opinio, reverentiam hominum sacerdoti concilians, perfunctionem sacri ministerii facit fructuosiorem.

Restat ut de oblatis voluminibus, in quibus, aeque ac Decessor Noster, criticae artis peritiam, animadversionum opportunam copiam, ipsam litterarum elegantem formam dilaudamus, non mediocres, uti par est, agamus gratias. Votum adiicimus, ut augescente, vel extra Ordinis Franciscalis fines, S. Bonaventurae amore et studio, nulla brevi sint vobis huius editionis exemplaria reliqua.

Auspicem coelestium bonorum, ac singularis Nostrae benevolentiae testem tibi, dilecte Fili, omnibus qui editionem accurarunt, Ignatio Jeiler imprimis, tum universae Minorum familiae, cui praees, Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die XI Aprilis anno MDCCCCIV. Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

PIUS PP. X.

HIS HOLINESS PIUS X. PRAISES AND RECOMMENDS THE 'MISSIONS CATHOLIQUES'

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM.

PIUS X LAUDAT ET COMMENDAT EPHEMERIDEM 'MISSIONS CATHOLIQUES.'

PIUS PP. X.

Dilecti Filii, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Scripto hebdomadalis quam sub titulo '*Missionum Catholicarum*' sedulo et constanti studio edendam curatis, gratissima quidem Nobis est et accepta. Sacram hanc ephemeridem iam inde ab anno MDCCCLXVIII inchoatam et a fel. rec. Pio PP. IX die XV Maii mensis, anno MDCCCLXXVI Apostolicis litteris commendatam, Decessor etiam Noster Leo PP. XIII similibus litteris anno MDCCCLXXXIII die VI Decembris dignis meritae laudis preconio est prosequutus. Et sane Catholico nomine provehendo nihil magis aptum accommodatumque arbitramur quam spectat Evangelii praeconum facinora typis editis scriptis illustrare ut simul et vera virtus condignam laudem ferat et ad idem honoris spatium decurrendum exemplo suo caeteros rapiat. Gratulamur idcirco vobis, et potissimum dilecto filio Th. Morel Praelato Nostro Domestico, qui quatuor ac viginti abhinc annis officio Moderatoris ephemeridis ipsius scite fungitur ac naviter, vosque eo collaudamus, quod hoc tam gravi Ecclesiae tempore opportunitatem populo afferatis recolendi opera Domini. Quare laeto quidem animo accepimus plures ephemeridis recensitae versiones fieri linguis Italica, Germanica, Anglica, Hispana, Polona et Hungarica. Placet nimirum Nobis ut Catholici Orbis fideles gesta Apostolatus noscant, labores, discrimina, triumphos, quo potiori studio omnes gentes sacras catholicas expeditiones tum precibus cum corrogata stipe sustentent. Quae cum ita sint quo ephemeris vestra tot tantisque nominibus optime de propagatione Fidei merita, uberiora, favente Deo et auctoritate Nostra Apostolica interposita, capiat incrementa, sacerdotes omnes ac fideles summopere per praesentes hortamur ut nomen suum tabulis inscriptionum dictae ephemeridis inserant: pariterque sacros Evangelii praecones invitamus ut concinnae hebdomadalis eius-

dem scriptionis compositioni operam et ipsi navent tum epistolas de rebus gestis cum imagines vi lucis expressas, ad vos apto tempore mittentes. Tandem precamur bonorum omnium auctorem Deum ut coeptis vestris faveat atque opus hoc vestrum propitius fortunet, vobisque et scriptoribus ac lectoribus universis, iisque potissimum qui in tam frugiferae ephemeridis diffusionem curam ponunt vel sumptus, in Paternae Nostrae dilectionis testimonium caelestium munerum auspicem Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die XII Decembris MCMIII, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

L. ✠ S. A. Card. Macchi.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE PRIEST; HIS CHARACTER AND WORK. By Very Rev. James Keatinge, Canon and Administrator of St. George's Cathedral, Southwark. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1904. Price 5s. net.

BEFORE we had an opportunity of noticing the first edition of Canon Keatinge's book a second edition has already appeared; but though late our welcome is none the less cordial, and our admiration for the volume none the less sincere. In matter the work does not differ materially from the spiritual works on the same subject which have hitherto held an honoured place in our clerical libraries; but in form we may say that it is entirely different from them. In its language it is fresh and up to date. In its treatment of the various duties of a priest it takes into account actual conditions of life. In its recommendations it is homely, genuine, moderate, and practical.

At the present day one likes, even in a spiritual work, this element of actuality. One is pleased to think that writers of bygone ages have not a monopoly of spirituality; and that there are at the present day men who in their own surroundings and in the midst of the struggle for existence in our busy modern world, have their minds fixed on the same great problems as the master minds of centuries past, and as eager as they to profit and make others profit by their meditations.

We must say that taking things all in all this volume of Canon Keatinge's has made a very good impression on us. There are passages in the book that do not exactly suit the conditions of life in this country; but these may be easily ignored. Every priest who can read the English language must profit by reading such chapters as those on the Mass, on the 'Rule of Life,' on the 'Priest's attitude towards Drink,' on the 'Priest's attitude towards Women,' and on the 'Priest's attitude towards Money.' He will find something in them which, we think, will impress him more than the theoretical disquisitions on the same subjects that are to be met with in a great many of the special books for priests. We would urge our readers to secure the book for themselves,

and we feel confident that they will not have any reason to regret their investment.

J. B.

HASTINGS' DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE. Extra Volume, containing Articles, Indexes, and Maps. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clarke. 1904.

THIS stately volume is the worthy supplement of the best Dictionary of the Bible in the English language. It would, indeed, be hard to estimate the debt of gratitude which students everywhere must now feel towards those whose unwearied exertions have brought the great work to completion.

In the four volumes already published, accurate and profound learning in the subsidiary departments of matters Bibilical was everywhere visible. So far as philology, history, topography, geology, botany, etc., were concerned nothing better could be desired. Each article had been entrusted to a specialist, and the total result was that even a casual reader, not to speak of scholars, could hardly fail to be impressed by the treasures of erudition thus made accessible to him. Anyone heretofore accustomed to use the Biblical Dictionaries by Smith, Kitto, etc., would easily perceive the great advance made in that edited by Hastings. Undoubtedly the improvement was occasioned in part by the extraordinary discoveries in recent years, but the direct cause of it was that the present editor and those associated with him knew all about the discoveries. To say that they were superior in chronology, philology, etc., is no disparagement to the attainments of men who were engaged in the similar task of bringing out a Bible Dictionary thirty or forty years ago.

It must also be said that in the new Dictionary the summaries of the inspired books—considered as literature, and the biographical sketches of their respective authors—are on the whole admirable. As regards the treatment of certain doctrinal and theological subjects the work is by no means satisfactory, though it must be admitted that in this respect it compares not unfavourably with another work of the kind recently written in English. However, the incidental advocacy of errors such as we allude to will neither surprise a Catholic theologian, nor weaken his faith. He knows already that outside the Church multitudes who call themselves Christians

entertain erroneous notions regarding the Person and attributes of Christ, and that many who profess to revere Scripture have no belief in its truth. Hence, an educated Catholic, provided he is not of the Loisy type, may without temerity get the permission necessary to read works such as the present, and may incur no risk in reading these parts, while he may derive considerable benefit from reading others.

The many important discoveries made even since the publication of *Hastings' Dictionary* began—now about seven years ago—have rendered a supplement indispensable to a work which the publishers resolved should be kept abreast of the times. Thus, for example, its article on the Code of Hammurabi contains information that no student can afford to do without. Again, subjects which had the editor so decided might have been compendiously treated of in the body of some article in the Dictionary proper, are explained in the extra volume so fully that the article devoted to them is a veritable monograph. See 'Agrapha, Josephus, Philo,' etc. And Ramsay's article on Roads and Travel (in New Testament) could presumably not have been written by any other living scholar. This is owing in part to his personal experiences in the countries and localities described, in part to his unrivalled knowledge of Jewish, Greek, and Roman antiquities. The article is in every respect worthy to be put by the side of the same author's *St. Paul the Traveller*, etc. Another remarkable piece of work is Schürer's 'Diaspora.' The amount of recondite lore which is here, for the first time, presented to the modern reader would amaze anyone unacquainted with the extraordinary research and erudition to which the pages of Schürer's *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes* bear witness. Tastes differ, so some individuals may perhaps find M'Curdy's *Races of the Old Testament* more suitable to them, while others will prefer Nestle's *Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, but we venture to say that no one can peruse the volume without learning a good deal from it. This applies to the thirty-six articles it contains, so far as the mundane side of things Biblical is considered. For what was said above in reference to the four preceding volumes holds true of this. It is excellent as regards races, languages, countries, customs, etc.—but its attempt to give in answer to dogmatic questions makes a Catholic well-wisher regret that such pages were ever written.

In this volume, for instance, the articles on Development of Doctrine, Revelation, the Religion of Israel (pages 612-734) are, to say the least, failures. But we must ever bear two things in mind : that the writers of these articles have had no infallible teacher, and that Catholics do not read the articles for enlightenment or instruction.

There is, however, a part of the extra volume in praise of which it would be hard to say enough within our prescribed limits. We refer to the Indexes. Among them the most useful are those respectively of Subjects, Scripture Texts and other references, Hebrew and Greek Terms. To take them in order. The Index of Subjects enables the reader to find without delay everything contained in the five large volumes that bears on the particular subject he happens to be looking up. The value of this Index, especially where the subject is dealt with under many different headings, is too apparent to admit of commendation. We shall merely observe that without such a guide the stores of knowledge laid up in the *Dictionary* could not become known except to a careful and painstaking student. Its very *comprehensiveness* would prevent a casual reader from *comprehending* it. Just as in the case of Herder's *Kirchen-lexicon*, or of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*—for the purpose of reference, which is precisely what we want a Dictionary for, the Index-volume has doubled the utility of the work. With regard to the equally exhaustive lists of Scripture texts and of Hebrew and Greek words, since the space at our disposal forbids us to enter into details, it must suffice to say that great care has evidently been bestowed upon them. They form respectively parts of an excellent Commentary and Lexicon. With such merits the new *Dictionary* will, we hope, have many readers among the Catholic clergy.

R. W.

KURZGEFASSTER COMMENTAR (A. T.) : DIE BÜCHER SAMUELS. Dr. P. N. Schlogl, O.Cist. Vienna : Mayer et Cie. 1904.

AMONG the many great works of our late Holy Father, Leo XIII., the impetus he gave to Scriptural studies will ever be remembered. The results of the Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* are destined to last and to bear fruit abundantly, for in it the Pope traced out the lines on which the edifice of Catholic

and scientific exegesis should arise. In past ages a blessing has rested on those who obeyed the voice of Peter, and so will it ever be.

Leo XIII. expressed a wish that works embodying the philology, criticism, etc. of the time should be written, and at once a number of Austrian, Bavarian, and German priests formed themselves into a society in order to carry out his directions. Their work is being done under the auspices of the Leo-Gesellschaft in Vienna. Nearly all of them are professors either in universities or in lyceums and seminaries. To one division belong Fathers Flunk, S.J. (Innsbruck), Weiss (Graz), Schneedorfer, O.CIST. (Prague), Schäfer and Neumann (Vienna); to the other belong Schmalzl (Eichstätt), Peters (Paderborn), Schlögl, (Heiligenkreuz), Schenz (Regensburg), Schöpfer (Brixen), Seisenberger (Freising), Schulte (Peplin). The remaining associate is parish priest of Blaubeuren. As may be seen, the names of most of them are a guarantee of excellent work, for this is not their first appearance as specialists on subjects connected with the Old Testament. Their programme which is a model in its way, was issued in 1895. The rules which are laid down for the guidance of each member in composing his commentary on the book or books allotted to him may be briefly summarized here.

1. An exact translation of the Vulgate version, and of the original Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek text shall, first of all, be given and arranged in parallel columns. What is to form the subject of each one's commentary shall be as good as textual criticism can make it; every help that MSS., the ancient versions, interpreters, eastern or western, etc., can afford is to be availed of. All appreciable differences between such a text critically exact, and the Vulgate version are to be explained in the notes, so that the reader may be enabled to know what reading is preferable, or has the best claim to be regarded as the true one. In many instances where the Vulgate reading is the correct one, its origin has to be accounted for. By this minute care the committee hopes to secure for its work a superiority over all the critical editions of the Old Testament that have hitherto appeared.

2. Special attention is to be devoted to preserving the unity of a context, passage, or narrative; and consequently on the other hand to marking the distinction of part from part. While

the customary divisions of chapters and verses is to be retained. paargraphs and sections are to be introduced where necessary in order to make the sequence of thought more evident.

3. The commentary itself is to be complete, concise, and clear. All the assured results of archaology, etc., are to find a place in it, and it is to be thoroughly philological. Long explanations and dissertations are not allowed. While the method of exposition must be that of modern scientific exegesis, this exact scholarship is to be expressed in language that everyone can understand.

These rules have been faithfully followed, and of the twelve proposed volumes three have appeared. They have met with universal approval.

In the part now under review (*Historical Books*, third volume. first half), the Professor of Old Testament Interpretation and Oriental Languages, in the great Cistercian Abbey of Heiligenkreuz (near Vienna), writes on the Books of Samuel, or 1 and 2 Kings. It remains only to see how thoroughly his task has been done. In his version from a carefully emended Masoretic text, he distinguishes from the fundamental narrative by means of heavier type what he considers to be insertions and additions. As the Books of Samuel are written in the purest Hebrew, the study of their classic style is taken up not only for its own sake, but as possibly affording in certain places a clue to indicate how much belongs to the original work. This is something very different from higher criticism, about which we are glad to observe not a word is said. The largest of what Father Schlögl considers to be insertions, is of course, the narrative of which isolated parts may be seen in 1 Samuel xvii. 12-31; xvii. 51; xviii. 5, 9-11, 17-19, 29*b*-30. His opinion, he remarks, is the same as that of Peters (*Beiträge zur Textkritik*), but it must be said that very different views which seem to be quite as reasonable are held respectively by Kauler (*Einleitung*, page 228, third edition), Cornely (*Introductio Specialis*, page 264), and Hummelauer (*Comm.*, page 184). But whatever may be thought of this, no one will deny that the text of the books has suffered materially. In many places the Masoretic text is obviously incorrect, and that of the Septuagint, particularly in its Lucianic recension, is preferable. This is true in many places of the Vulgate also; indeed, its readings are often the best. St. Jerome appears to have had excellent Hebrew MSS., and

his version, again and again, throws light on what would otherwise be a most obscure, unintelligible passage. On the other hand, as Kaulen observes (page 220), it sometimes happens that one and the same Hebrew phrase is translated twice. For instance, a bit from the Old Latin, together with a bit from St. Jerome's version, may be seen side by side in 1 Kings iv. 1; v. 6, 9, etc. Great attention has been paid to all matters of this kind in the present work.

But as in contrast to 3 and 4 Kings, these first two books present no points of contact with profane history, archæology plays but little part in Father Schlögl's pages. His philological remarks are excellent. The summaries of contexts prefixed to sections are, however, much fewer than those given by Schmalzl in his Ezechiel, which belongs to this series. The difference is, doubtless, owing to the respective nature of the inspired books. The visions of the exilic prophet cannot be apprehended without the help of such *prolegomena*. But the flowing narrative in the work of Samuel stands in need of no illustration of the kind: it is not the awful message of a mystic seer, but the naturally told narrative of perhaps the most eloquent of all the Hebrew historians.

R. W.

BENEDICTI XIV. PAPAE OPERA INEDITA, primum publicavit Franciscus Heiner Professor Juris Canonici in Universitate Friburg. Brisg. Frieburgi Brisgovia: Herder. 1904.

THE learned professor of Canon Law in the University of Freiburg in Bresgau is already well known to the literary world. By his works on Canon Law, *The Laws of the Church* (1890), *Censures* (1884), *Text Book of Canon Law* (1894), *On Catholic Marriage* (1892), he has done much to make the Church Regulations better understood and appreciated in Germany; while in the late discussions in that country on the Jesuit Laws and the 'University *versus* the Seminary' the learned and incisive pamphlets of Dr. Heiner played an important part.

Despite his labours as professor he undertook some years ago to publish from the MSS. in the Vatican Library the hitherto unpublished works of Benedict XIV., and the present volume is the fruit of his labours. No man could have been better qualified for the work. Having lived for many years in Italy

he is a perfect master of the Italian language, in which Benedict originally wrote, while on account of his researches in Canon Law he was able to appreciate the opinions of this Pope-Canonist as few men could have done.

The present volume includes the three important tracts, *De Ritibus Graecorum*, *De Festis Apostolorum*, and *De Sacramentis ;* the first published according to the Latin version, the other two in the original Italian. From the very title of these treatises it will be evident to the most casual reader the service which Dr. Heiner has rendered to Historico-Canonico Theology by giving to the world the authentic opinions of such a scholar as Benedict XIV. on these questions. Perhaps the one which will be read with most interest is the tract *De Sacramentis*, where Benedict discusses the differences existing between the Eastern and the Western Churches, and in light of these differences determines the matter and form of the Sacraments.

In discussing the Sacraments of Confirmation and Penance in the Greek and Latin Churches, Benedict lays down some principles which at first sight are not so easily reconciled. The minister of Confirmation is, according to him, the Bishop, but a simple priest with the delegation of the Pope may confer the sacrament validly, and that having such a delegation the sacrament of Confirmation given by Greek priests is valid ' Esser antica ed antecedente allo schisma la consuetudine de sacerdoti Greci di conferire la Cresima ai fancuilli da essi battezzatti ; essersi cio saputo dai Romani Pontefici, e non averlo ai predetti vietato, nel che consiste un tacito privilegio, che autorizza quei semplici sacerdoti come Ministri straordinari del Sagramento della Cresima." Now one would have thought that by the very act of schism such a delegation given by the Holy See should have been lost, and if it were not, perhaps the delegation for the sacrament of Penance may also remain, a conclusion which is apparently accepted by Benedict when he comes to treat of the minister of Penance. ' Vi e stato,' he writes, ' fra di noi chi ha dubitato se i Sacerdoti Greci oggidi validammente aniministrino il Sagramento della Penitenza, non sapendosi, quando essi ricevano dal Vescovo Ordinante la podestà sopra il Corpo mistico di Cristo : ma dell " insussistanza di questa difficolta," si trattera da Noi, quando discorremo del Sagramonto dell Ordine. But on the question of the sacrament of Orders from his distinction between Orders and Jurisdiction, and by his excluding Penance

from these sacraments which a schismatical priest may administer, it is evident that in the mind of Benedict the Greek priests not reconciled with Rome have no jurisdiction for the sacrament of penance.

There are many other interesting questions especially on the minister of the sacrament of Orders, and on the power of Papal Delegation with regard to the minister of this sacrament as well as the discussions on the relations between the Latin and Greek Churches on the sacrament of Matrimony which we commend to the attention of theologians.

Professor Heiner has done a good work, and we congratulate him on having done it so well. His edition of these works of Benedict XIV. is indispensable for anyone who wishes to become acquainted with the theology of the time. The book is brought out beautifully by the eminent Catholic publisher, Herder and Co., and the price is eighteen shillings.

J. MacC.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY. By Rev. Reuben Parsons. D.D., Vol. I., II. New York and Cincinnati: Pustet & Co. 1904.

THE author, already known to the reading public by his *Studies in Ecclesiastical History*, has undertaken in the present work to sketch the progress of the human race from the Creation till the present day. The two volumes already published, entitled, *Ancient History*, and *Early Mediæval History*, bring down the narrative till about the middle of the thirteenth century.

The author from his reading and experience of public schools has found that most of the so-called 'unsectarian' text-books on History are inspired by an insatiable hatred of the Catholic Church, and so, he resolved to produce a work on the subject which, while presenting the facts as they are found, will be written from a Catholic standpoint. The ordinary reader will find in it much that is useful and perhaps new to him, and in the discussion of the many interesting problems which turn up within the period named he will admire the industry and skilful treatment of the learned author.

But we are not so sure that an equally good book might not have been written had the author confined his treatment within about one-fourth the space which he has actually allowed

himself. If it be meant merely as a handbook on the subject it is entirely too voluminous, and not to be compared with some of those already in use in Catholic schools ; and if it be meant for anything better than a mere text-book the author is entirely mistaken in his ideas of historical treatment. Take, for example, the very first chapter, ' The Antiquity of the World and of Man,' and examine the list of ' Sources and Other Works for Consultation,' and we find the first of these is no less an authority than *Cantu's Storia Universale*, whilst the most modern book included in the list is Lenormant's *Introduction a l'Histoire de l'Asie Occidentale*, published in Paris in 1857. We had thought that the Bible should be included amongst the ' sources 'on such a question, but apparently the author is of a different opinion. It would have been infinitely better if the writer had been advised to omit entirely the Sources and Books for Consultation, because no list would have been preferable to a worthless one. We find at the head of the list dealing with Ireland, Gorini, Parsons and Lingard, and though a fair number of reliable authors are mentioned, yet nothing of a scientific knowledge of Irish Bibliography is shown, and on reading over the author's treatment we fear Lingard was his best consulted source.

We do not know whether the use of the paragraph to mark the divisions in the writer's sketch of a subject is being done away with on the other side of the Atlantic, but we are convinced that were it only for the appearance of the volume, and the convenience of the reader Dr. Parsons, would have been well advised to have been a little less sparing in its use.

The work is brought out by Pustet & Co. in good style, but as the publishers have neglected to communicate the price, we cannot give our readers any idea of the cost.

J. MacC.

DER INDEX DER VERBOTENEN BÜCHER. J. Hilgers, S.J. Herder. 1904.

SINCE the appearance of the Constitution *Officiorum ac Munerum*, several commentaries on it have been published ; *e.g.*, by Boudinhon, Hollweck, Veermersch, and others. But so far as we have seen, not one of them treats the subject from the same standpoint as the learned Jesuit whose work now lies before us. It is at once a history of the Index, an explanation of Leo XIII.'s famous enactment, and an ' Apologia.' The

subject of prohibited books and of the varied legislation regarding them is followed from the earliest ages down to our own time, from St. Paul at Ephesus to Pius X. in the Vatican. As is well known, the first *Indices librorum prohibitorum* appeared in Lucca, Venice, and Milan. One of them, 'The earliest Index of the Inquisition at Venice' was recently the subject of an interesting contribution in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (October, 1903). Soon after the publication of these local lists, the first Roman Index, that of Paul IV. (1559) was promulgated. Where Father Hilger reaches this part of his subject, or his theme proper, his book naturally increases in interest. We find the work of successive Popes carefully and minutely described: the Tridentine Index of Pius IV. which substantially remained in force till the date of the *Officiorum ac Munerum*, and the legislation of St. Pius V., Gregory XVI., Sixtus V., Clement VIII., Alexander VII., and Benedict XIV. In this section the author has here and there occasion to correct errors in Reusch's *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*, which though written by one that had fallen away from the Church, was, owing to the author's reputation for learning, believed to be a trustworthy book on the subject.

The translation and brief explanation of Leo XIII.'s epoch-making Constitution is followed by an analysis of his edition of the Index which shows that in it the Pope names 3,300 works condemned by the Congregation of the Index itself, 860 by that of the Holy Office, and 144 by Papal Briefs (seventy-five); also mentions 108 'Opera omnia' decrees, and four decrees that were issued immediately by Popes (viz., Benedict XIV., Clement XIV., Leo XII., Gregory XVI.), or without the employment of a Congregation; and lastly three works condemned by the Congregation of Rites, and one by that of Indulgences. Furthermore, we are told that if the prohibited books (1330) of the nineteenth century be classified according to the countries where they were published, Italy is responsible for 500, France, Belgium, and Holland together for 480, Germany for 180, Spain and Portugal for 120, England for forty, Poland for five, Greece for four, and Denmark and some other countries for one each. The Leonine edition is also chronologically arranged in an appendix, so that the reader can see at a glance the order in which the books were condemned from A.D. 1575 to 1903. This has its uses; it shows what errors prevailed at

certain periods, or what the Holy See took cognisance of. Some years have a clear bill, others were for the production and condemnation of errors times of extraordinary activity.

We may now notice what seems to be a defect in an otherwise most copious and excellent work. In a note on Leo XIII.'s Constitution (page 27) instead of quoting two answers of the Congregation of the Index, Father Hilgers contents himself with a reference : ' Cf. S. C. Ind., 23 Maii et 21 Junii 1898.' And as many readers of the I. E. RECORD may be glad to see the words of the answers, they will be given here :—

Cum circa Constitutionem *Officiorum ac Munerum* huic Sacrae Indicis Congregationi sequentia dubiis proposita fuerint, viz., 1. Utrum haec verba art. 5, ' qui studiis theologicis aut biblicis dant operam,' intelligenda tantum sint de doctis viris, iis scientiis deditis, aut extendi valeant ad universos S. Theologiae tyrones ? 2. An opera quae permulta sunt erroribus infecta a Syllabo damnatis, verbis art. 14, prohibita censentur quatenus errores ab Apostolica Sede proscriptos continentia ? 3. Utrum excerpta e periodicis capita seorsim edita (vulgo, *tirages a part*) censeri debeant ' novae editiones,' atque proinde nova approbatione indigeant, prout art. 44 requiritur ? 4. Utrum dicta Constitutio vim obligatoriam habeat etiam pro regionibus britannici idiomatis quas tacita dispensatione frui quidam arbitrentur ?

Sacra Congregatio, omnibus mature perpensis, sub die 19 Maii 1898 responderi mandavit : Ad 1*m*. Negative ad 1*m* partem, affirmative ad 2*m*. Ad 2*m*. Affirmative : si hos errores tueantur seu propugnent. Ad 3*m*. Negative. Ad 4*m*. Affirmative.

2. Cum huic S. Indicis Congregationi dirimenda proposita fuerint sequentia dubia : 1. Utrum sub nomine eorum, qui studiis theologicis vel biblicis dant operam veniant etiam alumni qui theologiae et linguae hebraicae et graecae in scholis Seminariorum vacant ? Et quatenus affirmative ; 2. Utrum possit Episcopus permittere ut in scholis alumni, sub dictu professoris, textus habraicos et graecos ab acatholicis, legant ac vertant, dummodo non impugnentur prolegomenis aut annotationibus talium librorum catholicae fidei dogmata ?

Eadem S. Congregatio sub die 18 Junii 1898, iisdem dubiis mature perpensis, respondendum censuit : Ad 1*m*. Affirmative. Ad 2*m*. Negative, nisi specialem a S. Sede facultatem abtinuerit.

To return, however, to Father Hilgers. He gives in an Appendix the works condemned by Pius X. up to the date when his own book was published. Among these condemned works are five by Loisy, and two by Houtin. It may be added that

since the appearance of Father Hilgers' book, another work by Houtin, *L'Americanisme*, has been put on the Index.

Father Hilgers tells us a great deal about the authors of condemned works, and discusses numerous interesting historical questions respecting the works themselves. There is not a single prominent name about which he has not information to give. Every page shows his knowledge of theological and of literary episodes. If a person wishes to learn who such an author was, what he wrote, why he (or she) is on the Index, what exactly was the subject of this or that controversy, what events led up to condemnation, why certain books were taken off the Index, etc., he has only to consult Father Hilger.

Perhaps the most original part of the book is that which treats of the prohibition of books by Protestants of all shades, and by civil authorities. These prohibitions are more numerous than is commonly believed, and some of them are of historic value. We see the 'Indices' of Henry VIII., Elizabeth, James I., etc., then the Dutch, Swedish, Danish, French (including those of Napoleon I.), Swiss, German, and Austrian. This section (pages 206-389) is part of Father Hilger's Apologia for the Papal Index. The other part contains several most important documents (from the Vatican archives, etc.), many of which are published for the first time. Father Hilger has rendered by his discoveries and by his book, most useful service to the Church.

R. W.

SPIRITUAL EXERCISES FOR A TEN DAYS' RETREAT: For the use of Religious Congregations. By Very Rev. Rudolph V. Smetana, C.SS.R. New York: Benziger Bros. Price $1.00.

IN the course of thirty meditations the very rev. author lays down the main principles of the spiritual life. To clear the mental vision of his readers, and to enable them to take a true view of life, he dwells one by one on the great truths—the end of man, divine grace, sin, time and eternity, death and judgment: passing on to place before his readers the true standard of conduct in the life of our divine Lord; and concluding by depicting the future blessedness of the elect. The book is intended primarily for members of religious congregations; and hence many reflections and exhortations are pointless for the

general reader; yet, treating as it does, of the fundamental ideas of the Christian religion of the most perfect standard of human conduct, it cannot fail to be very useful to any class of readers, and more especially to priests. The various considerations are put very concisely, but very clearly. Throughout a calm sober appeal is made to the reason, which renders the book capable of being taken up in any circumstances. Occasionally the author inclines to a rather stern view of things: as when he deals with the number of the elect, or with the question of the extent of self-denial; yet even here his position is calmly logical. Altogether the *Spiritual Exercises* contain a well-considered treatment of many practical truths, and as such would be a useful addition to the library of any missionary priest.

A. H. B.

THE TALES TIM TOLD US. By Mary E. Mannix. Notre Dame, Indiana: The *Ave Maria*. Price 75c.

OF the eleven tales contained in this book, all are readable and edifying, and one, at least, 'The Prior of Holy Cross Abbey,' reaches a high literary level. The adult reader will consider it somewhat of a defect that the tales are represented as given in the words of Irish exile, while, with the exception of an occasional *bull*, not always skilfully introduced, nor true to life, there is nothing in the style of the tales to indicate such a *seanachuidhe*. The little book can be recommended for convent and college libraries.



ON THE TEACHING OF EXPERIMENTAL AND PRACTICAL SCIENCE IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF IRELAND[1]

IT is known, I dare say, to many of my hearers, that the Royal Society, in the month of January last, issued a circular to the Universities of the United Kingdom, in which they submitted the following Resolution for their consideration :—'That the Universities be respectfully urged to consider the desirability of taking such steps in respect of their regulations as will, so far as possible, ensure that a knowledge of science is recognised, in schools and elsewhere, as an essential part of general education.'

In view of this action of the Royal Society, and of the repeated efforts which the British Association has made in the same direction, I thought it would be interesting if I were to bring before this Section,[2] a short account of what has been done in Ireland, during the last four years, towards the introduction of Experimental Science into the Secondary Schools.

The whole system of secondary education in Ireland is practically guided and controlled by a body of Commissioners known as the Board of Intermediate Education. This Board, which was first constituted by Act of Parlia-

[1] A paper read at the Meeting of the British Association in Cambridge, August, 1904.

[2] Section L, on education.

ment in 1878, and afterwards enlarged and invested with new powers in 1900, administers a fund which at present amounts to about £90,000 a year. It is bound to distribute this fund partly in the form of Prizes and Exhibitions to pupils, and partly in the form of money grants to schools. The award of Exhibitions and Prizes is made on the results of an examination held each year at certain specified centres throughout the country. The money grants to schools were formerly made on the results of examination alone; but under the Act of 1900, the Board is empowered to supplement the system of examination by a system of inspection, and to take both into account in awarding the school grants.

As all the secondary schools of the country naturally desire to share in this endowment for Intermediate education, they all, with very trifling exceptions, send up their pupils to the examinations of the Intermediate Board, which are open alike to girls and to boys. Thus it has come to pass, for better or for worse as the case may be, that the teaching in all the secondary schools of Ireland is, in large measure, directed and controlled by the rules and regulations of the Intermediate Education Board.

Previous to the re-constitution of the Board in 1900, the influence of these rules and regulations was not favourable to the development of Experimental Science in the schools. For some reason or other, the number of candidates in Physics and Chemistry had steadily fallen away, from year to year, until it was reduced to less than ten per cent. of the total number examined. Moreover, as the examination was conducted entirely by written papers, the tendency of the system was to discredit practical work in the laboratory, and to encourage the pupils to get up their knowledge almost exclusively from books. The influence, therefore, of the Board's Programme was unfavourable to the study of Experimental Science in two ways: First, it led to a falling off in the number of candidates who presented this subject for examination; and Secondly, it encouraged a bad method of teaching.

A great improvement came in the year 1900. In that year the Board, as I have said, obtained from Parliament

the power to supplement its system of examination by a system of inspection; and it was thus enabled to correct many of the evils which had been naturally developed when the efficiency of schools had been judged by examination alone. About the same time, the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction was set up in Ireland; and to it was transferred the administration of the Parliamentary Vote for Science and Art, which had formerly been administered from South Kensington. Now, the grants made under this Vote, in Ireland, for Science and Art subjects, are made to the same schools that send up their pupils to the examinations of the Intermediate Education Board. It was accordingly arranged, in a conference between the two Boards, that in dealing with those subjects that were common to both, they would adopt a common Programme, with a common system of examination and inspection. It was agreed, moreover, as a matter of convenience, that the inspection and examination should be carried out by the officers of the Department, who would furnish to the Intermediate Board, each year, a list of the pupils who *passed* and of those who *passed with Honour*.

The Programme agreed to, under this arrangement, is set forth in the following Table.

PROGRAMME OF EXPERIMENTAL AND PRACTICAL SCIENCE.

PRELIMINARY COURSE: Compulsory.	SPECIAL COURSES: Optional.
	I PHYSICS; a Two Years Course.
FIRST YEAR; mainly Elementary Physics with Drawing.	II CHEMISTRY; a Two Years Course.
	III MECHANICS; a Two Years Course.
	IV BOTANY; a Two Years Course.
SECOND YEAR; mainly Elementary Chemistry with Drawing.	V PHYSIOLOGY AND HYGIENE; a Two Years Course.
	VI DOMESTIC ECONOMY; a Two Years Course.
	VII Geology; a One Year Course.

To make the working of this scheme more fully intelligible, the following brief notes will be useful:—

(1) The Preliminary Science Course consists entirely of

practical work in the Laboratory, to which three hours a week must be devoted ; but to qualify for a Pass, one hour a week must also be given to Drawing ;

(2) Each Special Course in Science consists partly of work in the Laboratory, and partly of lectures illustrated by experiments. Both taken together must occupy at least three hours a week ;

(3) No pupil is allowed to take up a Special Course unless he has been previously awarded a Pass in the two years of the Preliminary Course.

(4) To obtain a Pass in any Science subject, the pupil must be certified, by an Inspector of the Department, to have satisfactorily gone through the prescribed course in a laboratory properly equipped, and under a teacher approved by the Department ;

(5) Pupils who have qualified for a Pass, may present themselves for an Honour examination, which is conducted mainly by written papers ;

(6) From the year 1905 onwards, the Preliminary Course will be compulsory on all pupils coming up to the examinations of the Intermediate Board, except those who take a group of subjects which is known as the Classical group. and which includes both Latin and Greek. The Special Courses are not compulsory ; but it is expected that a large proportion of pupils, having acquired a bent for the study of science in the two years of the Preliminary Course, will in their subsequent career select one or more of these Courses, of their own free choice.

One of the chief difficulties encountered in the introduction of this new system of science teaching, was to provide a supply of competent teachers. This branch of the work has been entirely carried out by the Department, as the training of teachers does not fall within the functions of the Intermediate Board. The number of schools to be provided for was about 250 ; and the number of teachers available, competent to train pupils in laboratory work, was at first exceedingly small. The problem, therefore, was simply this, to create, with the least possible delay, a considerable body of trained teachers. This problem

was faced with great energy by the Department. The plan they adopted was two-fold. First, they made a temporary arrangement to meet the pressing need of the moment; and secondly, they made a permanent arrangement, which is to come into operation in the year 1908.

The temporary arrangement consisted in the establishment of Summer Classes for Secondary School Teachers, held each year at certain centres in Dublin, Cork, and Belfast, and at certain large educational institutions elsewhere. These Summer Classes extend over a period of four weeks, during which the teachers are at work for five hours a day, except on Saturdays, when they leave off at one o'clock. At the end of each Summer Course, an examination is held—written, oral, practical; and teachers who have attended the Course throughout, and satisfied the examiners, get a provisional certificate to teach that course in secondary schools. This system has now been in operation for four years, beginning with the summer of 1901. The results of the present year are not yet available; but the results of the first three years, as set forth in the following Tables, taken from the Report of the Department for 1903, are eminently satisfactory, and full of promise for the future.

SUMMER CLASSES FOR TEACHERS.

PRELIMINARY COURSE, 1901—1903.

YEAR.	First Year of the Course.		Second Year of the Course.	
	Number of Teachers who attended the Class.	Number of Teachers who obtained provisional Certificates.	Number of Teachers who attended the Class.	Number of Teachers who obtained provisional Certificates.
1901, . .	196	173	—	—
1902, . .	166	114	169	132
1903, . .	164	116	105	91
TOTAL .	526	403	265	223

Special Courses, 1903.

Subject.	Number of Teachers who attended the Class.	Number of Teachers who obtained provisional Certificates.
Physics (First Year) . . .	48	44
Chemistry (First Year) . . .	69	62
Mechanical Science (First Year) . .	6	3
Botany (First Year)	14	10
Physiology and Hygiene (First Year) .	12	10
Total, ...	149	129

From these Tables it appears that up to the summer of 1903, 403 teachers had obtained a provisional certificate to teach the First Year of the Preliminary Course, 223 to teach the Second Year, and 129 to teach the First Year of a Special Course. These figures will, no doubt, be greatly increased by the results of the Summer Classes of the present year, 1904. Thus a body of science teachers is being gradually formed in Ireland, who during four weeks of each summer go through a practical course of training and instruction, and who during the school year that follows are engaged in teaching, under the inspection of the Department, that branch of science which they have so acquired.

But these provisional certificates are, at best, only a temporary makeshift, to get the science classes of the secondary schools into working order, with the least possible delay. They will come to an end in July 1908. After that date, those teachers only will be recognised who shall have obtained either (A) the Irish Teachers Science Certificate, or (B) some equivalent Diploma or Degree.

(A.) The Irish Teachers Science Certificate will be given to students who go through the course prescribed for such certificate, extending over three years, in the Royal College of Science, Dublin. But it will be given also, in the first instance, and until further notice, to all science teachers

who shall have attended for five years the Summer Classes in science, obtaining each year the corresponding provisional certificate, and who shall have been engaged, for a period of three years, in the teaching of science, in a secondary school.

(B.) Teachers who do not get the Science Certificate of the Department, may nevertheless be recognised as science teachers, if they obtain what is called an 'Approved Equivalent.' The conditions required to constitute an Approved Equivalent, are laid down in the rules of the Department. In general, it may be said that the Department will recognise a science teacher, who has got either a University Degree, or the Diploma of a Technical College, provided that the branch of science he undertakes to teach was one of the subjects in the final examination for such Degree or Diploma.

The second difficulty encountered, in the setting up of science teaching in Ireland, was the want of laboratories and laboratory equipment. This difficulty has been met by the cordial and very remarkable co-operation of the schools, and of the Local Authorities, with the efforts made by the Department and the Intermediate Education Board.

At the outset, the Department prepared plans of laboratories, on various scales, for 10, 20, 30, pupils working together. These plans were a useful guide to the schools. But in a great majority of cases, on the application of the school authorities, the Department designed special plans to suit the particular circumstances of each individual school. They further prescribed the apparatus and equipment necessary in order that a school should be approved as qualified for the teaching of Experimental Science.

Then loans were advanced by the Intermediate Education Board, and grants were made by the Department, to aid the schools in complying with the prescribed conditions. The County Councils and the municipal bodies also lent their aid, in many cases, by allocating to the same purpose a portion of the funds placed at their disposal for technical education.

The result has been that 214 schools are now provided with all the appliances needed for the two years of the Preliminary Course ; and a considerable number of these are futher provided with the equipment prescribed for one or more of the Special Courses.

It remains to say a few words as to the number of schools and of pupils that have taken up the new system. About 250 schools, roughly speaking, are working under the common science Programme of the Department and the Intermediate Board. These are practically all the secondary schools in the country. They are scattered over the four provinces, and are of every variety as regards size, from schools of 20 or 30 pupils, to schools of 200 or 300 pupils each.

These 250 schools send up each year about 8,000 pupils to the examinations of the Intermediate Board ; and nearly all the pupils who present science subjects at the Intermediate Examinations, qualify also for grants under the Department. But there are many who qualify under the Department and do not present themselves for the Intermediate Examinations. Such pupils are known in the language of the Department as 'non-Intermediates.' It may be that they are not considered up to the standard of the Intermediate Examinations ; or it may be that they want to devote themselves more exclusively to a course of technical education. At all events, they exist ; and they constitute at present about one-third or one-fourth of the science students in the secondary schools.

Counting both classes of pupils, the so-called 'non-Intermediates' and the 'Intermediates,' I find that the number following a course of Experimental Science, under the joint Programme of the two Boards, is now well over 10,000, and it is increasing from year to year. To appreciate the significance of this figure, it must be remembered that the new system could only come into operation in successive stages. In the school year 1901-2, it was only open to the schools to teach the first year of the Preliminary Course ; in the year 1902-3, the two years of the Preliminary Course ; in the year 1903-4 the two years of

the Preliminary Course, and the first year of one or more of the Special Courses. The annexed Table shows the gradual growth of the system for the first two years.

NUMBER OF PUPILS WHO WORKED THROUGH THE PRELIMINARY COURSE DURING THE YEARS 1901-3.

	1901—2.	1902—3.		Total in 1902—3.
	First Year.	First Year.	Second Year.	
Leinster	2,732	1,948	1,420	3,368
Munster	2,098	1,563	1,058	2,621
Ulster	1,596	1,160	867	2,027
Connaught	189	285	99	384
All Ireland	6,615	4,956	3,444	8,400

The returns for the school year 1903-4, are not yet published. But from returns furnished to me, I am able to state that the number of students under instruction in the two years of the Preliminary Course, in this year, has been over 9,000 ; and the number under instruction in one or other of the various Special Courses has been over 1,500. This, I think, may be regarded as a fairly satisfactory result, in what is practically an entirely new line of study, within the short period of three years.

A very encouraging feature in this new development of science teaching, is that the subject is popular both with teachers and pupils. The teachers have shown their zeal and eagerness in the cause, by sacrificing a substantial portion of their holiday time to come up for the summer classes. As regards the pupils, I am informed that a large number have developed quite a remarkable taste for laboratory work ; and that many who had been regarded as dull and inert in other studies, have shown themselves alert and bright in this new field of nature knowledge which has been opened to them.

G. MOLLOY, D.D.

CANON LAW REFORM

THE present Pope has, I understand, resolved to attempt a new codification of the Canon Law, and with this view has addressed a letter to the various Metropolitans, inviting suggestions from the bishops of their respective provinces. Their Lordships, it is understood, in making these suggestions, are not expected to confine themselves to codification merely; but may indicate changes which, in their opinion, it would be well to make in the substance of the laws now in force, taking special account of the circumstances of the different countries.

I feel I may be asked what all this has to do with me; and why I, who am not a bishop, interfere with unsolicited suggestions of reform. I know that what I am about to write exposes me to the suspicions which these questions imply; yet I feel that it is not bishops only who have an interest in what is being done. No doubt, they are much more deeply concerned than others; as they are much better qualified to suggest improvements. The inferior clergy, however, and the laity, are deeply interested also; and it may be that, as we, in our grade and condition, feel certain inconveniences which bishops are spared, we may, for that reason, be more likely to advert to the necessity of changes whereby these inconveniences may be diminished, without encroaching unduly on the rights and privileges of others. Rightly or wrongly, I think there are some of these matters in which the laity and the lower orders of the clergy have a great and immediate interest; and I know the episcopal body too well to doubt their readiness to receive suggestions from any one, no matter how humble, who interferes with a moderate amount of knowledge and a sincere desire for the good of religion.

I do not propose to deal with all the points in the legal system of the Church which I regard as needing reform. To do so would require almost a complete treatise on Canon Law; and, besides, many necessary changes may be safely

left to the care of much more influential persons. I purpose to confine my remarks to three points : ecclesiastical trials, appointments to parochial benefices, and financial arrangements. The suggestions I make are submitted in all diffidence to the readers of the I. E. RECORD, in the hope that those priests who may agree with me, even in part, will be encouraged to make their sentiments known. What is passing in the mind of any considerable portion of the clergy, and spoken of in their knots and gatherings, cannot but reach the ears of the bishops, and is pretty sure of an attentive hearing.

I.—ECCLESIASTICAL TRIALS

Except in the case of a very restricted class of penalties which may be inflicted on clergymen *ex informata conscientia* ; as well as, to some extent, such as may be inflicted in cases of notoriety ; the common law of the Church, as it stands, provides that a summary trial, at least, shall, on pain of nullity of the punishment, take place ' before an ecclesiastical punishment proper, whether temporal or spiritual, correctional or vindicatory, or a grave disciplinary correction, can be inflicted.' [1]

This very important law, as is well known, is not usually observed in Ireland. Indeed, owing to the number and the intricacy of the formalities of solemn ecclesiastical trials, and the many pretexts they supply for securing postponement of punishment and even for setting the sentence aside on appeal ; and considering that almost everywhere throughout the world in recent times ecclesiastical judges have been so much hampered in the exercise of their jurisdiction, by poverty and other impediments ; the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, in 1880, found it necessary to issue an Instruction whereby bishops were authorised to dispense with certain formalities in the criminal trials of clergymen. A similar Instruction had been issued by Propaganda in 1878 for the Church in the United States ;

[1] Smith, *New Procedure*, n. 87.

and earlier still, in 1853, the same S. Congregation approved of a Method of Procedure for the removal of missionary rectors in England. This last document was drawn up at the first Synod of Westminster ; it consisted of fourteen short articles and provided the substance of a fair trial for the clergymen to whose case it applied.

In the first Synod of Maynooth the question was raised whether a somewhat similar procedure might not be observed in Ireland. The members of the Synod plead as their excuse for not carrying out the provisions of the Canon Law, that it is impossible to do so in this country, owing to the interference of the civil power. They say that as cases occur nothing should be omitted that may be necessary to find out the truth ; and they add that further arrangements to this effect should be made in provincial synods.[1] In a Note to this decree reference is made to an Appendix, in which the fourteen articles drawn up at the Synod of Westminster are printed in full ; the implication being that this document would serve at least as a basis for the further regulations to be made at the provincial councils.

As far as I know, the provincial synods were never held nor any further arrangements made ; with the result that to the present day, except in a few instances, punishment has been inflicted without any formal process constituting the substance of a fair and open trial.

I do not mean to throw any blame on the episcopal body for this state of things. We should bear in mind that, as a result of the penal laws, the Church in Ireland had, as it were, to be born anew ; it had, at least, to pass through a second period of adolescence and paternal rule, when judicial forms could not be observed. What I contend for is that it is not wise to continue this paternal government too long ; that when man's estate has been reached —and the Church seems to have reached that estate in Ireland—those who are governed will be all the manlier

[1] 'Cum in hac regione omnes formae in jure canonico praescriptae pro judiciis ecclesiasticis nequeant observari, habita legis civilis ratione, cavendum ut saltem ea omnia fiant quae ad veritatem inveniendam et ad justam rei defensionem necessaria sunt. Qua de re in Synodis Provincialibus sedulo agendum erit.'—*Acta*, n. 261.

and better if they are treated as men and not as children ; which supposes a free and open system of judicial proceedings in civil and criminal matters. I have no knowledge of what the second Synod of Maynooth may have done in this respect ; but, taking into account the spirit of the times, and considering what has been done by individual bishops in a certain number of important cases, I shall be very much surprised if, when the decrees of the Synod are promulgated, they do not contain provisions similar to those which regulate the administration of justice in the ecclesiastical courts of the United States.

There is one matter which I would like to mention in connection with this great reform, although it does not require any change in the law : I refer to the position of advocates. So many people in every community are unable to conduct their own cases, that when regular tribunals are established it will be necessary to find and encourage advocates,—to allow them, at least, ample freedom. I do not apprehend much difficulty on this score in the ordinary run of civil cases ; but when the diocesan authorities take proceedings to vindicate discipline, I fear there may be at first in Irish ecclesiastical circles a tendency to regard as somewhat dangerous the position of the advocate of the accused. I, at least, should not like to be called upon, except by the bishop, to take up that position in certain cases. And yet, in the interest of discipline itself, it is of supreme importance that the wickedest, meanest, and most hardened of criminals, should have ample means of defence ; and that, as in our civil courts, in all such cases the advocate of the accused should be considered one of the most valuable of the judge's assistants.

Coming now to the points which require to be amended in the legal provisions for ecclesiastical trials, it appears to me that the system established in the United States,—which, I take it, will be soon extended to Ireland,—might be improved so as (1) to cover a greater number of cases ; and (2) to have it made clear that certain formalities are

not necessary for the validity of the sentence. There is also (3) the question of appeals.

(1) The system might be extended so as to apply to a greater number of cases. The Instruction *Cum Magnopere* contemplates only the criminal cases of clergymen. Now it often happens that the laity, and even brother priests, are aggrieved by clergymen against whom no one would dream of asking the bishop to proceed by way of criminal action. Cases of this kind occur in connection with money matters and defamatory statements; they arise very frequently between teachers and managers of schools, and also in times of politico-religious conflicts. This matter was considered of such importance at the time of the first Synod of Maynooth, that it is mentioned by Cardinal Barnabo among the questions of urgency which then called for special legislation.[1] The enactments made at the Synod (nn. 254-7), however, are little more than exhortations to have these disputes settled by compromise or arbitration;—methods of great value where there are courts of law to which one may have recourse in the last resort; but of little use, except to restrain the conscientious, where no such legal remedy is possible.

Take, for instance, the case of a teacher—a husband, possibly, and father of a family—who has been dismissed by the clerical manager of his school. According to the discipline now prevailing, this cannot take place until the manager has laid the case before the bishop of the diocese; which implies that the teacher has a right to permanent employment as long as he is not disqualified by incapacity or crime; and that evidence must be submitted to the bishop in support of the manager's complaint. Here we have what may easily be made the substance of a fair and open trial; and I see no reason why the tribunals to be erected, if any, for the trial of criminal cases, should not have their jurisdiction extended so as to cover cases of this kind.

[1] See his letter addressed to Cardinal Cullen, prefixed to the *Acta*, p. 10.

Some managers with whom I have talked the matter over, maintained that it will sometimes happen that the evidence against a teacher may be sufficient to justify dismissal, though witnesses could not be produced in open court nor submitted to cross-examination. This, I have no doubt, is true. Nevertheless, the infliction of grave punishment *ex informata conscientia*—and what punishment can be more serious than the dismissal of a teacher who is father of a family?—is very liable to abuse. This is recognised by the Canon Law, which will not allow clergymen to be dismissed in that way, although it is well known that from time to time charges are made against some of them which it is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to prove by evidence submitted in open court; and it is surely as important for the spiritual welfare of the people that the priest should not be a scource of contagion, as it is that a teacher should not corrupt the morals of his pupils. Let us mete out to others the measure of justice which we claim for ourselves; let us try and get our people to act as men,—in their own interests. They are not afraid to give evidence in the civil courts when temporal things are concerned. May we not hope that when they see that it depends on themselves to get justice done and to safeguard the morals of their children, they will not be either ashamed or afraid to appear in the episcopal court to give evidence against immoral teachers? That is the manly thing for them to do: is it not time to begin to govern them as men and not as children?

(2) Turning now to the formalities which are required by, or have by some commentators been read into, the Instruction *Cum Magnopere*, I think, in the first place, it should be made quite clear (*a*) that the precept therein mentioned is of itself sufficient, without canonical warnings, for the validity of the sentence. Paternal admonitions, of course, would still continue, but not as a necessary condition for the validity of any judicial procedure that might follow. The precept would take the place of a law binding under penalty *ferendae sententiae*; and as laws of

that kind, once promulgated, carry their own monitions, so should the precept. It is ridiculous to expect a bishop before proceeding, let us say, to suspend a priest for drunkenness, to give three canonical admonitions and again a formal precept,—and this under penalty of invalidating the whole proceedings.

(*b*) It seems to me, moreover, that there are cases—violations of the natural or the divine law that bring disgrace on the ecclesiastical order—in which not even the precept mentioned in the Instruction should be required as a necessary condition for the infliction of reasonable punishment. Clause XXXIV. of the Instruction provides that a condemnatory sentence must 'make express mention of the ecclesiastical law sanctioning the punishment which is applied to the accused.'[1] No matter, therefore, how grievous or scandalous the crime may be, unless it has been expressly mentioned as punishable in the Canon Law, the bishop cannot inflict punishment, but merely impose a precept the violation of which will entail penalties in future. This seems to hamper needlessly the guardians of discipline, unless care is taken in provincial or diocesan synods to catalogue all the crimes that are likely to occur, attaching to each some clause that will empower the bishop to inflict a reasonable penalty. Another way to meet the difficulty would be to incorporate in the body of the common law some provision to the effect that in case it has been proved that any clergyman has been guilty of an offence against the natural or the divine law, especially such as is likely to bring religion into disrepute, he may be punished in proportion to the gravity of the offence. The first of these measures is the more complicated ; but if it could be adopted it would, no doubt, be the more satisfactory.

(*c*) Next, it seems very strange that the evidence of single witnesses (*testes singulares*) should not suffice for conviction, especially as in some of the worst forms of crime it is unreasonable to expect any other kind of testimony.

[1] Smith's Translation.

As the law stands at present, if three respectable men were to testify that they saw a particular clergyman drunk, the evidence would not be enough to convict, unless two of them at least are able to say that they saw him drunk on the same occasion. This, it seems to me, is an over-scrupulous care for the accused, and imperils discipline. It might, perhaps, be well to require for full proof in cases of this kind, the evidence of more witnesses than two; but no reasonable man would contend that, apart even from presumptions, the testimony of three or four such witnesses would not be sufficient.

Finally (*d*), the rule of Canon Law whereby laymen are incompetent to bear witness against clergymen in criminal cases, should be reformed. The testimony of laymen, it is true, is occasionally admissible; as, for instance, 'when, owing to time and place, ecclesiastics cannot be had as witnesses.'[1] But even then laymen, no matter how respectable in character, 'are not regarded as witnesses who are above all objection;' so that, no matter how many of them may come forward to testify to the crime of a priest, their evidence 'will not suffice for conviction, unless it is corroborated by an ecclesiastic of good fame or by other legal evidence'[2] If this be a correct statement of the law as its stands,—and I have no reason to doubt its correctness—there is real need of reform.

(3) The want of properly equipped courts of appeal to which clergy and laity may have recourse whenever they feel aggrieved, is almost, if not quite, as serious a grievance as the rough-and-ready methods whereby punishments are inflicted in what should be the courts of first instance. The Instruction *Cum Magnopere* provides (Clause XLI.) that 'in case of an appeal from the sentence of the episcopal court to that of the metropolitan, the archbishop will, in hearing and deciding the case, use the same mode of procedure that is outlined in this Instruction.'

[1] Smith, *New Procedure*, n. 224.
[2] *Ibid.*, n. 225.

If in Ireland courts are erected in each diocese on the lines thus laid down, metropolitans will be in a position to take up appeals and deal with them judicially, and a great part of the grievance now existing will be thereby removed. There will, however, still remain the four metropolitan courts, from whose decisions, whenever they serve as courts of first instance to adjudicate on cases that come up from the archbishop's own diocese, no appeal can be taken except to Rome ;[1] and every one knows how inexpedient it is to have any but the most serious cases taken before that remote tribunal. It is, moreover, very important to have in our own land a supreme court to which in civil cases a further appeal may be taken, if the decision of the metropolitan should be adverse to the finding of the court of first instance.

I am well aware of the difficulties that are likely to beset the creation of any national tribunal competent to deal with appeals of all kinds. Ireland is hardly large enough for an Apostolic Delegation such as they have in the United States ; nor are we likely to accept willingly the jurisdiction of a court whose powers would extend over Great Britain. It only remains to sink petty jealousies and be content to be judged in the last instance, saving an occasional appeal to Rome, by one of our own tribunals. Otherwise we must be content to drag on in a state of semi-adolescence ; divided among ourselves and incapable of the sacrifice of diocesan and provincial interests that national unity demands. We expect laymen to sink their differences in political matters ; let us, who should be better disciplined, show them the good example.

W. McDONALD, D.D.

[1] It is interesting to note that an appeal from a decision of a Metropolitan to one of the suffragans is not unknown to the Canon Law.

AN IRISH VINCENTIAN MARTYR IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

IN a paper entitled 'Hibernia Vincentiana'[1] the present writer gave an account of the labours of the Vincentians in Ireland during the life time of their founder. In the hour of her deepest affliction, the early Irish Vincentians had the privilege of labouring for Ireland, and of sharing her sufferings; and one of their number, Brother Thaddeus Lye, had the honour of suffering death at the hands of the enemies of the Catholic faith.[1]

The object of the present paper is to collect all that is known of the life and death of this servant of God, in the hope that as he was an associate in suffering of the Irish martyrs of the seventeenth century, he may also be their associate in the honours of which, it is hoped, the Church will at no distant date declare them worthy.

I.

The details which have come down to us of the life and sufferings of Brother Lye (Lee), are scanty; but they are sufficient to show that he lived and died for God. The first mention of him is found in the Register of those who became members of the Congregation of the Mission, which is preserved at the *Archives Nationales* in Paris, and is quoted M.M. 519A and bears the following title:—

'Catalogue of the priests and clerics who have been received into the Congregation of the Mission since the commencement of its institution, and who lived therein more than two years, or who died in it before the end of the first two years, 1625-1764.'[2]

---

[1] I. E. RECORD, October, 1903.

[2] 'Catalogue des Prestres et clercs qui ont este receus en la Congregation de la Mission depuis le commencement de son institution, et y ont veçu plus de deux ans, ou bien y sont morts devant la fin des deux premières années, 1625-1764.' Arch. Nationales M.M. 519 A. The continuation of the Catalogue from 1764 to 1790 is quoted M.M. 519 B.

In this Register we find under the year 1643, the following entry: 'Thady Lie, aged 20 years, a native of Touä (Tuam ?) in Ireland, received in Paris, 21st October, 1643, made the vows 7th October, 1645.'[1]

From this entry it is evident that Thady Lye was a cleric, though he is sometimes spoken of as a Brother, according to a usage in religious communities which gives that title even to ecclesiastics who are not in priests' orders. Moreover, in the same register there is a separate catalogue of all the lay brothers who entered the community for the whole of the same period and the name Lye is not found amongst them. In all probability Brother Lye, like so many others of his countrymen, had come to Paris to study for the priesthood; and had there become acquainted with St. Vincent de Paul,[2] who at this time, in conjunction with Dr. Kirwan, was interesting himself in the welfare of the Irish ecclesiastics resident in the French capital. Anyhow his age, and his oblation of himself to God is evidence that 'his heart was in that which is good in the days of his youth.'[3]

Another reference which can hardly apply to anyone but Brother Lye is found in a letter of St. Vincent de Paul, dated 15th October, 1646, and addressed to the Bishop of Limerick.[4] In that letter the saint announces to the bishop the departure of a body of missioners to Ireland. He writes—'My Lord: at last I have the pleasure of sending eight missioners to Ireland, one of them is French, the rest are Irish . . . .[5] and a brother who is English. The first mentioned has been charged with the government of the company, according to the advice of the late Mr. Skyddie.[6] who before his death sent me word that this was the plan to adopt. The cleric will have as his duty to direct the singing.'

[1] 'Thadée Lie, agé de 20 ans, natif de Touä en Hibernie; reçu à Paris le 21 Octobre, 1643, a fait les voeux le 7 Octobre, 1643.' The name is written Lie in the Register. In the printed text of Collet and of St. Vincent's letters we find Lye.

[2] 'Hib. Vincentiana,' I. E. RECORD, p. 300, October, 1903.

[3] Eccles. xi. 9.

[4] *Lettres de St. Vincent de Paul*, vol. i., p. 578.

[5] A portion of the original letter has been torn away.

[6] John Skyddie, a native of Cork, received in Paris, 9th October, 1638; ordained priest 1640.

From other letters of St. Vincent written at this period, we learn that one of the lay brothers who accompanied the missioners, named Solomon Patriarche, was a native of the island of Jersey, and we may assume that he is the person described as English. This good brother suffered much from the privations and perils he underwent in Ireland, and in 1649 it was found necessary to send him back to France. In a letter dated 10th September, 1649, St. Vincent mentions him, and says :—

M. Duguin (Duggan) who was in Ireland is here for the last few days. He left, at St. Meen, Brother Patriarche who, though much better, is not quite recovered from his mental infirmity, on account of which M. Brin sent them to us. I am told this good brother, such as he is, is a source of great edification to the company, so cordial is he, and so obliging, active, and devoted to God.[1]

The cleric, therefore, must have been Brother Lye, who was not in priests' orders, probably because in 1646 he was still under age, and probably also because he had not a patrimonial title, and the community had not yet obtained the privilege of ordaining its subjects *titulo Mensae Communis*. But whatever be the explanation, the fact that it was his duty to direct the singing is not without interest in these days of musical reform ; for it seems to indicate that congregational singing was not unknown in Ireland in the seventeenth century.

The third reference we find to Brother Lye is found in a letter of St. Vincent, dated 22nd March, 1652, and addressed to Mr. Lambert, superior of a house of the Congregation in Warsaw. Having treated of matters personal to M. Lambert the saint continues :—

I add to this the news we have had of our *confrères* in Ireland, whom we supposed to be amongst those whom the English put to death at the capture of Limerick. But, thanks be to God, he has rescued them from their hands. This is certain as regards M. Barry, who has arrived at Nantes, and whom we are expecting here, and we have reason to hope the same is true of M. Brin, though we are not certain of it. They left Limerick together,

[1] *Lettres de St. Vincent de Paul*, vol. ii., p. 179.

along with five or six score priests and religious, all in disguise, and mingled with the soldiers of the city who quitted it on the day the enemy were to enter. Our men spent the night in preparing for death, because there was no quarter for ecclesiastics; but God did not permit them to be recognised as such. On leaving the city they separated not without great sorrow, going one in one direction and one in another. They thought it best to act in this way, so that if one perished the other at least might escape. M. Brin took the road to his native place with their good friend the Vicar-General of Cannes [*sic*].[1] M. Barry went towards certain mountains which he names, where he met a charitable lady who received and lodged him for two months; at the end of which a vessel for France chanced to present itself, and he embarked without having had any news of M. Brin since they separated. He thinks, however, that it will be no easy matter for him to cross over to France, both because the English hold the sea, and because they occupy the district of which he is a native; hence he has much need of our prayers.

P.S.—Poor Brother Lye being in his native place fell into the hands of the enemy, who dashed out his brains, and cut off his feet and hands before the eyes of his mother.[2]

The foregoing letter is based no doubt on information forwarded by Father Barry, who had just arrived from Ireland. It does not menton the date nor the precise place where Brother Lye suffered.[3] But from the Register above mentioned we know that his native place was Touä (Tuam ?). It seems probable that he escaped from Limerick when the siege was raised, and took refuge with his parents. There he fell into the hands of the Cromwellians, no doubt before the end of 1651, and like the Machabees of old he was put to death before his mother's eyes. There could be no other motive for treating him with such barbarity but the fact that he was an ecclesiastic. The cruelty with which he was treated bears a certain resemblance to that which was exercised on the saintly Archbishop of Tuam, Malachy Queely,[4] whose body was hacked to pieces by the soldiers.

[1] Cashel.

[2] 'Le pauvre frère Lye, étant en son pays, est tombé en mains des ennemis, qui lui ont écrasé la tête et coupé les pieds et les mains en la presence de sa mere'

[3] *Lettres de St. Vincent de Paul*, vol. ii., pp. 400, 401.

[4] Dr. Malachy Queely, to whom reference is made above, and whose name is also on the list of Irish martyrs, made his studies in Paris. Whether

Both suffered in different years, but for the same cause, and in the same manner. Both, we may remark, were students in Paris. Let us hope that both will find a place on the list of the Irish martyrs who laboured and suffered so gloriously for the faith in the seventeenth century.

The fact of the martydrom of Thady Lye comes down to us, then, on the authority of St. Vincent de Paul; and if we do not possess more ample details concerning him, it is

during his studies in Philosophy he resided in the Irish College in that city, supported then by the Baron de L'Escalopier, is not clear: but that he was a friend and patron of the College is manifest from a letter addressed on its behalf to the University of Paris, dated 1624, and signed by Dr. Queely and four other Irish Prelates. In 1617, as appears from the MS. Register of the German Nation in the University, Queely was Professor of Philosophy in the College of Boncour and Proctor of the German Nation, the latter office he also held in 1620 and in 1622. From the *History of the College of Navarre*, one of the colleges of the Paris University, by the celebrated Launoi, we learn that Malachy Queely made his theological studies in that famous college. In a list of the students of the College Launoi gives his name as a theologian in 1618, and again as master in Theology in 1622.

The life of Dr. Queely is well known in Ireland; but there is a sketch of his career given by Launoi in the work just mentioned, which is hardly accessible in Ireland, and which may be of interest at the present time, the more so as it is probably the earliest printed record of his career. We translate from the original Latin:—

'Malachy Queely, an Irishman, of respectable and noble family, desiring to obtain the degree of Master of Theology, procured, by a royal licence similar to that granted to Nicholas Maillard, admission to the theological college of Navarre. When he had obtained the object of his desire in 1622, he returned to his native country, and the following year he was consecrated Archbishop of Tuam, and Metropolitan of the Province of Connaught. His personal merit, his reputation for learning, and the nobility of his family, which was held in high esteem by the Catholics, obtained for him that honour. It is incredible with what care and diligence he practised all the virtues which St. Paul requires in a bishop. Amongst them were pre-eminent his charity and hospitality, so that every one admired the variety of ways in which he practised those two virtues. He visited his diocese attentively and diligently; nor did he ordain anyone a priest until he had made a strict inquiry as to his life, morals, and learning. He could not endure idle priests; and it was his wish that every priest should have an ecclesiastical office. At the period when the Cromwellian party prevailed, the Confederate Catholics desired that he should govern the Province, and he governed it in subjection to the King, mindful of the words of Christ: "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsars." In the year 1644, as he was going through his diocese, he fell into the hands of a party of Scotch Cromwellians, by whom he was slain in the month of November. The Catholics honour him as a martyr, and flock from all quarters to venerate his tomb. They receive solace and aid, and pay honour to his relics.'

Such is Launoi's account of this great Irish bishop. As it was published in 1667 it is contemporary evidence, and all the more valuable as coming from the pen of one, who, from the severity with which he criticised the legends of saints, was called the *denicheur des saints*.

Joannis Launoii, Constantiensis, Parisiensis Theologi, Regii Navarrae. Gymasii Historia. Paris, MDCLXVII. Ch. 89, pp. 1053-54.

probably to be attributed to the humility of St. Vincent. When the mission to Ireland had come to a close the superior of it desired to publish an account of the labours of the missioners and the fruits produced by them; but St. Vincent dissuaded him: 'It is enough,' he said, 'that God knows all that has been done, the humility of our Lord requires of the little company to remain hidden in God with Jesus Christ in honour of His hidden life. The blood of martyrs shall not be forgotten before God; and sooner or later it shall be the seed of new Christians.'[1] But though the humility of St. Vincent shrank from publishing to the world an account of the labours of his children in Ireland, and of the fruits produced by them, the martyrdom of Brother Lye was not forgotten. In the middle of the eighteenth century Father Peter Collet, so widely known for his theological works, published a life of St. Vincent de Paul. He employed great diligence in the preparation of that work. He consulted not merely the life of the saint by Abelly, Bishop of Rodez, but he also examined all the documents on which Abelly's life was based; the letters of St. Vincent to the number of at least seven thousand, the letters written to the saint, the manuscript lives of the early companions of St. Vincent, and other documents, many of which have since been lost.[2] We may therefore regard Collet as not merely the echo of the testimony of St. Vincent, but also to some extent as an independent witness, since he must have had before him the documents regarding the mission to Ireland on which St. Vincent's own testimony is based. Speaking of the sufferings of the missioners on the occasion of the fall of Limerick, Collet writes as follows:—

Of the three missioners who had remained in Ireland only two returned to Paris, after having passed at Limerick through all the terrors of pestilence and war. The third finished his course there; the others disguised themselves and escaped as they could. One of them retired to his own country with the Grand-Vicar of Cashel. The other found in the mountains a pious woman who concealed him for two months. A brother

[1] Abelly, *Vie de St. Vincent de Paul*, Book ii., chap. i., sec. 8.
[2] Collet, Preface to the Life of St. Vincent.

who waited on them was less fortunate, or rather more so. The heretics having discovered his retreat massacred him under the eyes of his mother. They broke his head, after having cut off his feet and hands, an inhuman and barbarous punishment which served to show the priests what they might expect should they be caught.[1]

The testimony of St. Vincent and of Collet has been handed on by more recent historians. The Abbé Maynard in his life of St. Vincent, published in 1860, relates the martydom of Brother Lye in almost the same words as Collet. Later still, a little work of piety entitled the *Petit Pre Spirituel de la Congregation de la Mission* was compiled in 1880 by the late Father Chinchon, C.M. In it he recounts the sufferings and death of Brother Lye in almost the same terms as the writers just mentioned. He falls however into the error of regarding him as lay brother (*frère coadjuteur*), whereas it is clear from the catalogue of the members of the community that he was an ecclesiastic.

There exists, then, a constant and well authenticated tradition that Brother Thady Lye suffered death at the hands of heretics *in odium fidei*. The details which we possess concerning his life and death are meagre. But they are fuller than what we possess concerning many whom the Church honours as martyrs.

Of the four saints honoured under the title *Quatuor Coronati* even the names were long unknown ; of the martyr who embraced St. Felix on the way to the place of execution, and who suffered with him, the name has never been known, and the Church calls him *Adauctus* because he was added to St. Felix in his triumphant profession of the faith. Nothing is known of St. Philomena but her name, which was inscribed on her sepulchre. The phial of blood, the emblem of martyrdom, discovered in her tomb is the only record of her life. The testimony of a canonized saint repeated by grave authors, and handed down to the present day, can hardly be of less weight in favour of one who may justly be regarded as having suffered for the faith.

[1] Collet, *Vie de St. Vincent de Paul*, 1st Edition, 1748, vol. ii., p. 471 (English Edition, Dublin, 1846, p. 311).

II.

Thus far we have endeavoured to collect authentic evidence regarding the life and death of Brother Lye. Let us now endeavour to see what light is thrown upon his career by the circumstances in which he was placed. St. Gregory Nazianzen,[1] in his sermon on the great St. Basil, says of him that such was his gravity, that 'he was a priest even before he was ordained a priest.' In like manner it may be said of Brother Lye that he was a martyr before he suffered martyrdom. He accompanied the missioners to Ireland and shared their privations and dangers. What those privations and dangers were may be gathered from various letters of St. Vincent de Paul. Writing to M. Portail on 14th February, 1647, he says :—

We have no news from Ireland, except old news, which reached us two days ago, and was dated September and November. M. Duchesne is suffering from a flux of blood since a month previous to his last letter, and our Brother Levacher, since his arrival in Ireland. The others, thanks be to God, are in good health. The miseries of the country are great in every way; and the enemy surround the place where our men reside, so that when they go on missions they are in danger. I recommend them to your prayers.

In another letter dated 10th May, 1647, he again speaks of Ireland.

We have also [he writes] news from our gentlemen in Ireland. They tell me that the war and the poverty of the country are great obstacles in their way. Nevertheless, at a mission which they gave the concourse of people was so great that though there were five or six confessors, they were not enough to hear the confessions. For people from the neighbouring localities hastened to hear the Word of God; and some from a distance of nearly ten leagues waited four or five days to get to confession! I recommend them to the prayers of all the company.

In course of time the dangers became yet greater. St. Vincent recalled five of his missioners to France. Three priests remained and with them Brother Lye. At this

[1] St. Greg. Nazian., Sermon on St. Basil.

time the army of Ireton was laying waste the country around Limerick, and the people fled for safety to the city. At the request of the bishop a mission was given in the city, and about twenty thousand people approached the sacraments. Soon after a plague broke out and carried off about eight thousand persons.[1]

It was marvellous [writes Abelly] to see, not merely with what patience, but also with what peace and tranquillity of mind those poor people endured the pestilence. They declared that they died happy, because they were relieved of the burden of their sins, from which they had been delivered by the sacrament of Penance. Others said they did not regret to die, since God had sent the holy fathers (so they called the priests of the Mission) to cleanse their souls. Others again, in their sickness, asked nothing else but to have a share in the prayers of their confessors, to whom they declared they owed their salvation.

Another and a greater trial soon followed; Ireton laid siege to the city. For five months and fifteen days the city was beleagured. The enemy assaulted without, famine and pestilence raged within. Such at length was the dearth of provisions that, as we learn from a letter of St. Vincent, the head of a horse was sold for a crown.[2] Brother Lye was a spectator and a sharer of all these sufferings. As yet the hour of his martyrdom had not arrived.

But what St. Cyprian says of St. Cornelius, is true also of Brother Lye: 'Quantum ad devotionem ejus pertinet et timorem, passus est, quidquid pati potuit.'[3] In preparation of heart, and the expectation of the sufferings with which he was threatened he suffered a species of martyrdom. May we not say of him, as St. Cyprian also says of St. Cornelius, even before he had suffered martyrdom:—

Nonne hic, fratres charissimi, summo virtutis et fidei testimonio praedicandus est, nonne inter gloriosos confessores et martyres deputandus est, qui tantum temporis sedit expectans corporis sui carnifices et tyranni ferocientes ultores; qui Cor-

[1] Abelly, *Vie de St. Vincent de Paul*.
[2] Letter dated 23rd March, 1652, mentioned by Collet, but now lost.
[3] St. Cyprian, *Epistola ad Antonianum de Cornelio, ac Novatiano*.

nelium adversus edicta feralia resistentem, et minas et cruciatus et tormenta, fidei vigore calcantem, vel gladio invaderent, vel quolibet inaudito genere poenarum viscera ejus et membra laniarent ?

Does not he merit the highest eulogium for virtue and faith, does not he merit to be ranked with the confessors and martyrs of renown, who so long held out awaiting the executioners and ministers of the fierce tyrant, who were prepared to slay him with the sword, to crucify him, to burn, or mangle with unheard of torments, the vitals and the members of one who by the strength of his faith despised commands, threats, agonies and torments ? But Brother Lye was not alone in this noble disposition of mind in the midst of dangers. He had glorious examples of fortitude before his eyes. The Bishop of Limerick was within the walls sharing the dangers and sustaining the courage of his flock. When the city capitulated he, too, was doomed to death, but clothed in the disguise of a soldier's servant, bareheaded, his face besmeared and a pack upon his shoulders he made his escape and found refuge in Belgium.[1] Terence Albert O'Brien, the saintly Bishop of Emly, was there encouraging the inhabitants to hold out against the besiegers. He was specially excepted from quarter. Father Denis Hanrechan, O.P., himself present in Limerick at the time, tells with what courage and resignation the Bishop met his death on the eve of All Saints, 1651, and how his lifeless body, as it hung for three hours on the gibbet, was treated with barbarity by the soldiers, who made it swing to and fro, and beat it with their muskets, and then how the head of the Bishop was cut off and fixed on the bridge connecting the city with the suburbs. He tells, too, how Ireton, the chief author of so much cruelty, was stricken with the plague, and how in his sickness he frequently cried out that the Bishop was sentenced to death not by him, but by the Council. 'I could have saved him,' he repeated, 'but this did not please my friends. Would that

[1] Lynch MS., 'De Praesulibus Hiberniæ,' Mazarin copy, p. 714.

I had never seen that Papist Bishop.' Racked by the reproaches of his conscience Ireton expired on 26th November, 1651.[1] But besides the Bishop of Emly there were others whose courage and whose fate serve to throw clearer light on the surroundings in which Brother Lye was placed. Just as Hanrechan, whose narrative is summarized by Lynch, is a contemporary witness of the sufferings of Bishop Terence Albert O'Brien, so Abelly, in his life of St. Vincent de Paul, is a contemporary witness of the virtues and sufferings of Sir Thomas Strich and his companions, who were put to death on the same occasion. The life of St. Vincent by Abelly, deficient though it is in literary finish and in chronological arrangement, is a work of great value for the documents it contains.[2] It was published in 1664, and is referred to by Lynch in his manuscript lives of the Bishops of Ireland. When Abelly wrote, the missioners who had been in Ireland were still alive, and we may feel certain that in the account he gives of the events in Ireland, though the hand which writes is French, the voice which speaks is Irish. Abelly writes as follows of the fall of Limerick :—

That poor city was besieged and at length taken by the heretics. They cruelly put to death several of the inhabitants on account of the Catholic faith which they professed. This they did in particular to four of the principal inhabitants of the city, who testified on this occasion by their invincible zeal in defence of the Catholic religion, how much they had profited by the instructions and exhortations of the mission, and by the spiritual retreat they afterwards made in the house of the missionaries. This was the case in particular of Sir Thomas Strich, who at the close of his retreat, was elected mayor of the city. In that office he publicly declared his opposition to the enemies of the Church ; and on receiving the keys of the city, he at once, by the advice of his confessor, placed them in the hands of a statue of the Blessed Virgin, begging of her to take the city under her protection. On this occasion he made the corporation of the city walk before him to the church, where that pious action was performed with due ceremony, and at its close the new mayor delivered a most Christian discourse,

[1] Lynch MS., p. 680.

[2] *La Vie du Venerable serviteur de Dieu, Vincent de Paul*, par Messire Louis Abelly, Eveque de Rodez. Paris, 1664, Book ii., chap. i., sec. 8.

encouraging the whole assembly to inviolable fidelity to God, to the Church, and to the King ; and he offered to sacrifice his own life for so just a cause. This offer was accepted by God, for when the city was taken soon after by the enemy, God gave him the grace to suffer martyrdom with three others of the principal citizens ; who, having been the companions of his spiritual retreat, were also his companions in martyrdom. The four came forward to suffer, not only with constancy but also with joy ; and in token of it, they dressed in their best clothes, and before their execution they delivered addresses which drew tears from all present, even from the heretics. They declared before heaven and earth that they died for professing and defending the Catholic religion ; and their example greatly strengthened the rest of the Catholics to preserve their faith and to suffer all manner of tortures rather than fail in the allegiance they owed to God.

Such were the men whose example Brother Lye had before his eyes. He was the sharer of their perils, probably their attendant in their retreat, and like them he suffered death for the same cause as they.

The eloquent St. Gregory Nazianzen, in an admirable sermon, thus sums up the praise of the Machabees : 'The whole of Judea admired their constancy and rejoiced as though their crown were its own. For this contest was the greatest of any which that city had ever had to endure. Its object was whether the law should be overturned or glorified. Their contest was a crisis for the whole Hebrew race.'[1] So, too, was it in the case of Brother Lye, and the martyrs of Limerick. They were no less glorious than the Machabees. The undaunted Bishop of Emly, firm as Eleazer of old ; Brother Lye, the youthful son, martyred under the eyes of his noble-hearted mother ; Sir Thomas Strich and others of the laity, true and constant as the clergy, all combatted in the same cause. The faith of the whole Irish race was at stake, the whole Irish race admired their constancy and rejoiced at their victory.

It belongs to the divinely established authority of the Church to pronounce upon the merits of these heroic men. Should that supreme authority decree to them the

[1] St. Gregory Nazianzen, Homily on the Machabees.

honours of the altar, the whole Irish race will look on their honour as its own, and with gratitude to God will 'praise the men of renown' to whose heroic constancy the preservation of the faith in Ireland is due.

PATRICK BOYLE, C.M.

PESSIMISM

A MAN'S character and temperament influence much his views of men and things, and consequently all those factors which go to mould a character have their effect in our judgments about the world outside us. Take the grand objective drama of human life on earth. It is in itself one; but how far different are subjective ideas concerning it. One man sees it in one light, another in a quite different light; for one it is a pastime, for another a serious calling; a third finds it a pleasant thing, and for a fourth it is an intolerable weariness and pain. To see it in its true perspective, to abstract from self in our outlook, is, needless to say, difficult, if not impossible. But if we find that a vast majority of men agree in looking on existence here in one particular light we may safely conclude that their view will bring us close to what is the truth; for if man sees life much as he finds it himself, the common view will give us life as men generally find it.

Now, I think it is undeniable that the weight of human testimony would go to show that life on earth is not, on the whole, a happy existence. 'Cursed is the earth in thy work; with labour and toil shalt thou eat thereof all the days of thy life,' was not said to Adam alone, but rather to all his posterity. If Job's be not the universal lot, yet there have been many in all ages who, like him, found little to gladden them and much to cause them to curse the day of their birth and the night of their conception; and few,

very few, would deny that 'the life of man upon earth is a warfare and his days are like the days of a hireling.' 'I have seen all things that are done under the sun, and behold all is vanity and vexation of spirit,' was the opinion of one who surely was qualified to judge, and his words have found echoes in the hearts of all who, like him, sought to eat and drink and make merry, to shun all pain and to forget all care.

Pessimism is a more modern term than optimism, but the pessimistic view of life is, after all, the old view—old as the race of man, old as human suffering and sorrow and disappointment, old as foiled hopes and high purposes come to naught, old as wrong, as ingratitude, as tyranny, all of which are its bases. From the beginning the life of man on earth was a warfare; there were miseries and tears, there were hatreds of enemies and perfidies of friends, nights of anguish and days without any brightness in them; and men and women endured them all and felt as keenly as we should feel it the *Weltschmerz*, the world-pain, the *taedium vitae*. Suffering, or better, evil—not restricting the meaning of the word to the moral signification it has come to bear in common parlance—was always too actual, too preponderant, to allow men to view life on earth otherwise than pessimistically, or to look on this world as *le meilleur des mondes possibles*.

I have alluded to the pessimistic view of life contained in the pages of the book of books, the Bible. Many a goodly volume could be filled with sentences in the same spirit collected from the works of writers, pagan as well as Christian, down to our own day. Marcus Aurelius re-echoes Job when he says: *ὁ δὲ βίος πόλεμος και ξένου ἐπιδημία.* Sophocles tells us that youth is set in sorrows, that old age is loathsome, and that next to not being born the best thing is to die soon—*Μὴ φῦναι τὸν ἅπαντα νικᾷ λογον φῦναι*, words repeated so many centuries afterwards by the poet Byron. Horace, even genial Horace, reminds us that 'cura nec turmas equitum relinquit,' and that 'post equitem sedet atra cura.' And, to come nearer to our own time, the poetry of Heine is, in spite of all his sarcastic humour, drenched

with this *Weltschmerz* to which he was no stranger. In many of his songs there is a deep under-current of melancholy, as gloomy often as in that song in *Die Heimkehr*, which ends in the wish that the sentinel in the keep above the Rhine would shoot him dead and make an end of it all—

> Er präsentiert und schultert—
> Ich wollt' er schösse mich tot.

Byron, Shelley, Platen and Chateaubriand are plaintive of the sorrows of existence in a degree hardly less than Heine. 'Tous se plaignant: princes, sujets; nobles, roturiers; sains, malades; de tous pays, de tous les temps, de tous âges, et de toutes conditions.' Thus wrote Pascal, and all he has to say about the naturally miserable condition of man here on earth might be summed up in a few short sentences from St. Augustine:—'Prospera in adversis desidero; adversa in prosperis timeo. Quis inter haec medius locus, ubi non sit humana vita tentatio?—Numquid ergo non tentatio est vita humana super terram, sine ullo interstitio?'[1]

The restlessness, the *ennui* of life is fully expressed in these words of the great Doctor. Leaving aside all consideration of physical suffering, want, oppression, failure, man has in himself the elements of incessant discontent. He is restless in the pursuit of pleasure, and when the object of his pursuit is attained, he is straightway dissatisfied, and again unhappy. The pleasures of the world are, at their best, but Dead Sea apples, attractive enough in the distance, but empty and vain when we grasp them. And all earthly happiness is such that the poet had good reason to ask:—

> But were there ever any
> Writhed not at passèd joy?[2]

Pessimism is, therefore, not modern except in name: it has ever been a reality to mankind; it has left its mark

[1] *Confess.*, lib. x., cap. 28.

[2] Keats.

on the literature of every age. But of all who gave it voice it found its gloomiest and most desperate articulation in the prose and verse of Leopardi. The life of this wonderfully gifted Italian was dreary and painful beyond all doubt. He looked out on the world of men and found no good there. And in his inimitable prose and his all but perfect verse, he has given us the darkest and painfullest picture of life that human hand ever painted.

In his best poem, *La Ginestra*, the poet, viewing from the slopes of Vesuvius the firmament above him on a starry night and reflecting on the insignificant part our earth plays in that magnificent spectacle, inveighs against the arrogance and stupidity of man, who is a mere nothing, and who should regard himself as such in the plan of the universe. In the *Pensieri* and the *Epistolarii* he sets himself to prove that man is a monster of wickedness, and that social life is a perpetual warfare between man and man. He lived himself and saw others live, and there seemed to him nothing of good in all existence. Life was, in his opinion, fruitful of nothing but disgust and suffering ; inevitably miserable, useless and vain. He saw nothing but misery everywhere, evils of every kind in the ascendant, and no hope of escaping them. At one period of his life[1] he found a Christian solution for all this wretchedness, but later he attributed it all to fate or nature—an inexorable, iron-handed fate, never weary of persecuting and trampling down humanity. No wonder that he should find suicide a perfectly reasonable way of ending life and that he was so often near it himself.

Of course Leopardi's was an exceptionally wretched life, and his own unhappiness, combined with his unbelief, made him see things in a distorted manner. And incoherent though his doctrines be, they nevertheless are the first modern attempt to formulate a philosophy of pessimism. Though the term was not yet coined in his day, he surely knew its meaning as well, if not better, than the writers who afterwards came to preach it ; for what-

[1] 'Inno ai Patriarchii.'

ever it may have b n to them, to Leopardi it was a living reality, it was his own unhappy life. He does not pose as a philosopher. He was pre-eminently the poet of pessimism. In Byron and Heine, and indeed in most of the poets, its spirit revealed itself fitfully; but Leopardi's work is full of it. In the others it came and went as in stray minor chords, not without their own sad sweetness; in Leopardi it dominates and pervades and is set at the heart of his muse.

So far pessimism had its place in human hearts and in the literature of the world, but it remained for Schopenhauer and Hartmann to give it a definite position in the history of philosophy through their writings which embody those peculiar views of life which in modern times the word pessimism denotes. Rather, they gave it a position in *modern* history, for there is hardly any modern error which has not in some form or other had a vogue in early ages, and in the ancient Pantheistical forms of Buddhism and Vedantism we can trace considerable resemblances to Schopenhauer's doctrines, which, too, were an outcome of Pantheism.

Pantheism itself has a long history before it brings us to Schopenhauer's pessimism. Under one form or another it was taught by the Eleatics and by the Stoics in pagan times. The Neo-Platonists took it up in the early centuries of the Christian era. Scotus Erigena, in the West, Averroes and Avempace, in the East, were imbued with it. Through the Teutonic mystics it passed on to Meister Eckhardt, and through him to Cardinal Cusan, Giordanno Bruno and Spinoza. With Spinoza modern Pantheism finds its origin, as it is his presentation of the old theories which has had such influence on many succeeding thinkers, and after him its chief apostles are the German philosophers Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, and Schopenhauer.

In England Hobbes and Locke paved the way for Kant by ignoring the distinction between cognition and sense-perception. Hume further laid the foundations of subjectivism by destroying the true conception of causality. Hume's

subjectivism was further developed by Kant, who taught that we have many innate forms in the mind which are requisite to cognition. Fichte carried subjectivism to its climax, and taught that everything comes from the mind, that everything derives from one subjective principle—*Das Ich*. Fichte's first principle was at first purely ideal, but towards the end of his life he made it real and no longer the *ego* but rather the *esse*. Schopenhauer began as a Kantian, but he soon differed from his master in his conception of the Thing-in-itself that impresses itself on our sensibility. He disagreed with Fichte in that he admitted the existence of things outside us. Unlike the other Monists, for Schopenhauer the will is everything, the first principle, the innermost essence of all things. From this form of Pantheism he deduces his doctrine of pessimism.

Among the bodies, he says, which constitute the world, one, that is our own body, has a special force for us. Our own body is known in two ways : as existing among other bodies it is known to us by sensible intuition ; and it is immediately known to us as will. For our body is the substance of our will, it is our will objectivated. Will-motion and bodily-motion are the same. This identity of motions and of body and will is self-evident. All known things, besides our body, are, like it, known to us by intuitions, and are also will. The will is the essence of everything.

This will is in itself simple and one ; it pervades the whole scale of being ; its functions are to wish and not wish ; of its very nature it strives blindly to manifest and objectify itself. The force by which a plant grows or a crystal is formed, attraction and repulsion and gravity—are all different grades of its objectivation. In living beings it is evidenced as the *will to live* which is the deepest essence of animal nature. In man it rules the intellect, as is evident from the fact that man is led more by inclination than by logic, and that love and hate so warp our judgments that in an enemy we see no good, and in a friend no faults. Every glance shows that the will to live is at the bottom of all animal life. From such a system

of Metaphysics pessimism must follow. Will is everything and everything is will. The will strives restlessly on, never stilled and never satisfied. It is manifested by desire, or rather want, for man desires what he wants. All this stress is begotten of want, of dissatisfaction with our present circumstances. If we attain what we desire, we but come to the starting-point of a fresh strife. If desire is quiet *ennui* steps in. Want and *ennui* brood like two demons over human life, making life an intolerable burden. From *ennui* to want, from want to *ennui*, the pendulum of life swings constantly backward and forward. And the higher the intelligence the greater the *Weltschmerz*. Consequently, far from being the best, this world is the worst of all possible worlds—a little worse and it could not exist.

Take your obstinate optimist through the hospitals, Lazar-houses, and surgical chambers of horrors, through the prisons, torture chambers, and slave-cells, and over the battle-fields and into all the dark retreats of misery, and surely he will see of what sort is this *meilleur des mondes possibles*.

All our labour and all our strife is worth nothing, all goods are as nothing, the world is bankrupt, and life is a game not worth the candle.[1]

Ennui is an evil too little attended to, though at length it brings real despair to our face. Necessity is the constant scourge of the lower orders, as *ennui* is that of the higher classes.[2]

The life of the individual is a continuous warfare. He finds everywhere enemies, lives in perpetual struggle, and dies with his arms in hand.[3]

Such is Schopenhauer's view of life, and a drear, black view it is. He admits that the trend of civilization, the progress of art and science, are doing somewhat to diminish the evil, and that each generation is better off than the one which preceded it.

If life is such a painful thing, why not end it by suicide? Schopenhauer says suicide avails nothing; for according to him death destroys only the individual, leaving intact the will to live. The restful contemplation of beauty is

[1] *Cf.* Schwegler's *Geschichte der Philosophie.*
[2] Die Welt als Wille.
[3] Panerga und Paralipomena.

the highest human happiness ; but as it does no more than momentarily quiet the will, it is hardly happiness at all. The only means of getting free from life and suffering is complete denial of the will to live—' Die Verneinung des Willens zum Leben.'

The wicked and immoral fail to see themselves in others, and even attempt to destroy others. The good, on the contrary, recognise themselves in other individuals and are ready to deny themselves. The saints are those who fully detach themselves from life, who die to the world. They may attain to a happy and perfect resignation and a calmness of spirit in which self is totally lost. This is the Nirvana of the Buddhists.

Schopenhauer's disciple, Hartmann,—his real title to notoriety is his agnostic teaching—made some changes in the doctrine of pessimism. According to him the ultimate ground of being is not only unconscious will but also unconscious intelligence. He holds with his master that the pain in the world greatly preponderates over the pleasure ; but he does not believe the progress of science brings any real relief, because the increased consciousness of the preponderance of pain arising from the development of human intelligence and human sympathy far outweighs all the pleasure and all the protection against pain to be derived from growing culture. His conclusion is that we should strive towards negation of the will to live, not as Schopenhauer would have it, each in himself, but universally, by working towards the annihilation of all existence.

Such, in brief outlines, are the views of modern pessimists. They see in the world a preponderance of evil over good, of misery over happiness. But, though we may not be disposed to incline to optimism, we cannot accept their explanation of the great problem which has exercised so many acute minds. We cannot accept Pantheism in any form, and Pantheism is at the root of their theories. And if Pantheism is untenable, the ethics they build upon it must be equally faulty and futile.

The voice of nature tells us that we are endowed with free will ; conscience warns us that we are responsible for

our actions, and that we are subject to a law higher than ourselves. If the ethics of the pessimists were true there could be no free will, no liberty of election, and no sanction for the dictates of conscience. Virtue and vice, merit and demerit, good and evil actions would be but empty names. There would be no sanction of a future life, no God, no morality, no nobility in human conduct. Take away once the belief in an infinite Being, beyond us and above us, powerful and just and good, and there is an end to religion, an end to all incentive to practice virtue and to refrain from crime, and consequently an end to all social order and to everything that makes life on earth tolerable for men.

The god of Pantheism is everywhere and is everything. We are told that it is a grand conception that of finding everywhere the Divine—the Divine in ourselves, the Divine in other men and throughout all nature. Ah! but when the Divine becomes identical with man and beast and matter, the Divine is no longer the Divine, and there is no grandeur even in the conception. The Deity then becomes no better than ourselves, or, if anything better, no more lovable, but rather more hateful.

Such a system cannot have any truth in it. It will not work out in practice, and whatever is best and noblest in our nature would be destroyed if it did. It cannot stand. It is destructive and immoral in its ultimate conclusions, and has in it nothing helpful, nothing stimulating, to bring into the lives of men and aid them to live up to the best ideals of their manhood. Man requires all the motives religion can offer to help him to maintain the moral order. Without the abiding consciousness of a Divine Lawgiver, without the fear of future punishment and the hope of future reward, passion could not be restrained, and the animal within us would overthrow the empire of reason, and lower us to the level of the brute beasts.

But apart from all this, pessimism, like every form of Pantheism, is in conflict with the surest and soundest principles of metaphysics.[1] It is contradictory to our experiences, which teach us all that all things are not of

[1] *Vide* Hontheim's *Theodicia.*

one substance, that all things are not substances even, and that we are capable of acting with perfect freedom instead of being perpetually beaten upon by the stress of absolute will, swept irresistibly hither and thither like the dwellers in the second circle of Dante's *Inferno* :—

> E come gli stornei ne portan l'ali,
> Nel freddo tempo, a schiera larga e piena,
> Di qua, di là, di su, di giù li mena,
> Nulla speranza li conforta mai
> Non che di posa, ma di minor pena.

No ! Pessimism does not solve the great riddle ; it does not explain the existence of the miseries and the pains and the labours in our existence. It is, as a system, impracticable, to say the least of it ; and of any system of ethics there can be no more efficacious condemnation than impracticability and ineptitude when applied to life in the concrete.

We may not hold with the optimists that this is *le meilleur des mondes possibles ;* we may grant that the true view of life on earth is the contrary to optimism ; but only the Christian view of life can help us to understand why suffering and weariness are predominant ; that view alone can teach us how to order all the evils of our condition unto final good. The Christian view of this life ought to be pessimistical, I think ; but between the pessimism of a Christian and that of an unbeliever what a vast difference there is ! I found a similarity between Schopenhauer's picture of life and Dante's picture of the souls in the second circle of the *Inferno.* To turn from pagan to Christian pessimism is a change no less striking than that experienced by the great Florentine poet when he emerged from the Inferno of his vision and saw the dawn of better things and the light of a new world growing above the tremulous sea.

We believe, indeed, that life on earth is a hard thing, especially for the just man ; but we find that the only true explanation of its hardships is that of the Bible. If we suffer we deserve to suffer, and all our sufferings are permitted for our greater good. They are trials, and life itself is a trial and a hard one. But all our trials are a

preparation for the real life which can begin only when this world and all its miseries concern us no longer. We look beyond the grave, and seeing all things in the light of a future existence we can find good in our direst afflictions :—

> Did God pronounce earth 'very good'?
> Needs must it be, while understood
> For man's preparatory state.[1]

Thus the belief in a future state and in a provident God robs this life of all its misery, and teaches us how we can make every pain and sorrow a stepping-stone to final happiness; it teaches us even to welcome suffering, to seek it out, to rejoice in it; to recognise that they that suffer may be blessed in their trials by remembering in their afflictions that the kingdom of Heaven is for such as they. 'Nec enim Deus omnipotens, cum summe bonus sit, ullo modo sineret mali esse aliquid in operibus suis, nisi usque adeo esset omnipotens et bonus, ut benefaceret etiam de malo.'[2] 'O sapientissimam providentiam, quae malum etiam propositum in salutis occasionem convertit!'[3]

This belief enables many of the lowly and the ignorant to solve the problem of the existence of sorrow and evil as Schopenhauer could never solve it, and by their virtue and heroic patience to attain, even in deepest distress, and keenest agonies, a peace which this world cannot give. Which of us is ignorant of such sanctified sufferings in the lives of those around us? Which of us has not, from our experience of such lives, learned enough to understand these two sentences of a thoughtful Italian priest, with which I conclude this article :—'That religion be born and grow in the conscience of humanity we require not only the conception of God's greatness, but also a profound sentiment of our own misery.'[4] 'Religion finds a new fountain in sorrow and sorrow a new justification in its own religious efficacy.'[5]

JAMES KELLY, PH.D.

[1] Browning.
[2] St. Augustine—*apud* Frassen :—*Scotus Academicus*, ii.
[3] St. Cyril of Jerusalem. *Ibid.*
[4] Semeria :—*Scienza e Fede*, Lettura xvi.
[5] *Idem.*

'PRIESTS' TOTAL ABSTINENCE LEAGUE OF AMERICA'

AS bearing very closely and intimately upon our own 'Father Mathew Union' I beg to call the attention of our members, and also the Clergy of Ireland generally to an almost similar society which has been recently established in the United States under the title which stands at the head of this article.

The Rev. Dr. Mullen of the Cathedral, Boston, who is Secretary of this Society, did me the honour of calling on me in Doneraile on the 22nd June last, but it so happened, by a curious coincidence, that upon that very day I was in Dublin at the annual meeting of the Father Mathew Union in my capacity as secretary. He wished, it seems, to compare notes with his brother-secretary, but being disappointed in this, he, on his return home, kindly wrote to me on the subject and sent me the Rules and Consitutions of his League and it is these I wish to make the basis of this paper.

The Priests' Total Abstinence League was founded in August, 1903—about two years subsequently to the establishment of the 'Father Mathew Union'—at Pittsburg, Pa., as will be seen by the following circular which they addressed soon afterwards to all the Bishops of the United States and Canada.

CINCINNATI, *September* 21, 1903.

On the occasion of the Convention of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union held at Pittsburg, Pa., last month, the clergy who were in attendance met in the presence of the Right Rev. Coadjutor-Bishop Canevin, and resolved to institute a Priests Total Abstinence League of America. The object of the League, as may be seen from the Constitution, a copy of which is enclosed herewith, is to give greater strength and organisation to the clergy's activity and influence against the drink evil of society, when directed in accordance with the Catholic principles and practices of total abstinence as commended by the late Sovereign Pontiff and the Baltimore Councils. For it

has been clearly shown by experience, *notably in Ireland*'[1] that the advantages of such a special organisation of the Priests in behalf of the Temperance cause are as real and great as in other Church works.

The Honorary President of the new League is to be one of the Hierarchy, and he will have a general power of veto over all the doings of the Society. It is hoped to have every Diocese represented by a Promoter who, under the authority of the Ordinary, will look after the interests of the League in his particular Diocese. The selection of the Promoter is left to the Bishop of each Diocese, or is made by the President of the League with the Bishop's consent. The new Society commences its work under episcopal authorisation in the Dioceses of Boston, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, St. Paul, and Hartford.

We respectfully submit the plan of this League to your consideration, and earnestly solicit your approval and authority for its working in your Diocese.

Sincerely yours in Our Lord,

✠ William Henry Elder,
Archbishop of Cincinnati and Honorary President.

Anthony S. Siebenfoercher, *President*, Kenton, Ohio.

John T. Mullen, D.C.L., *Secretary*, Boston.

In issuing this circular they adopted a *modus operandi* almost exactly similar to our own, for, as may be seen by page 9 of our 'Report' for 1901, I, by direction of the members present at our first meeting in Cork, addressed an Identic Note to the Irish Hierarchy asking their blessing on the new society, and received from several of them very encouraging replies. The American appeal elicited the following responses :—

Apostolic Delegation,
Washington, D.C.,
November 21, 1903.

Rev. and Dear Father,

I learn with pleasure that the movement inaugurated at Cincinnati some years ago for the promotion of total abstinence

[1] The italics are mine. Here they pay a neat little compliment to our 'Union.'

by association under the title of the 'Sacred Heart Priests' League' has recently, at a meeting held in Pittsburg, taken a more solid standing and become more general. It is also consoling to observe that a number of Bishops in the country have signified their willingness to aid the League in a very effective manner, and that the movement is making swift headway. I have no doubt the Association will be productive of great good. It will prove to be one of the most efficacious means for the preservation of the abstemious, and for the reformation of those who have become victims of intoxicating drink. Hence, I cannot but appreciate very highly the self-abnegation of those Priests who embrace total abstinence in order to inculcate more effectively, both by word and example, the holy virtue of temperance.

May God bless the League with the abundance of His grace.

Truly yours in J. C.,

✠ D. Falconio,

Archbishop of Larissa, Apostolic Delegate.

To .

Rev. A. S. Siebenfoercher.

I am thankful for the honour of being chosen as Honorary President of the Priests' Total Abstinence League of America. I cannot, indeed, promise much active service and I judge from the title that you don't expect any great activity. But even of that I will gladly contribute all that is in my power. Nothing is more worthy of the sacred Priesthood, nor more effective in producing spiritual fruits, than that we should give high example to our people, and take the lead ourselves in the practice of the self-denial that we recommend to those under our pastoral care.

✠ William Henry Elder,

Archbishop of Cincinnati.

It affords me great satisfaction to hear of the formation of a Priests' Total Abstinence League. Drunkenness is one of the greatest curses of the day. The most effective weapon against it, and indeed the only weapon for the reformation of those who have become victims of strong drink is total abstinence. This weapon is irresistible in the hands of the Priests and Hierarchy of the country, especially if wielded by those who are themselves total abstainers. I recommend the Association to all who have regard for my opinion, and I authorise you to place my name on the roll of membership.

✠ P. J. Ryan,

Archbishop of Philadelphia.

Having thus paved the way, and set themselves right with the powers that be, they next proceeded to put forth the Constitution and Bye-Laws of the Society to which they prefixed the following proem :—

At a meeting of the clergy connected with the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America, held at Pittsburg, Pa., on the 7th August, 1903, on the occasion of the Annual Convention of the Union, it was resolved to institute a Priests' Total Abstinence League of America. The Right Rev. Coadjutor-Bishop Canevin was present at the meeting, and was among the first members to be enrolled. The subjoined Constitution and Bye-Laws were prepared and adopted. They are framed substantially after the model of the Sacred Heart Priests' League for the promotion of total abstinence which, under the pastoral care and direction of Archbishop Elder, has been working fruitfully for some years in the Archdiocese of Cincinnati. The new League elected for its first President the Rev. Anthony S. Siebenfoercher of Kenton, Ohio, whose pioneer work in forming Total Abstinence Societies in ecclesiastical seminaries has met with so much favour with the Hierarchy and is the seed of increasing good. The Rev. John T. Mullen, D.C.L., of the Cathedral, Boston, Mass., was made Secretary and Treasurer. The constitution called for an Honorary President to be chosen from the Hierarchy, and at the unanimous request of the members the Most Rev. Archbishop Elder kindly accepted the office and assured the League of his full endorsement and support. The new organisation included among its initial members, many archbishops, bishops, and priests from all sections of the United States and from Canada. This League is the fruit of an earnest desire which its members have in common with all zealous Catholics, of making more effective use of the saving power of the Church against the ruinous vice of intemperance, which is so widespread in human society. They know of no surer way of reaching the people and saving them from this evil than through the ministry and example of the Priest for the practice of total abstinence. It is the highest voice of the Church which has declared this practice to be a 'proper and truly efficacious remedy' against the vice of intemperance, and experience has confirmed this teaching. And the object of instituting a Priests' Total Abstinence League is to secure for the temperance work of the clergy amongst their people that greater influence and efficiency which come from organised effort against the drink-evil in accordance with Catholic principles and practice of total abstinence, so highly commended by the late Sovereign Pontiff of blessed memory and by the Baltimore Councils.

Leo XIII., in a letter of March 27th, 1887, to Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul, speaking of the conditions existing in our land, and noting how ruinous and deplorable is the injury both to faith and morals that is to be feared from intemperance in intoxicating drink, gives special praise to the Prelates of the Council of Baltimore who, with weightiest words condemned this abuse, declaring it to be a perpetual incentive to sin and a fruitful source of all evil, plunging the families of the intemperate into direst ruin and drawing numberless souls down to everlasting perdition, declaring, moreover, that the faithful who yield to this vice of intemperance become thereby a scandal to non-Catholics, and a great hindrance to the propagation of the true religion. 'Hence,' continues the Holy Father, 'we esteem worthy of commendation the noble resolve of those pious associations by which they pledge themselves to abstain totally from every kind of intoxicating drink. Nor can it at all be doubted that this determination is a proper and truly efficacious remedy for this very great evil, and that so much the more strongly will all be induced to put this bridle upon appetite by how much the greater are the dignity and influence of those who give the example. But greatest of all in this matter should be the zeal of the Priests, who as they are called to instruct the people in the word of life and to mould them to Christian morality, should also and above all, walk before them in the practice of virtue. *Let Pastors, therefore* [and here the Sovereign Pontiff lays the corner-stone of the Priests' Total Abstinence League] *do their best to drive the plague of intemperance from the fold of Christ by assiduous preaching and exhortation and to shine before all as models of abstinence*, and thus earnestly strive to avert the many calamities with which this vice threatens both Church and State.'

It would be wrong, indeed, to conclude from this letter of Leo XIII. that there is any law of the Church imposing on her children the practice of total abstinence, which Benedict XIV. has called 'heroic temperance,' yet it is certain that his earnest words to Priests will persuade many, through love of their people, to make this voluntary sacrifice in view of the good example it will give and the more active zeal it will arouse against the prevalent evils of intemperance. For the Church has a remedy for all the ills of mankind, and the same spirit which impels so many of her heroic children to follow the evangelical counsels to offset the radical concupiscences of human nature, is able to lead others to practise the virtue of temperance in its heroic degree in opposition to the drink-evil. And if, according to the doctrines of the Angelic Doctor,[1] such an act of self-denial must have in it a special virtue for all, while it is also the surest antidote to the pernicious vice of intemper-

[1] 2 a. 2 æ. q. 149.

ance, how much more true is this principle of those whom the people look to as their models and guides. And so the Council of Baltimore, while giving praise and official approval to the Catholic Total Abstinence Movement in our country, addresses these special words to the Priests:—'Præterea quum verba moveant tantum, exempla vero trahant, sacerdotes ipsimet qui, monente Apostolo, debent esse forma gregis ex animo, sint temperantiæ virtutis exempla.'[1] Hence it is that, as a first condition, membership in this League implies a strict total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks used as a beverage.

It is true that the promotion of the virtue of temperance, even in a less heroic degree, is the great essential, still as a practical measure against the contrary vice, can it not be said that the Catholic Total Abstinence Movement, working under the Church's authority and with the Church's spiritual helps, stands out to-day as the great active force among Catholics in opposition to the evil, its occasions, and its abettors? With increased membership the cause will have a wider and more helpful influence. And as the Holy Father has said, the stronger will be this influence the greater the dignity of those who contribute their example and assistance. Among the Priests there are many who are practically total abstainers and yet have not taken an active part in this work because they have not realized the benefits of the organisation. Many others would take up total abstinence were they once brought to recognise the great advantages of the practice. And what Priest is there who does not see the need of temperance work in caring for his people? With confidence, then, this movement appeals for sympathy and co-operation to all who deplore the ruinous effects of the drink-evil and who desire the promotion of a remedy that is proper and efficacious. And does it not justly protest against the unfair criticism that would belittle it because its cure is not universal—what moral evil has been universally cured?—or would condemn it because some advocates have exaggerated its principles? Extremists are found in the history of every reform. The Catholic Total Abstinence cause is content to rest its defence and plea on its works and on the words of Pontiff and Plenary Council.

The advantages of a special organisation among the Priests in behalf of temperance have been proven by experience, notably in Ireland and in the Cincinnati Archdiocese in this country, to be as real and as great as in other Church works, when duly directed and subordinated to ecclesiastical authority. The new League offers every guarantee, since its Honorary President is to be one of the Hierarchy, and he will have a

[1] No. 261.

general power of veto over all the doings of the Society. The particular interests of every Diocese are to be looked after by a Promoter who will work under the authority of his Bishop. The selection of this Promoter is left to the Ordinary of each Diocese, or is made by the President of the League, with the Bishop's consent. And in the same way subordinate Diocesan branches may be established wherever possible. The League enters on its work under the most encouraging auspices in many Dioceses, and it is hoped that before long it will find a representation in every Diocese in the United States and Canada. A bulletin will be issued from time to time announcing its progress and growth, and exchanging practical helps for this truly Priestly work.

'Regnum cœlorum vim patitur, et violenti rapiunt illud.'

CONSTITUTION.

1. This organisation shall be known as the Priests' Total Abstinence League of America.

2. The object of this Society is the promotion of Catholic Total Abstinence, first by example, secondly by word.

3. This League shall contain subordinate societies wherever possible in the various Dioceses.

4. Any Priest of the United States and Canada may become a member by sending his name to the Promoter of his Diocesan Society, if there be one, or to the Secretary of the National League, and by signing the Card of Membership.

5. Membership in this League implies a strict practice of total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks used as beverages.

6. It is expected that every Member, according as circumstances permit and opportunities present themselves, will work earnestly for the promotion of Catholic Total Abstinence. If he has charge of souls, it is expected that he will address his people at least twice a year on this subject, and that he will organise temperance societies, especially for the young, no matter how few the members may be.

7. He must pay the annual assessment agreed upon, One Dollar, for the necessary expenses.

8. The League shall meet annually on the occasion of the National Convention of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America. The diocesan societies shall meet besides at least once a year in their respective Dioceses.

Although all the foregoing matter deals with an exclusively American institution, I think I need hardly make any apology for asking you to insert it, so applicable is every word to ourselves. No one who reads it can fail to see the strong family resemblance which exists between

the two Societies, and how closely the younger association has been worked out on the lines of the older. For instance, some persons considered that in embracing all Ireland the 'Father Mathew Union' was too expansive and unwieldy, and yet here we see its American counterpart not confining itself to the United States but taking in Canada as well. I hope those diocesan leagues which are keeping aloof from us will take this to heart.

Again, in rule 3, quoted above, the Constitution speaks of diocesan *branches*. May I remind our members of the resolution passed at our general meeting in 1903,[1] and of the circular letter which I addressed to them in consequence?

One of the officers of the American League is called a 'promoter,' whose function it is to represent the Society in his own diocese. He therefore corresponds with the 'councillor' in the 'Father Mathew Union.' Addressing these gentlemen, the Executive Committee says, and I wish our councillors would please consider the words as spoken to themselves,

> The Rev. Promoters will kindly remember that a great deal of the success of the League depends on their earnest, constant, and prudent labours.
>
> It is expected that the Diocesan Promoter will bring the League to the attention of every Priest in his Diocese; it is left to his own good judgment to note the advisable exceptions, if any.

Our 'Report' for 1904, will soon be in the printers' hands, certainly not later than November 1st; and I appeal to the Irish clergy, from the highest to the humblest, to send me their names for insertion in it. I ask them not merely to read but to study this manifesto of the American League. Let them put themselves this question: Is there not even greater need for such an organisation here than there, and if so, should we be less zealous, less self-sacrificing than our American cousins?

At present there are 250 members on the roll, the

[1] See page 36 of 'Report' for that year.

highest figure we have yet attained; 'but what are these among so many?' Why not 1,250? And even then we should not have half of the Irish clergy.

Perhaps I cannot conclude this appeal better than by quoting some arguments for total abstinence put forward, by Father Siebenfoercher:—

If for Jesus' sake and to encourage others to be temperate I abstain from all intoxicating drink, it will comfort me at the hour of my death to have done this little for Him who suffered thirst for me upon the Cross.

I cannot deny it, I do not need strong drink, but others need my example. Without strong drink I shall have better health, do more work with less fatigue, and live longer. Total abstinence helps to promote a sound body and a clear mind. The best athletes *must* abstain. The growing sentiment of the better classes of our country is to prefer teetotalers in the responsible walks of life. I feel the office of the Priest is the highest. Frequent drinking costs enormous sums. Big or little, in my case I can spend that money for nobler purposes and if drink should be in any way dangerous to my own soul, I want to avoid it. I want to be like those many heroic bishops, priests, and laymen who are total abstainers, if for no other motive than that I may not be a stumbling block to souls entrusted to my care.

St. John the Baptist, the greatest of the prophets, took 'no wine nor strong drink';[1] neither did St. James, the cousin of our Lord;[2] not the other Apostles;[3] neither did the priests when on duty;[4] nor the Nazarites;[5] nor the Rechabites;[6] nor Samson, the strongest of men;[7] nor Daniel and his noble companions.[8] St. Paul approves of total abstinence.[9] St. Benedict says 'Wine is not proper for monks at all.' St. Boniface, Apostle of Germany, made total abstinence a rule for his monks. Entire Orders of monks in the golden age of Monasticism abstained from all strong drinks.

St. Jerome, St. Francis Assisi, St. Dominic, St. Francis Xavier, St. John Francis Regis, St. Simon of the Scapular, St. Josaphat, and many others were total abstainers. I cannot deny that the use and consequent too frequent abuse of strong drink are doing this very day incalculable harm in our Church. Archbishop Elder says that of all the remedies advanced to cure the evil, Total Abstinence offers pre-eminently one of the most *practical* solutions.

---

[1] Luke i. 15. [2] Breviary. [3] Baronius. [4] Lev. x. 9.
[5] Num. vi. 8. [6] Jer. xxxv. 8. [7] Judges xii. [8] Dan. i. 12.
[9] Rom. xiv. 21.

Wishing, then, to do my little share in the good work, I say with that glorious and saintly Priest, the founder of Catholic Total Abstinence Societies, the immortal Theobald Mathew: 'HERE GOES IN THE NAME OF GOD!'

WALTER O'BRIEN, C.C.,
Secretary, 'Father Mathew Union.'

THE STORY OF LOST BOOKS AND LOST MANUSCRIPTS

I.

IN one of his elaborate essays, Bacon calls books souls, because, as we may suppose, when a man does something with zeal, and energy, and the joy of doing it, he is said to put his heart into his work, so when a man writes a book, it may be said he puts his soul into print for the instruction or entertainment of the reader.

Some will, perhaps, say this is but the relation of cause and effect, of the workman and his work. But there is a real likeness, a true analogy, between the author and his book. The same elements, the same forces that was against the life of man have proved disastrous to books; the siege, the shipwreck, war on land and war on sea, have destroyed some of the finest works that have come from the genius of the dramatist, the fire of the poet, or the skill of the scientist. The tale of disaster is sometimes pathetic, sometimes ends with tragic abruptness, full of human interest or historical suggestion, and in many a melancholy case illustrating the fate and fortunes of the unhappy author or book collector Take the following instance which may be not inaptly introduced with the opening lines of Byron's 'Prisoner of Chillon':—

My hair is gray, but not with years;
Nor grew it white
In a single night
As men's have grown from sudden fears.

In these very words Guarino Veronese might have noted the calamity which suddenly gave him the appearance and mien of a man bowed down with the weight of years. In the early part of the fifteenth century, Guarino Veronese lost a ship-load of classical manuscripts while crossing from Constantinople to Italy. The unfortunate owner was saved from the wreck, but his grief at his loss was so intense that in a few hours his hair turned white.

We have other disasters by sea to speak of. In 1600 or 1601—for biographical authorities differ—when Vincentio Pinelli died, a London bookseller purchased his library, at that time the most celebrated in the world. It had been collected during many generations, and included many manuscripts dating from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, and an extraordinary number of Greek, Latin, and Italian works, many of them in the first and rarest editions. The purchaser put them in three vessels to take them to London, one of the ships was captured by pirates; learning was not very highly valued by the sea-robbers; they flung the whole ship-load of books and manuscripts into the sea. The volumes that escaped were sold in London for £8,000. What a valuable freight—some £4,000 worth the pirates flung overboard! Very probably they were afraid to face the risk of selling such large quantities of books. A pirate turned bookseller would be rather suspicious, though Scott tells us of a smuggler so fond of the classics that he never went to sea without a copy of Virgil.

The sea swallowed up all the books and manuscripts which belonged to the churches and libraries of Constantinople when that city was captured by Mohammed the Second in the fifteenth century.

Disguised as a mandarin, Hudde, a Dutch burgomaster, started on a voyage of discovery through China, in the year 1698. For thirty years he travelled over the vast extent of the Celestial Empire, and he succeeded in collecting great literary treasures, but here again the sea was in a destructive mood; the ship in which they were stored foundered, and the treasures which cost thirty years of

hardship and danger were lost in one sad hour. A record of the travels and experiences of this Dutch burgomaster would be most interesting, but unhappily the writers of the lives of distinguished travellers have given but scant notice to the enterprising Dutchman. Surely such energy deserved more generous notice.

'Ignorance' says a writer from whom I have gleaned much of the foregoing matter, 'has cost the world priceless treasures in books and manuscripts. Just before the French Revolution, a fine copy of the first edition of the 'Golden Legend' was used leaf by leaf to light the librarian's fires. A copy of Caxton's 'Canterbury Tales,' with woodcuts, was used to light the vestry fires in the French Protestant Church in St. Martin's-le-Grand in London, only some forty years ago.' Only some forty years ago, and in London!

A very odd lunatic was John Bagford. A shoe-making antiquary, he took to collecting books apparently for the purpose of destroying them He spent his life collecting materials for a history of printing which he never wrote, and probably never meant to print. The method of his madness was to tear out the names and title-pages of books. These he mounted or fastened together in book-form. It is said he tore out, and thus collected some twenty-five thousand title-pages in all. They are to be found in sixty folio volumes in the British Museum. 'The last hours of this mad mutilator were embittered because he had never been able to discover and destroy a Caxton, owing, it is said, to the fact that title-pages were unknown in England in the days of Caxton.' Whenever a book-lover sees a book ill-treated by some clumsy or stupid or careless person he invariably associates the name of the guilty one with the hated name of John Bagford, the book-destroying shoemaker.

Yarmouth, the city of fish, was the scene of a curious occurrence in the year 1840. An antiquary bought some soles from one Jay, a fish-monger in Yarmouth. The purchase was rolled up in a parcel. When it was opened, it was not the quality of the fish but the quality of the paper that seized the attention of the

purchaser. The signatures of Lauderdale, Godolphin, Ashley, and Sunderland appeared on the paper as it was being unrolled. The wrapper was a sheet on which were written the victualling charges for prisoners confined in the Tower in the reign of James the Second. The purchaser was an antiquary, and thoroughly understood the value of his lucky find. He went back at once to the fishmonger's shop. Assuming an air of indifference, he said, 'That's good paper of yours.'

'Yes,' said Jay, 'but 'tis too stiff, I have got a lot of it too! I got it from Somerset House; they had tons of waste paper; I offered seven pounds a ton for it, and now I have three tons of it in my stables. The rest will keep till I want it.'

'Is it all like this?' asked the antiquary, hardly concealing his eagerness.

'Pretty much the same.' Jay allowed the antiquary to carry away an armful of the old paper. His delight was unbounded as he gazed on the account of the Exchequer Office, signed by such personages as Henry the Seventh and Henry the Eighth; with the wardrobe accounts of Queen Anne; receipts signed by Pope and Newton; 'a treatise on the Eucharist in the boyish hand of Edward the Sixth, and a treatise on the Order of the Garter in the scholarly handwriting of Queen Elizabeth.'

The Government had sold to a fishmonger for waste paper numerous public documents which contained much of the history of the country from the time of Henry the Seventh to the time of George the Fourth.

Back went the antiquary to the fishmonger again and again. By degrees he was gathering up a whole pile of excellent materials for a history of the country for several centuries. But his joy was too big for his feelings. Indiscreetly he whispered his secret. It was a secret no longer. The Government were aroused to a sense of their loss; the public clamoured for a committee of inquiry. It was then found that the blame lay with Lord Mounteagle, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Papers had been sold for some seventy pounds which were value for at least three

thousand pounds. Many more were torn up or scattered beyond possibility of recovery.

A Rough Diamond. It is worthy of observation that certain persons when forced to confess their habitual rudeness explain this defect of their character by calling themselves *rough diamonds*. What a curious apology! But it is not of these diamonds but of Newton's dog, Diamond, we have to speak just now. An accident destroyed the result of the labours of the declining years of Newton. He had left his manuscript on a table near a lighted candle. His dog, Diamond, playing around the table upset the candle, and set fire to the papers of the great scientist. Newton, with more than saint-like patience merely shook his head, and said, 'Ah, Diamond, Diamond, thou little knowest what damage thou hast done!'

II.

'The lost treasures of literature have caused a heart-ache to many a scholar and book-lover.' Its dramatic literature was one of the greatest glories of Greece. At the time of Aristophanes, it is said that no fewer than two thousand dramas had been produced. Except about forty they have all been lost. From Æschylus we have only seven out of a total of seventy; from Sophocles only seven out of more than a hundred; from Euripides only nineteen out of ninety.

Goethe said he would give one-half of the Roman poetry for a single play of Menander's. But though it might be worth the half of all the Latin poetry, one play of that great master's is not to be found. How can lesser lights hope to shine for any length of time when the light of such a star has gone out? Perhaps, the lesser lights that have ceased to shine will console themselves with this reflection.

Let us follow the list. There is scarcely one we know amongst reading people whose attention has not been caught by these grand lines of Lord Byron:—

> The isles of Greece! the isles of Greece!
> Where burning Sappho loved and sung,
> Where grew the arts of war and peace,
> Where Delos rose and Phæbus sprung!

Sappho, the greatest songstress, the greatest lyric poetess of all time, is remembered only for the fame of her genius. There is but little left to the world of her writings, of her songs, of her lyrics, to witness to the skill and the fire which shed so much glory on her land when Greece was queen of 'the arts of war and peace.' Lost, also, are the hymns and dirges—the real masterpieces—of Pindar. Lost the songs with which Alcaeus and Ibycus thrilled the most cultured people of the far-off past. When 'war and honour rouse the land,' literature suffered in the whirl and the excitement and the strife ; and the literature of Greece suffered losses which the world has not and never will cease to regret.

How did it fare with the literature of Rome ? The story of the lost treasures of Roman literature brings us nearer to our own times, and may be briefly told.

Ennius is styled the father of Roman poetry ; only a few fragments remain to prove his claim to the title. A complete copy of Eennius was said to exist down to the thirteenth century ; but the centuries have made sad havoc of more than the poetry of the father of Roman literature. The poets Lucilius, Bassus, Ponticus, Valgius, Accius, and Pacuvius,—I give the list as it is supplied by the writer from whom I have taken so much of the materials for this paper—and the historians Cœlius Antipater and Cornelius Sissena, are almost as much lost to the world as if they had never lived. Lost with them are the orators Cassius Severus, Calvus, and Hortensius. Hortensius was the rival of Cicero, but only for a time ; his style which continued to be that of a young man was not suited to a man well advanced in years, and so by reason of a style which did not become his time of life, he was outclassed by Cicero and outrun in the race for the applause of the Roman world. Yet, in his day he trilled the Roman people with his eloquence, and the world regrets we have no specimens of his power to compare with those of Cicero's. Nothing remains of the grand ballad literature which would correspond in point of time with the periods, the epochs, the events, of which Macaulay sings with such pride and flourish in his 'Lays of Ancient Rome.'

Greece suffered heavy losses in her literature. Rome, also, has suffered, if not so heavily as Greece, it may be it was because she was not so rich and had not so much to lose. This question borders perhaps on controversy, and we have no desire to begin a dispute.

Much of the world's best ancient literature was stored in the libraries of Alexandria. The library of four hundred thousand volumes, collected by the Ptolemys, was burned during the siege of Alexandria by Julius Cæsar. The Serapeum, a famous library in the same city, was partly burned, partly scattered beyond recovery in the storming of the temple of Jupiter by the Christians in the reign of Theodosius the Great. In 640 A.D., another library of seven hundred thousand volumes was wantonly destroyed. It was the year the city was captured by the Sacarens under the Caliph Omar. The Caliph made use of very strange logic to warrant the destruction. This was his judicial decree : ' If these writings agree with the Book of God, they are superfluous, useless, and need not be preserved. If they disagree, they should be destroyed.' It was the ' wolf and the lamb ' style of reasoning; there was no escape ; the building was burned to the ground, and the books and manuscripts were sent to heat the public baths. It took six months to consume them.

This was the doing of one despot, but even worse happened during the Reformation. Books and manuscripts were wantonly put to the meanest uses ; to clean boots, to light fires. The great monastic libraries were plundered and sold for making up parcels to grocers, and candle and soapmakers. One such merchant bought two splendid libraries for forty shillings. He had waste paper enough to last him for ten years. Nothing was sacred to the hand of the spoiler. He destroyed wherever he went ; he was a brute force without respect for the sentiments of the heart or the product of the intellect.

Later on we come to those whom we may call the grandchildren of the Reformation, as they flourished a couple of reigns later in the history of their country than the birth of that movement of which they are the natural offspring,

and in a especial manner as regarded their very agressive hatred of books, literature, and learning.

The following note from Dr. Conan Doyle's account of the Monmouth Rebellion tells how poor the chance of escape from destruction for any book or manuscript that fell into their hands when the bigotry of their creed had set them on the warpath :—

Hatred of Learning among the Puritans.

In spite of the presence in their ranks of such ripe scholars as John Milton, Colonel Hutchinson, and others, there were among the Independents and Anabaptists a profound distrust of learning, which is commented upon by writers of all shades of politics. Dr. South, in his sermons, remarks that ' All learning was cried down, so that with them the best preachers were such as could not read, and the best divines such as could not write. In all their preachments they so highly pretended to the Spirit, that some of them could hardly spell a letter. To be blind with them was a proper qualification of a spiritual guide, and to be book-learned, as they called it, and to be irreligious, were almost convertible terms. None save tradesmen and mechanics were allowed to have the Spirit, and those only were accounted like St. Paul who could work with their hands, and were able to make a pulpit before preaching in it.

In the collection of loyal ballads reprinted in 1731, the Royalist bard harps upon the same characteristic :—

' We'll down with universities
Where learning is professed,
Because they practise and maintain
The language of the beast.
We'll drive the doctors out of doors,
And parts, whate'er they be,
We'll cry all parts and learning down,
And heigh, then up go we ! '

What a curious analogy between a lost book and a lost soul ? When a book, the masterwork of a great intellect that is gone from this world, is destroyed or lost, it is lost beyond the hope of restoration or renewal. There is one grand exception to the rule. It is stated on excellent authority that were the Bible lost to us as a book, it is so widely distributed in our prayers and pious books, so

generously portioned out in the breviaries and liturgy of the Church, it could be gleaned and gathered, renewed, reconstructed, and given back to us, in the same form as that in which we are accustomed to see and to read it, No doubt it would take considerable time, and would need gleaners of perseverance, superb zeal, and uncommon ability. But of how many other books could the same be said ? Of very few, if any.

Amongst the lost there are many other books and manuscripts of varied and interesting character, but we have already outrun the space that is likely to be allowed to us. This paper will, perhaps, serve as an appeal or suggestion to some learned friend or client of the I. E. RECORD to give us a more elaborate, more minute appreciation of the lost Books and the lost Manuscripts.

J. J. KELLY, O.S.F.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

JUBILEE OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

Recent Decisions

We have received several letters from correspondents with reference to the decisions on the Jubilee which appeared in I. E. Record, September, pages 260-263. A few words in reply by way of a brief explanation of these decisions will not, we hope, be unwelcome to our readers.

I. *Fast*:—It has been decided that the fast of the Jubilee is a 'black fast.' The Bishops of countries in which it is difficult to find good fasting fare have received power to allow 'lacticinia' to the faithful who make the Jubilee fast. We regret that this privilege was not published in the *Acta S. Sedis* in time for us to mention it in our Jubilee Notes of April and May. It has also been decided that those who observe the strict fast can do so on days of Quarter Tense and on vigils, in places where, by an indult, the black fast is not obligatory. In Ireland there is no black fast on days of Quarter Tense and on vigils, so the strict Jubilee fast can be performed on these days in this country.

II. *Visits*:—The S. Poen. has decided that the Jubilee visits can be made on the same or on different days according to the wish of the faithful. In Cathedral cities the Cathedral is the church to be visited by the faithful belonging to the city and suburbs immediately adjoining the city. In country parishes in which there is a parochial church, with auxiliary chapels in hamlets somewhat distant from the place where the parochial church is situate, the faithful of these remote districts can make their Jubilee visits to the auxiliary chapels. It has not been decided how remote these districts must be from the parochial church in order that the faithful living in them may have this privilege.

In the I. E. RECORD, May, we suggested that in this connection 'locus' may be taken in its canonical sense, so that if hamlets be an Italian mile apart from one another they can be considered different places in the sense of the Encyclical. We see no reason to change that view. A decision given in the I. E. RECORD, September, confirms, to some extent, our opinion. With special reference to the diocese of Toulouse, it was decided that the visits can be made to the auxiliary chapels of hamlets somewhat remote from one another (*viculis satis inter se dissitis*). Considering the usual size of parishes in France this decision would be rendered almost nugatory unless our suggestion be adopted.

It has been decided also that in places where there is no Cathedral church, but where there are several parochial churches, the Bishop has no power to select one parochial church to the exclusion of the others. The faithful in that case are to visit their own parochial churches (*visitandam esse ecclesiam parochialem propriam uniuscujusque fidelis*). This form of expression does not, we think, imply that *peregrini* cannot make their Jubilee visits to the parochial church of the place where they happen to be. For them, as well as for *vagi*, the *ecclesia parochialis propria*, as far as the Jubilee is concerned, is the church to which the inhabitants of the place make their Jubilee visits. A more definite decision would be required to set aside the many formal declarations of the Sacr. Cong. that *peregrini* can make their Jubilee visits to the churches to which the faithful of the place where they happen to be make their Jubilee visits.

III. *Selection of Confessor by Nuns*:—It has now been decided that the restriction, according to which nuns must select as their Jubilee confessor one approved for some nuns, applies to those nuns who live in community, and for whom the Ordinary has designated a special confessor, who alone can hear their confessions: 'Restrictionem eligendi confessarium tantummodo inter approbatos monialibus, afficere eas quae nedum in communitate vivunt, sed habent praeterea confessarium ab Ordinario designatum qui ad eas accedit, ut earum confessiones unus excipiat.' In the case of the last Jubilee, it was decided that the restriction did

not apply to nuns with only simple vows. In Ireland, generally, special confessors are appointed for nuns though they have only simple vows. Hence, according to the recent decision, these nuns are restricted to confessors approved for nuns.

IV. *Use of Special Faculties by Confessors*:—It has been decided that a confessor or confessors can use several times the faculties of the Jubilee in favour of the same penitent who has not yet performed all the works of the Jubilee.

HONORARIUM FOR ASSISTING AT BAPTISM

REV. DEAR SIR,—Having been invited by a family in a neighbouring parish to baptize a child, I accepted the invitation, and, with permission of the local pastor, duly performed the ceremony. On account of my long-standing friendship for the family I received an *honorarium* much in excess of the ordinary. To whom does this *honorarium* belong? The pastor of the place claims it. Must I give it over to him?—Yours, etc.,

J. B.

At least the ordinary *honorarium* must be given to the pastor of the place. Moreover, in two cases the whole *honorarium* must be given to the pastor of the place—(*a*) in those places where the Bishop has made a law ordering the whole *honorarium* to be given to the pastor, (*b*) wherever the person giving the *honorarium* in any way indicates that it is all to go to the pastor of the place.

Outside these cases the priest who performs the sacred rite can, in justice, keep the excess over the ordinary *honorarium*. When an extraordinary *honorarium* is given through friendship, the presumption is that the donor wishes the excess to belong to the officiant. The latter is justified in acting on this presumption. A similar case, with regard to *honoraria* for Masses, is solved by theologians in this way.[1]

We speak merely of an obligation of justice. It is

[1] Lehm. ii., n. 204, 3.

outside our province to discuss the rules of courtesy which may be supposed to guide priests in matters of this kind.

J. M. HARTY.

LITURGY

INVOCATIONS AT BEGINNING OF LITANY OF THE HOLY NAME

REV. DEAR SIR,—In some churches I find that the beginning of the Litany is recited as follows:—

Lord have mercy upon us.
Christ have mercy upon us.
Lord have mercy upon us.
Christ have mercy upon us.

This seems not to be correct, for S. Rituum Congregatio (6 Martii, 1894) 'declaravit quod illae tantum Litaniae publice recitari possunt in Ecclesiis vel oratoriis publicis, quae habentur in Breviario, aut in recentioribus Ritualis Romani ab Apostolica Sede approbatis.' Now in 'Breviario aut recentioribus editionibus Ritualis Romani' the Litany begins thus:—

Lord have mercy upon us.
Christ have mercy upon us.
Lord have mercy upon us,

but no SECOND *Christ have mercy upon us.* Hence I am in doubt if it is altogether right to introduce it. Information on the subject will be gratefully received.

SACERDOS.

Our correspondent is quite justified in his suspicions regarding the correctness of the form of the Litany of the Holy Name, as he has heard it recited in some churches. The initial invocations should be as he gives them in the second place. Two reasons make this clear. In the first place, if we want to know the proper form of any prayer used in the public service of the Church, we ought to refer to the Liturgical Books which have the immediate sanction and approval of the Holy See. Now the Breviary and the Roman Ritual are recognized liturgical

books. Hence, they may be supposed to have the prayers in their proper form. And, as is correctly stated, the Litany of the Holy Name is given in both of these, in the second form above mentioned. Again, the triple invocation at the beginning of the Litanies is inserted in honour of the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity, and constituting, as it does, an explicit profession of faith in one of the primary Mysteries of Religion, is a suitable preamble to these invocatory prayers. It is our own experience that, when publicly reciting the Litany, the faithful insist on making a response to the second *Kyrie Eleison*, unless they are cautioned against doing so. It is this habit that has been, we presume, responsible for what our correspondent noticed. Then, too, we are not quite sure that the Litanies are always correctly given in the Prayer Books in common use among the people, especially when they are given in the vernacular English.

PICTURES AND STATUES OF SAINTS HOLDING THE DIVINE INFANT

REV. DEAR SIR,—A priest would be obliged by the Editor's kind answer to the following:—

1. Are Pictures or Statues of Saints holding the Divine Infant authorised for veneration in a church, or is it only the Pictures or Statues of the Blessed Virgin that have this privilege?

The Council of Trent ordains 'nemini licere ullo in loco vel Ecclesia, etiam quomodolibet exempta, ullam insolitam ponere, vel ponendam, curare imaginem, nisi ab Episcopo fuerit approbata.' [1]

Generally speaking, Pictures or Statues of Saints represented with the Divine Infant in the arms are uncommon in the church, and, therefore, ought not to be introduced and publicly exposed for veneration without the sanction of the Bishop of the place. There are a few exceptions where saints are commonly

[1] Ses. xxv., De invoc. et neur. S.S., etc.

represented holding the Divine Infant. One is the instance of St. Anthony of Padua. The brush of the painter and the chisel of the sculptor usually represent the saint as holding the Child Jesus in his arms, in memory of the vision said to be vouchsafed to St. Anthony when the Divine Infant appeared to him. Murillo has immortalized the alleged incident in his Vision of Chateauneuf. This famous picture is preserved in Lisbon, and possesses best claims to be recognised as the traditional portrait of the saint. It is seen exhibited everywhere, from which we gather that it must have legitimate authorisation. Another instance is St. Rosa of Lima, to whom, it is said, the Blessed Virgin on one occasion entrusted for a little time care of the Infant Jesus.

RENEWAL OF HOSTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Two contributors to your columns in the autumn of last year argued that it is a very easy matter to commit mortal sin by not obeying ecclesiastical prescriptions as to the very frequent renewal of hosts, or, to be more accurate, by using hosts not made quite recently. I have no intention of entering upon a controversy on this subject, but as appeal was made to the microscope, by aid of which signs of decay are rendered visible which cannot be detected by the naked eye, I determined to have recourse to experiment.

About the middle of November last I took two Communion hosts—made at a Carmelite convent—and placed them, uncovered, in a drawer, to which air had free access. At the end of July, *eight months later*, I gave one of them to a friend who has made a special study of micro-fungi, requesting him to inform me whether examination with a microscope revealed any signs of decay. I received his answer a few days ago. It was as follows:—'I could see no signs of animal or vegetable growth on it—nothing but starch cells was visible."

I draw no conclusions; I express no opinions. I merely state the result of an experiment.

A. EMERY.

The Mount, Wadhurst,
25th August, 1904.

With regard to the result of the test applied to the

particles, and described by our correspondent, we beg, by way of contrast, to quote a paragraph bearing on this very matter from Van Der Stappen—one of the most approved and trustworthy of recent authors on the Liturgy :—

> Refertur a nonnullis auctoribus opinio clarissimi chimiae periti Liebig, juxta quam conservationis substantiae panis in hostiis, etiam cum ab humiditate diligentissime servatur, post terminum sex hebdomadarum certitudo non amplius datur. Patet igitur quam merito praescriptiones in praecedentibus responsis relatae justificantur, cum statuunt terminum quatuor hebdomadarum inde a confectione hostiarum usque ad eorum consumptionem.[1]

Apparently, there is some discrepancy in the results obtained by Liebig, and those ascertained by the friend of our respected correspondent. We conclude, then, if we are to rely on the truth of the quotation given above, that it is not absolutely safe to use hosts made for a period over six weeks. And as long as there is the slightest shadow of doubt about the freedom from every taint of corruption of particles made for a certain time, the respect and reverence due to the august Sacrament of the Altar should dictate what view is to be followed in practice. We do not wish, however, to lay down that omission to exactly comply with ecclesiastical regulations on this head is always sinful. Extenuating circumstances may easily be present, which would excuse from formal guilt particular cases of seeming neglect.[2]

P. Morrisroe.

[1] *De Sacr. Admin.*, p. 164.

[2] In next issue we shall endeavour to explain the extent of the obligation imposed in this matter by the Maynooth Statute. (*Cf.* Decr. Syn. Man., 1875, p. 78, n. 47.)

CORRESPONDENCE

'THE ORIGIN OF THE SCAPULAR'

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have read with the deepest interest in your pages recently the series of articles by Father Zimmerman, O.C.D., on the above subject, and also Father Thurston's critique on the same, and the only fault I have to find with the latter is the easy and indulgent way in which he dismisses the question of the Sabbatine—or, as he happily nicknames it, the *Subitine*—Indulgence.

For years the faithful have been told of this wonderful Indulgence; booklets on the subject have been distributed broadcast among them; *e.g.*, *Fructus Carmeli, or the Privilege of the Sabbatine Bull*, by the Rev. Dr. Farrington, O.C.C. (1875), and on page 22 of this production 'the particular obligations to be fulfilled to gain the Privilege of the Sabbatine Bull,' are laid down to be, *inter alia*, 'for those who can read, to recite every day the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin as it is found in the Roman Breviary; for those who cannot read to abstain from meat on Wednesdays and Saturdays.' Moreover, to encourage the faithful to wear this Scapular they are told on pages 34-44 of no less than eight 'Miracles' worked in favour of certain persons on the *Saturday* after their decease because of this 'Promise.'

How many in all those years have practised and are still practising these 'obligations' in order to obtain this 'privilege' which was never granted I know not. But this I do know, that Father Thurston's mild critique, uttered in your pages which hardly reach any but clerical eyes, ought not to be the last word spoken on so serious a matter. Surely the faithful should be told that this Indulgence is a myth—I do not like to say fraud—based on an ignorant mistranslation and that the sooner they drop their Little Offices and their Wednesday-Saturday Fasts the better, unless they have some higher and more solid motives for practising them.

In these agnostic days we have quite enough to do to defend before Protestants, aye and sceptic, cynical Catholics too, the genuine Indulgences of the Church, without having spurious ones thrust under our patronage, and it appears to me that the position of the authorities ought not to be a merely neutral and negative one in such matters.—Faithfully yours in Christ,

WALTER O'BRIEN, C.C.

DOCUMENTS

LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. TO HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL LOGUE

DILECTO FILIO NOSTRO MICHAELI TIT. S. MARIA PACIFERAE S.R.E. PRESP. CARD. LOGUE

PIUS PP. X.

Dilecti Fili Noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Quamvis non ante multos hos dies litteras ad te dederimus, quibus de Patriciani templi dedicatione felicissime habita gratulabamur ; libet tamen iterum ad te scribere voluntatemque Nostrem amplius significare. Venerabilis enim Frater Noster Vincentius Episcopus Proenestinus, quem Nos ad memoratam dedicationem Nostro nomine peragendam Legatum Nostrum a latere in Hiberniam misimus, tam multa Nobis, rediens, tantaque de celebritatis splendore, de populi religione, de tua aliorumque Episcoporum humanitati, de communi vestra in Nos observantia narravit, ut animum Nostrum plane jucundidate impleverit. Nos igitur gratias in primis agimus de honore eidem Legato habito, quem Nos ac si Nobis ipsis impensus finerit, cujus ille personam gerebat, consideramus. Tum vero gaudere tibi Nobisque pariter placet ob fidei constantiam ardoremque, quae idem Venerabilis Frater Noster Vincentius, in tota sua apud vos commoratione, multiplici ex argumento in vobis miratus est. Non enim ille solum templa ubique invisit confertaeque multitudini bene, Nostro nomine, precatus est ; sed et scholas ad puerorum educationem, et Xenodochia ad agrorum solatium, et coetus varios ad omnigenae caritatis ac religionis opera coram est contemplatus ; Hibernorum in religiosa re actuosas industrias ubique suspiciens. Hujus rei laudem tuis, Dilecte Fili Noster, ceterorumque Episcoporum studiis Nos ultro tribuimus ; ex animo desiderantes ut industriis vestris ampliora Deus in dies det incrementa. Quod ut pro votis cedat, et ut benevolentia Nostrae testimonio suscipiatis animos, Apostolicam Benedictionem Tibi, Episcopis coeteris universoque Hiberniae clero et populo amantissime in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XXVIII. Augusti Anno MDCCCCIV., Pontificatus Nostri secundo.

PIUS PP. X.

PONTIFICAL COMMISSION FOR CODIFICATION OF THE CANON LAW

E COMMISSIONE PONTIFICIA PRO ECCLESIAE LEGIBUS IN UNUM REDIGENDIS.

UNIVERSITATES CATHOLICAE STUDIORUM CONCURRANT IN ARDUUM OPUS CODIFICATIONIS.

Illme. ac Revme. Domine :

Perlegisti iam certe Litteras, quas Beatissimus Pater nuper *Motu proprio* edidit *de Ecclesiae legibus in unum redigendis*.[1] Ea quippe Sanctitatis Suae mens est, ut universum canonicum ius in canones seu articulos, ad formam recentiorum Codicum, apte distribuatur, eodemque tempore, documenta, post authenticas Corporis Iuris collectiones prodita, ex quibus praefati canones seu articuli desumpti sunt, simul colligantur. Ordo autem servandus hic plus minusve erit: praemissa parte generali complectente titulos *De Summa Trinitate et fide catholica*, *De Constitutionibus*, *De Consuetudine*, *De Rescriptis*, quinque habebuntur libri: *De Personis*, *De Sacramentis*, *De Rebus et Locis sacris*, *De delictis et poenis*, *De Iudiciis ;* qui tamen ordo, pro laboris a Consultoribus perficiendi commoditate ab initio constitutus, poterit, si progressu studiorum opportunum videbitur, immutari.

Iamvero valde expotat Summus Pontifex ut amplissima, cui Dominatio Tua praeest, studiorum Universitas in hoc arduum gravissimumque opus concurrat. Hinc Tibi mandat, ut ab istius Universitatis antecessoribus qui Iuri canonico tradendo incumbunt, petas, ac deinde mihi quamprimum referas, quasnam iuris canonici partes in articulos seu canones redigere parati sint. Responso Tuo accepto, peculiaris Instructio transmittetur, qua opportunae normae, ab ipsis hac in re servandae, eisdem antecessoribus tradentur.

Dum haec, ex Beatissimi Patris iussu, Tibi nuntio, praecipuae erga Te existimationis meae sensus testor, meque profiteor.

Dominationi Tuae Addictissimum,

✠ PETRUM GASPARRI, *Arch. Caesareensem*,
Secretarium Pontificiae Commissionis pro Ecclesiae legibus in unum redigendis.

Romae, die 6 Aprilis 1904.

Illmo. ac Revmo. Domino EDUARDO HAUTCŒUR,
Prot. Ap. Cancellario Universitatis Insularum.

[1] Cfr. fasc. praec. p. 146.

PONTIFICAL COMMISSION FOR THE STUDY OF SCRIPTURE

E COMMISSIONE PONTIFICIA PRO STUDIIS S. SCRIPTURAE PROVEHENDIS.

RATIO PERICLITANDAE DOCTRINA CANDIDATORUM AD ACADEMICOS GRADUS IN SACRA SCRIPTURA, CORAM COMMISSIONE PONTIF. DE RE BIBLICA.

Cuicumque ad academicos in Sacra Sriptura gradus, secundum ea quae Apostolicis Litteris 'Scriptura Sanctae' constituta sunt, licet certumque est contendere, disciplinarum capita definiuntur, in quibus apud Commissionem Biblicam legitima doctrinae suae experimenta dabit.

I. AD PROLYTATUM.

In experimento quod scripto fit:

Exegesis (*i.e.*, expositio doctrinalis, critica et philologica) quatuor Evangeliorum et Actuum Apostolorum. Pericope ex his, a iudicibus eligenda, exponetur nullo praeter textus et concordantias adhibito libro ; de qua verbis quoque periculum fiet.

In experimento verbali:

I.—Graece quatuor Evangelia et Actus Apostolorum.

II.—Hebraice quatuor libri Regum.

III.—Historia Hebraeorum a Samuele usque ad captivitatem Babylonicam: itemque historia evangelica et apostolica usque ad captivitatem Sancti Pauli Romanam.

IV.—Introductio specialis in singulos libros utriusque Testamenti.

V.—Introductionis generalis quaestiones selectae, nimirum:

1. De Bibliorum Sacrorum inspiratione.
2. De sensu litterali et de sensu typico.
3. De legibus Hermeneuticae.
4. De antiquis Herbraeorum Synagogis.
5. De variis Iudaeorum sectis circa tempora Christi.
6. De gentibus Palaestinam tempore Christi incolentibus.
7. Geographia Palaestinae temporibus Regum.
8. Palaestinae divisio et Hierusalem topographia tempore Christi.
9. Itinera Sancti Pauli.
10. Inscriptiones Palaestinenses antiquissimae.
11. De kalendario et praecipuis ritibus sacris Hebraeorum.

12. De ponderibus, mensuris et nummis in Sancta Scriptura memoratis.

II. AD LAUREAM.

De scripto :

Amplior quaedam dissertatio circa thesim aliquam graviorem ab ipso candidato de Commissionis assensu eligendam.

Coram :

I.—Dissertationis a Censoribus impugnandae defensio.

II.—Exegesis unius ex sequentibus Novi Testamenti partibus a candidato deligendae eiusque pro arbitrio iudicum exponendae :

1. Epistolae ad Romanos.
2. Epistolarum I et II ad Corinthios.
3. Epistolarum ad Thessalonicenses I et II et ad Galatas.
4. Epistolarum captivitatis et pastoralium.
5. Epistolae ad Hebraeos.
6. Epistolarum Catholicarum.
7. Apocalypsis.

III.—Exegesis ut supra alicuius eu infrascriptis Veteris Testamenti partibus :

1. Genesis.
2. Exodi, Levitici et Numerorum.
3. Deuteronomii.
4. Iosue.
5. Iudicum et Ruth.
6. Librorum Paralipomenon, Esdrae et Nehemiae.
7. Iob.
8. Psalmorum.
9. Proverbiorum.
10. Ecclesiastae et Sapientiae.
11. Cantici Canticorum et Ecclesiastici.
12. Esther, Tobiae et Iudith.
13. Isaiae.
14. Ieremiae cum Lamentationibus et Baruch.
15. Ezechielis.
16. Danielis cum libris Machabaeorum.
17. Prophetarum minorum.

IV.—1. De Scholis exegeticis Alexandrina et Antiochena, ac de exegesi celebriorum Patrum Graecorum saec. IV et V.

2. De operibus exegeticis S. Hieronymi caeterorumque Patrum Latinorum saec. IV et V.

3. De origine et auctoritate textus Massoretici.

4. De versione Septuagintavirali et de aliis versionibus Vulgata antiquioribus, in crisi textuum adhibendis.

5. Vulgatae historia usque ad initium saec. VII, deque eiusdem authenticitate a Concilio Tridentino declarata.

V.—Peritia praeterea probanda erit in aliqua alia ex linguis praeter Hebraicam et Chaldaicam orientalibus, quarum usus in disciplinis biblicis maior est.

N.B.—De forma et cautionibus, quae in experimentis extra Urbem, si quando permittantur, servari debeant, item de variis conditionibus aliisque rebus quae sive ad prolytatus sive ad laureae adeptionem requiruntur, singulare conficietur breviculum, quod solis candidatis et iudicibus delegandis, quotiescumque opus fuerit, tradetur.

Epistolae mittantur ad Revmum. D. F. Vigouroux, Romam, Quattro Fontane 113, *aut ad Revmum. P. David Fleming, O.M., Romam, Via Merulana* 124, *Commissionis Biblicae Consultores ab actis.*

INDULGENCES AND PRIVILEGES OF TERTIARIES OF PREMONSTRATENTIAN ORDER.

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM.

SUMMARIUM INDULGENTIARUM, PRIVILEGIORUM AC INDULTORUM TERTIARIIS SAECULARIBUS ORDINIS PRAEMONSTRATENSI-TRIBUTORUM.

I. Indulgentiae Plenariae.

A Tertiariis ex utroque sexu vere poenitentibus, confessis ac S. Synaxi refectis :

1° Die ingressus in Tertium Ordinem ;

2° Die professionis ;

3° Quoties potioris vitae studio per octo dies continuos spiritualibus exercitiis vacaverint.

B. Iisdem Tertiariis, si confessi ac S. Communione refecti, ecclesiam Ordinis Praemonstratensis vel Sodalitii visitaverint et ad mentem Summi Pontificis oraverint, diebus festis sequentibus :

1° Paschatis Resurrectionis ;

2° Annuntiationis B. Mariae Virg. ;

3° Assumptionis „ „

4° B. Godefridi Conf. Ordinis (16 Ianuarii) ;

5° B. Evermodi Ep. Conf. Ord. (17 Febr.) ;

6° B. Friderici Ab. Conf. Ord. (3 Mart.) ;
7° B. Ludolphi Ep. Mart. Ord. (29 Mart.) ;
8° B. Hermanni-Iosephi Conf. Ord. (7 Apr.) ;
9° B. Gerlaci Conf. Ord. (Fer. II. infra oct. Ascens.) ;
10° Triumphi S. P. Noberti (Dom. III. post Pentec.) ;
11° Depositionis eiusdem S. P. (6 Iunii) ;
12° B. Isfridi Ep. Conf. Ord. (15 Iunii) ;
13° SS. Martyrum Gorcomiensium (9 Iulii) ;
14° S. P. Norberti (11 Iulii) ;
15° B. Hrosnatae Mart. Ord. (19 Iulii) ;
16° B. Gertrudis Virg. Ord. (13 Aug.) ;
17° S. Augustini Ep. Doct. (28 Aug.) ;
18° B. Bronislavae Virg. Ord. (30 Aug.) ;
19° B. Gilberti Ab. Conf. Ord. (24 Oct.) ;
20° Omnium Sanctorum Ordinis (13 Nov.) ;
21° B. Siardi Ab. Conf. Ord. (13 Nov.) ;

C. Iisdem Tertiariis in mortis articulo constitutis, si uti supra dispositi, vel saltem contriti, SSmum. Iesu Nomen ore, si potuerint, sin minus corde, devote invocaverint.

II. Indulgentiae Partiales.

A. *Septem annorum totidemque quadragenarum* Tertiariis, qui corde saltem contriti ecclesiam Ordinis vel Sodalitii devote visitaverint, et aliquo temporis spatio ibidem oraverint, sequentibus diebus festis :

1° Nativitatis D. N. I. C. ;
2° Circumcisionis ,, ,,
3° Epiphaniae ,, ,,
4° Ascensionis ,, ,,
5° Corporis Christi ;
6° Immaculatae Conceptionis B. M. V. ;
7° Nativitatis ,,
8° Purificationis ,,
9° S. Ioannis Baptistae ;
10° Omnium Sanctorum.

B. *Tercentum dierum*, quoties Tertiarii aliquod pium opus pietatis vel charitatis corde saltem contrito exercuerint.

III. Indulgentiae Stationales.

Diebus Stationum in Missali Romano descriptis iidem Tertiarii ecclesiam Ordinis vel Sodalitii visitantes ibique ad mentem

Summi Pontificis orantes, easdem indulgentias consequuntur, quas lucrarentur si ecclesias Urbis vel extra Urbem in eodem Missali recensitas, praefatis diebus, personaliter visitarent, dummodo alia pia opera praescripta exerceant.

Omnes et singulae Indulgentiae superius memoratae, excepta tamen plenaria in mortis articulo lucranda, sunt etiam applicabies in Purgatorio detentis.

IV. Privilegia.

1° Sacerdotes Tertiarii ad quodlibet altare Missam celebrantes gaudent indulto altaris privilegiati tribus in qualibet hebdomada diebus, dummodo pro alia die simile indultum non obtinuerint.

2° Missae omnes, quae in suffragium fidelium defunctorum celebrantur, sunt omnes et ubique privilegiatae.

V. Indulta.

1° Tertiarii degentes in locis ubi nulla extet Ordinis Praemonstratensis vel Sodalitii ecclesiae lucrari valent Indulgentias ipsius uti supra directe concessas, nec non illas, quae fidelibus universis dicti Ordinis ecclesias visitantibus sunt elargitae, ea conditione ut respectivam ecclesiam parochialem vel aliam quamcumque seu publicum Oratorium visitent, caeteris adimpletis conditionibus.

2° Tertiarii si sint infirmi vel convalescentes, nec commode possint e domo egredi, recitando quinquies *Pater* et *Ave* et orando ad intentionem Summi Pontificis, lucrari possunt easdem indulgentias, ac si personaliter ecclesiam Ordinis vel Sodalitii visitarent, caeteris tamen iniunctis operibus rite positis.

DECRETUM.

Quum per Decretum huius S. C. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae diei 18 Iulii 1902, undequaque abrogatis omnibus Indulgentiis, quibus Tertiarii saeculares cuiusvis Ordinis, ob communicationem cum primo et secundo Ordine respective perfruebantur, Supremis Moderatoribus religiosorum Ordinum proprium Tertium Ordinem habentium praescriptum fuerit, ut novum Indulgentiarum Indicem pro suis Tertiariis saecularibus proponerent; Abbas Generalis Ordinis Praemonstratensis tali mandato obtemperans novum praedictum Indicem

elaboravit, illumque huic S. C. humillime subiecit ; quae adhibita etiam quorumdam ex suis Consultoribus opera, illum ad examen revocavit. SSmus. vero D. N. Pius PP. X, in Audientia diei 28 Augusti 1903 audita de his omnibus relatione facta ab infrascripto Card. Praefecto, ex Indulgentiis in supra proposito Elencho enumeratis, eas, quae olim Tertiariis directe tributae fuerunt, benigne confirmavit, alias vero, loco earum, quibus vi communicationis gaudebant, clementer est impertitus, simulque mandavit ut in posterum praedicti Ordinis Sodales Tertiarii in saeculo viventes earum tantummodo participes evadant Indulgentiarum, iisque potiantur privilegiis et indultis, quae in praedicto Elencho recensentur. Quam concessionem eadem Sanctitas Sua perpetuis quoque futuris temporibus valituram esse voluit, absque ulla Brevis expeditione. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis, die 1 Martii 1904.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

Pro Secretario, I. M. Can. COSELLI, *Substitutus*.

INDULGENCES FOR INVOCATION OF MARY IMMACULATE.

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM.

INDULGENTIAE CONCEDUNTUR RECITANTIBUS INFRASCRIPTAS INVOCATIONES IN HONOREM IMMACULATAE VIRG. MARIAE.

URBIS ET ORBIS.

Ex quo Immaculati Beatae Mariae Virginis Conceptus a f. r. Pio IX, dogmatica definitio solemniter proclamata fuit, ardens efferbuit in Christifidelibus studium prosequendi singularibus pietatis argumentis Beatissimam Virginem absque originali labe conceptam. Ad id vero studium hoc anno vertente, qui quinquagesimus advenit ab illa solemni definitione, impensius augendum, utque tam auspicatissimi Jubilaei perennis aliqua extet memoria, enixae plurium Sacrorum Antistitum, Religiosorum Ordinum Moderatorum, necnon Christifidelium postulationes SSmo. Dno. Nro. Pio Pp. X, delatae sunt, ut sacro indulgentiarum thesauro ditare dignaretur infrascriptas invocationes, quae apud christianum populum in honorem eiusdem Immaculatae Virginis iam frequentatissimae evaserunt, videlicet:

V. Tota pulchra es, Maria.

R. Tota pulchra es, Maria.

V. Et macula originalis non est in Te.
R. Et macula originalis non est in Te.
V. Tu gloria Jerusalem.
R. Tu laetitia Israël.
V. Tu honorificentia populi nostri.
R. Tu advocata peccatorum.
V. O Maria.
R. O Maria.
V. Virgo prudentissima.
R. Mater clementissima.
V. Ora pro nobis.
R. Intercede pro nobis ad Dominum Jesum Christum.
V. In conceptione tua, Virgo, immaculate fuisti.
R. Ora pro nobis Patrem, cuius Filium peperisti.

ORATIO.

Deus, qui per Immaculatam Virginis Conceptionem dignum Filio tuo habitaculum praeparasti, quaesumus, ut qui ex morte eiusdem Filii tui praevisa Eam ab omni labe praeservasti : nos quoque mundos, Eius intercessione, ad Te pervenire concedas. Per eundem, etc.

Porro Sanctitas Sua, quae maxime in votis habet, ut erga Deiparam honor et pietas apud omnes succrescant, huiusmodi postulationibus libentissime annuens, in Audientia habita die 23 Martii 1904 ab infrascripto Cardinali Praefecto Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, benigne concessit universis Christifidelibus : I. Indulgentiam tercentum dierum, semel in die acquirendam, supra relatas invocationes corde saltem contrito ac devote recitantibus : II. Plenariam, ab iisdem lucrandam diebus festis Immaculatae Conceptionis, Nativitatis, Purificationis, Annunciationis et Assumptionis Beatae Mariae Virginis, si memoratis diebus easdem preces devote recitaverint, simulque sacramentali confessione rite expiate sacraque Synaxi refecti, aliquam ecclesiam vel publicum sacellum adiverint, ibique ad eiusdem Sanctitatis Suae mentem pias ad Deum preces effuderint. Quas indulgentias idem Sanctissimus defunctis quoque applicabiles declaravit. Praesenti in perpetuum valituro. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem Sacrae Congnis., die 23 Martii 1904.

ALOIS. Card. TRIPEPI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

Pro Secretario, IOS. M. Cancus. COSELLI, *Subtus.*

DISPENSATION RELATING TO PAULINE MARRIAGE

E S.R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE.

CONCEDITUR DISPENSATIO SUPER INTERPELLATIONE PAULINA, OB AMENTIAM SPONSAE INFIDELIS.

Episcopus Burlingtonensis in Statibus Foederatis Americae Septentrionalis, ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae provolutus humiliter haec exponit :

G. U. 50 anno rumnatus, degens intra limites dioecesis supradicti Episcopi, matrimonium contraxit cum Bertha S., dum in statu infidelitatis ambo existebant ; ex quo matrimonio habiti sunt quatuor infantes adhuc viventes.

Post annos octo a tempore huius contractus, Bertha insaniae multa dedit indicia, ita ut amplius impossibile fuerit cum ea vitam coniugalem ducere, ac proinde in aliquo valetudinario ad hanc infirmitatem curandam custodiri tradita est.

Post sex adhuc annos, cum nulla spes affulgeret sanitatis mulieris, ipse vir obtinuit decretum civile, quo declaratum est matrimonium inter G. et B. fuisse invalidum ab initio ob dictam insaniam, quam medici plures tenuerunt Berthae causatam fuisse ex iniuria quam passa est quando aetatem decem annorum ipsa habebat.

Georgius iterum matrimonium contraxit cum acatholica baptizata, Carolina C. P., ipso adhuc infideli. In hac secunda unione G. adhuc vivit, ex qua proles natae sunt, et unus infans adhuc supervivit. Dementia Berthae, prioris uxoris, ita progressa est, ut amplius non agnoscat suam filiam et credat se esse Reginam Elizabetham Anglicanam.

Nunc Georgius (viginti novem annos post primum matrimonium cum Bertha, et quindecim post secundum cum praedicta Carolina) una cum hac coniuge et tota eius familia, uno tantum excepto, baptismum susceperunt et Catholicam fidem amplexati sunt ; et hanc propter rationem suppliciter exoptat ut Sanctitas Vestra dignetur solutionem prioris matrimonii in infidelitate contracti cum Bertha ei concedere ex summa potestate. Quod Georgius nunquam baptizatus erat clare constat ex testimonio plurium testium omnino fide dignorum, qui sub iuramento deposuerunt se saepe saepius audivisse matrem eius dicere cum fratre suo Georgium non esse baptizatum et de hoc facto vehementer dolere. Insuper nihil omnino in actis scriptum habere de baptismo Georgii, quamvis de aliis baptizatis

eodem tempore acta omnia habeantur. Curia diocesana Episcopi exponentis, eamdem sententiam fert, ut videbitur infra. De non baptismo Berthae, spectata qualitate probationum, non aequalis absoluta certitudo habetur, quamvis videatur adesse certitudo moralis quod et ipsan nunquam baptismum suscepit. Augusta, soror Berthae, quae octodecim annos ante Bertham nata est, sub iuramento declaravit se omnimodam certitudinem habere, nempe sororem eius Bertham nunquam fuisse baptizatam, quia in nullam religionem crediderunt neque fidem Christianum sunt professae. Ideoque ad summum esset matrimonium naturale in infidelitate contractum inter Georgium et Bertham, aliter cum Georgius certe erat infidelis tempore huius contractus, Bertha baptizata, nullum esset matrimonium propter disparitatem cultus.

Haec sunt verba Curiae matrimonialis relate ad casum: Declaratum est a R. Moderatore Curiae Dioecesanae pro tractatione rerum matrimonialium, quod haec Curia non habet iurisdictionem legitimam ad hanc causam (casum Georgii) determinandam, sed recurrendum est ad S. Sedem Apostolicam pro adiudicatione finali in hac re. Curia tamen haec vehementer inclinatur ad opinionem quod pondus probationum habetur pro valore prioris matrimonii in infidelitate contracti inter memoratas personas G. U. et B. S. propter absentiam baptismi in utroque contrahente.

Sed quia Georgius nunc baptizatus est in Ecclesia Catholica, ius habet interpellandi eius primam sponsam Bertham et quia propter Berthae conditionem insanam, nulius omnino utilitatis esset eam intervellare, ideo Curia haec intime persuasam sed habet petitionem instantem faciendam esse ad S. Sedem ut Ipsa dignetur Suam supremam potestatem Apostolicam exercere ad dissolutionem huius matrimonii in infidelitate contracti inter Georgium et Bertham ipsi oratori concedendam, ita ut Georgius posset secundas nuptas, quam iam cum dicta Carolina C. P. contraxit, regulares et validas facere. Hinc Curia haec implorat in illorum favorem clementiam S. Sedis eo quod in bona fide secundum hoc matrimonium contraxerunt et conversionem ad fidem Catholicam in qua a tempore baptismi, die 20 Augusti elapsi, sicut frater et soror vixerunt sine cohabitatione, attendentes sententiam S. Sedis G. copulam non habuit neque cum prima neque cum secunda foemina post suum baptisma. Ipse defensor vinculi matrimonialis hanc opinionem et petitionem approbat et secundat.

Hisce igitur positis, Episcopus exponens supplicat Sanctitatem Vestram pro dispensatione ab interpellatione facienda Berthae S. ut Georgius praedictus legitimum matrimonium contrahere possit cum Carolina, de qua in precibus.

Feria IV, die 9 Decembris 1903. In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis proposito suprascripto supplici libello, omnibus rite perpensis, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, Emi. ac Rmi. DD. S.R.E. Cardinales in rebus fidei et morum Generales Inquisitores decreverunt : *Supplicandum Sanctissimo pro dispensatione ab interpellatione facienda Berthae S., ut Georgius valide possit matrimonium contrahere cum Carolina.*

Feria V. loco IV., die 10 Decembris 1903, SS. D. N. Pius, divina providentia Papa X, in audientia R. P. D. Adsessori S.O. impertita benigne annuit pro gratia, iuxta Emorum Patrum suffragia. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

I. Can. MANCINI, *S.R. et U.I. Notarius.*

REGULATIONS FOR THE DISCHARGE OF INTENTIONS

DECRETUM.

DE OBSERVANDIS ET EVITANDIS IN MISSARUM MANUALIUM SATISFACTIONE.

Ut debita sollicitudine missarum manualium celebratio impleatur, eleemosynarum dispersiones et assumptarum obligationum obliviones vitentur, plura etiam novissimo tempore S. Concilii Congregatio constituit. Sed in tanta nostrae aetatis rerum ac fortunarum mobilitate et crescente hominum malitia, experientia docuit cautelas vel maiores esse adhibendas, ut piae fidelium voluntates non fraudentur, resque inter omnes gravissima studiose ac sancte custodiatur. Qua de causa Emi. S. C. Patres semel et iterum collatis consiliis, nonnulla statuenda censuerunt, quae SSmus D. N. Pius PP. X accurate perpendit, probavit, vulgarique iussit, prout sequitur.

Declarat in primis Sacra Congregatio manuales missas praesenti decreto intelligi et haberi eas omnes quas fideles oblata manuali stipe celebrari postulant, cuilibet vel quomodocumque sive brevi manu, sive in testamentis, hanc stipem tradant, dummodo perpetuam fundationem non constituant, vel talem ac tam diuturnam ut tamquam perpetua haberi debeat.

Pariter inter manuales missas accenseri illas, quae privatae alicuius familiae patrimonium gravant quidem in perpetuum,

sed in nulla Ecclesia sunt constitutae, quibus missis ubivis a quibuslibet sacerdotibus, patrisfamilias arbitrio, satisfieri potest.

Ad instar manualium vero esse, quae in aliqua ecclesia constitutae, vel beneficiis adnexae, a proprio beneficiario vel in propria ecclesia ecclesia hac illave de causa applicari non possunt ; et ideo aut de iure, aut cum S. Sedis indulto, aliis sacerdotibus tradi debent ut iisdem satisfiat.

Iamvero de his omnibus S. C. decernit : 1° neminem posse plus missarum quaerere et accipere quam celebrare probabiliter valeat intra temporis terminos inferius statutos, et per se ipsum, vel per sacerdotes sibi subditos, si agatur de Ordinario dioecesano, aut Praelato regulari.

2°. Utile tempus ad manualium missarum obligationes implendas esse mensem pro missa una, semestre pro centum missis, et aliud longius vel brevius temporis spatium plus minusve, iuxta maiorem vel minorem numerum missarum.

3°. Nemini licere tot missas assumere quibus intra annum a die susceptae obligationis satisfacere probabiliter ipse nequeat ; salva tamen semper contraria offerentium voluntate qui aut brevius tempus pro missarum celebratione sive explicite sive implicite ob urgentem aliquam causam deposcant, aut longuis tempus concedant, aut maiorem missarum numerum sponte sua tribuant.

4°. Cum in decreto *Vigilanti* diei 25 mensis Maii 1893 statutum fuerit ' ut in posterum omnes et singuli ubique locorum beneficiati et administratores piarum causarum, aut utcumque ad missarum onera implenda obligati, sive ecclesiastici sive laici, in fine cuiuslibet anni missarum onera, quae reliqua sunt, et quibus nondum satisfecerint, propriis Ordinariis tradant iuxta modum ab iis definiendum ; ' ad tollendas ambiguitates Emi, Patres declarant ac statuunt, tempus his verbis praefinitum ita esse accipiendum, ut pro missis fundatis aut alicui beneficio adnexis obligatio eas deponedi decurrat a fine illius anni intra quem onera impleri debuissent : pro missis vero manualibus obligatio eas deponendi incipiat post annum a die suscepti oneris, si agatur de magno missarum numero ; salvis praescriptionibus praecedentis articuli pro minori missarum numero, aut diversa voluntate offerentium.

Super integra autem et perfecta observantia praescriptionum quae tum in hoc articulo, tum in praecedentibus statutae sunt, omnium ad quos spectat conscientia graviter oneratur.

5°. Qui exuberantem missarum numerum habent, de quibus sibi liceat libere disponere (quin fundatorum vel oblatorum voluntati quoad tempus et locum celebrationis missarum detrahatur), posse eas tribuere praeterquam proprio Ordinario aut S. Sedi, sacerdotibus quoque sibi benevisis, dummodo certe ac personaliter sibi notis et omni exceptione maioribus.

6°. Qui missas cum sua eleemosyna proprio Ordinario aut S. Sedi tradiderint ab omni obligatione coram Deo et Ecclesia relevari.

Qui vero missas a fidelibus susceptas, aut utcumque suae fidei commissas, aliis celebrandas tradiderint, obligatione tener usque dum peractae celebrationis fidem non sint assequuti; adeo ut si ex eleemosynae dispersione, ex morte sacerdotis, aut ex alia qualibet etiam fortuita causa, in irritum res cesserit, committens de suo supplere debeat, et missis satisfacere teneatur.

7°. Ordinarii dioecesani missas, quas ex praecedentium articulorum dispositione coacervabunt, statim ex ordine in librum cum respectiva eleemosyna referent, et curabunt pro viribus ut quamprimum celebrentur, ita tamen ut prius manualibus satisfiat, deinde iis quae ad instar manualium sunt. In distributione autem servabunt regulam decreti *Vigilanti*, scilicet ' missarum intentiones primum distribuent inter sacerdotes sibi subiectos, qui eis indigere noverint; alias deinde aut S. Sedi, aut aliis Ordinariis committent, aut etiam, si velint, sacerdotibus extra-dioecesanis dummodo sibi noti sint omnique exceptione maiores,' firma semper regula art. 6[1] de obligatione, donec a sacerdotibus actae celebrationis fidem exegerint.

8°. Vetitum cuique omnino esse missarum obligationes et ipsarum eleemosynas a fidelibus vel locis piis acceptas tradere bibliopolis et mercatoribus, diariorum et ephemeridum administratoribus, etiamsi religiosi viri sint, nec non venditoribus sacrorum utensilium et indumentorum, quamvis pia et religiosa instituta, et generatim quibuslibet, etiam ecclesiasticis viris, qui missas requirant, non taxative ut eas celebrent sive per se sive per sacerdotes sibi subditos, sed ob alium quemlibet, quamvis optimum, finem. Constitit enim id effici non posse nisi aliquod commercii genus cum eleemosynis missarum agendo, aut eleemosynas ipsas imminuendo: quod utrumque omnino praecaveri debere S. Congregatio censuit. Quapropter in posterum quilibet hanc legem violare praesumpserit aut scienter tradendo missas ut supra, aut eas acceptando, praeter grave peccatum quod patrabit, in poenas infra statutas incurret.

9°. Iuxta ea quae in superiore articulo constituta sunt decernitur, pro missis manualibus stipem a fidelibus assignatam, et pro missis fundatis aut alicui beneficio adnexis (quae ad instar manualium celebrantur) eleemosynam iuxta sequentes articulos propriam, nunquam separari posse a missae celebratione, *neque in alias res commutari aut imminui*, sed celebranti ex integro et in specie sua esse tradendam, sublatis declarationibus, indultis, privilegiis, rescriptis sive perpetuis sive ad tempus, ubivis, quovis titulo, forma vel a qualibet auctoritate concessis et huic legi contrariis.

10°. Ideoque libros, sacra utensilia vel quaslibet alias res vendere aut emere, et associationes (uti vocant) cum diariis et ephemeridibus inire ope missarum, nefas esse atque omnino prohiberi. Hoc autem valere non modo si agatur de missis celebrandis, sed etiam si de celebratis, quoties id in usum et habitudinem cedat et in subsidium alicuius commercii vergat.

11°. Item sine nova et speciali S. Sedis venia (quae non dabitur nisi ante constiterit de vera necessitate, et cum debitis et opportunis cautelis), ex eleemosynis missarum, quas fideles celebrioribus Sanctuariis tradere solent, non licere quidquam detrahere ut ipsorum decori et ornamento consulatur.

12°. Qui autem statuta in praecedentibus articulis 8, 9, 10 et 11, quomodolibet aut quovis praetextu perfringere ausus fuerit, si ex ordine sacerdotali sit, suspensioni *a divinis* S. Sedi reservatae et ipso facto incurrendae obnoxius erit; si clericus sacerdotio nondum initiatus, suspensioni a susceptis ordinibus pariter subiacebit, et insuper inhabilis fiet ad superiores ordines assequendos; si vero laicus, excommunicatione latae sententiae Episcopo reservata obstringetur.

13°. Et cum in const. *Apostolicae Sedis* statutum sit excommunicationem latae sententiae Summo Pontifici reservatam subiacere 'colligentes eleemosynas maioris pretii, et ex iis lucrum captantes, faciendo eas celebrare in locis ubi missarum stipendia minoris pretii esse solent,' S. C. declarat, huic legi et sanctioni per praesens decretum nihil esse detractum.

14°. Attamen ne subita innovatio piis aliquibus causis et religiosis publicationibus noxia sit, indulgetur ut associationes ope missarum iam initae usque ad exitum anni a quo institutae sunt protrahantur. Itemque conceditur ut indulta reductions eleemosynae missarum, quae in beneficium Sanctuariorum aliarumve piarum causarum aliquibus concessa reperiuntur, usque ad currentis anni exitum vigeant.

15°. Denique quod spectat missas beneficiis adnexas, quoties aliis sacerdotibus celebrandae traduntur, Eminentissimi Patres declarant ac statuunt, eleemosynam non aliam esse debere quam synodalem loci in quo beneficia erecta sunt.

Pro missis vero in paroeciis aliisque ecclesiis fundatis eleemosynam, quae tribuitur, non aliam esse debere quam quae in fundatione vel in successivo reductionis indulto reperitur in perpetuum taxata, salvis tamen semper iuribus si quae sint, legitime recognitis sive pro fabricis ecclesiarum, sive pro earum rectoribus, iuxta declarationes a S. C. exhibitas in *Monacen.* 25 Iulii 1874 et *Hildesien.* 21 Ianuarii 1898.

In *Monacen.* enim 'attento quod eleemosynae missarum quorumdam legatorum pro parte locum tenerent congruae parochialis, Emi. Patres censuerunt licitum esse parocho, si per se satisfacere non possit, eas missas alteri sacerdoti committere, attributa eleemosyna ordinaria loci sive pro missis lectis sive cantatis.' Et in *Hildesien.* declaratum est, 'in legatis missarum aliqua in ecclesia fundatis retinere posse favore ministrorum et ecclesiarum inservientium eam redituum portionem quae in limine fundationis, vel alio legitimo modo, ipsis assignata fuit independenter ab opere speciali praestando pro legati adimplemento.'

Denique officii singulorum Ordinariorum erit curare ut in singulis ecclesiis, praeter tabellam onerum perpetuorum, et librum in quo manuales missae quae a fidelibus traduntur ex ordine cum sua eleemosyna recenseantur, insuper habeantur libri in quibus dictorum onerum et missarum satisfactio signetur.

Ipsorum pariter erit vigilare super plena et omnimoda executione praesentis decreti: quod Sanctitas Sua ab omnibus inviolabiliter servari iubet, contrariis quibuslibet minime obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Sacra Congregatione Concilii die 11 Maii 1904.

Card. VINCENTIUS, Ep. Praenestinus, *Praefectus.*

L. ✠ S.

C. DE LAI, *Secretarius.*

THE DOWRY OF A NUN WHO DIES IN TIME OF PREPARATION FOR SOLEMN VOWS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE EPISCOPORUM ET REGULARIUM.

DOS MONIALIS DURANTE TRIENNIO VOTORUM SIMPLICIUM DEFUNCTAE, MONASTERIO CEDERE DEBET.

Beatissimo Padre :

Il P. Procuratore Generale dei Carmelitani scalzi prostrato ai piedi della S. V. umilmente implora che si degni dichiarare :

Se venendo a morire una monaca, mentre ancora decorre il trienno die voti semplici, a norma del Decreto della S. Congregazione dei Vescovi e Regolari, in data 3 maggio 1902, la dote in tal caso debba rimanere al monastero, oppure restituirsi ai parenti od eredi, ab intestato, della stessa defunta. Che per la grazia ecc.

Sacra Congregatio Emorum. et Rmorum. S.R.E. Cardinalium negotiis et consultationibus Episcoporum et Regularium praeposita, omnibus mature perpensis, proposito dubio respondendum censuit prout respondet :

' *Affirmative* ad 1^{am} *partem, negative* ad 2^{am}.'

Romae 26 Martii 1904.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praefectus.*

L. ✠ S.

Ph. GIUSTINI. *Secret.*

THE EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS OF ANGOULEME

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM.

PIUS X GRATULATUR DE XV CONVENTU EUCHAR. INTERNATIONALI, COGENDO IN CIVITATE ENGOLISMENSI.

PIE X, PAPE.

Venérable Frère, salut et bénédiction apostolique.

Un Congrès eucharistique international, le premier depuis que la charge de l'Eglise universelle Nous a été imposée, doit bientôt se réunir, et Nous avons appris que votre ville épiscopale, la noble et religieuse cité d'Angouleme, a été choisie pour en être le siége.

Aussi, Nous plaît-il de vous révéler, à vous, zélé et pieux évêque, à tous les organisateurs du Congrès, du haut de cette chaire du pontificat suprême qui nous a été confiée, quels sentiments Nous embrasaient Nous-même lorsque, il y a quelques

années, Nous célébrions, à Venise, le XV^e^ Congrès italien, pour étendre le culte de l'auguste sacrement.

Certes, c'est un glorieux événement : Nous Nous réjouissons, de toute notre âme, des fruits abondants que Nous en attendons, et Nous prions ardemment Jésus caché dans le sacrement, qu'il daigne, au moment où vous vous assemblerez de partout et en grand nombre, pour étendre l'honneur qui lui est dû, inspirer lui-même vos pensées et féconder de la rosée de sa divine grâce les salutaires travaux de votre assemblée.

Et quand vous délibererez ensemble, ne perdez pas de vue que la piété de tous les peuples a les yeux fixés sur votre piété, et qu'on attend d'elle un exemple qui puisse être imité et un encouragement à grandir dans la vertu. Sachez bien encore que la grâce d'un Congrès eucharistique doit être estimée à tel prix que, touché et transformé par elle, on n'ait plus désormais, en aucune manière, à s'attirer le moindre reproche concernant cette dévotion, la principale du culte chrétien.

Pour ceux qui osent attaquer la Sainte Eucharistie, soyez un exemple, par vos sentiments vieux, l'accord de vos volontés, la charité de vos paroles et de vos œuvres, et attirez-en beaucoup à donner au sacrement la vénération qu'il mérite et à concevoir un grand amour pour cet aliment divin.

Si vous avez tout cela en vue, et si surtout, par une ardente prière, vous suppliez Dieu de vous assister, de l'autel où il se cache par amour sous les Saintes Espèces, les travaux de votre assemblée seront, sans nul doute, pleins de fruits.

Pour Nous, comme gage des célestes faveurs, Nos vous accordons affectueusement, à vous et à tous ceux qui assisteront au Congrès, la bénédiction apostolique.

Donné à Rome, près de Saint-Pierre, le 11 mai 1904, de Notre pontificat la première année.

PIE X, PAPE.

RIGHTS OF PRECEDENCE OF BISHOPS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM.

IAREN.

QUOAD PRAECEDENTIAM EPORUM INTER SE, ATTENDENDUM EST UNICE TEMPUS PROMOTIONIS ET CONFIRMATIONIS.

Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi ea quae sequuntur pro opportuna declaratione proposita fuerint ; nimirum :

Revmus. D. Dionysius Dougherty, Episcopus Neo-Segubiae in Insulis Philippinis, consecratus fuit Romae, in ecclesia Sanctorum Ioannis et Pauli, die 14 Iunii 1903; et caeremonia seu ritus incepit hora septima antemeridiana. Revmus. D. Fridericus Rooker, Episcopus Iarensis in eisdem Insulis, consecratus fuit eadem die 14 Iunii 1903, Romae in Sacello Pont. Collegii Americae Septentrionalis; ritus vero consecrationis incepit hora octava antemeridiana. Ambo publicati fuerunt in eodem Consistorio, die 22 Iunii 1903; sed nomen Revmi. Rooker fuit proclamatum prius.

Quaeritur: Quisnam ex hisce duobus praelatis alteri praecedere debet?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, adrelationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisita sententia Commissionis Liturgicae, respondendum censuit: 'Praecedat ille qui prius in Consistorio propositus et confirmatus fuit, iuxta decreta n. 270 *Segobricen*, 21 Martii 1609, et n. 1606 *Terulen.* 20 Novembris 1677.'

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 15 Aprilis 1904.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praefectus.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secretarius.*

ELEVATION OF CERTAIN FEASTS OF THE FRANCISCAN ORDER

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

ORDINIS MINORUM.

FESTA S. BENVENUTI ET S. AGNETIS ELEVANTUR AD RITUM DUPL. II CLASSIS PRO UNIVERSO FRATRUM MIN. ORDINE.

Reverendissimus Pater Frater Bonaventura Marrani, Procurator Generalis Ordinis Minorum, nomine et auctoritate supremi Moderatoris ac Definitorum Generalium ipsiusmet Ordinis, Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum Pium Papam X, supplicibus votis rogavit, ut Festa Sancti Benvenuti Auximani Episcopi Confessoris I. Ordinis, et Sanctae Agnetis Assisiensis Virginis II. Ordinis, hucusque ritu Duplici maiori celebrata, ad Duplex secundae classis elevare dignaretur: quo ritu gaudent caetera Festa Sanctorum Coelitum I. et II. Ordinis.

Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio, vigore facultatem sibi specialiter ab eodem Sanctissimo Domino Nostro tributarum,

petitam ritus elevationem benigne indulsit; servatis Subricis. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Die 12 Martii 1904.

S. Card. CRETONI, *S. C. Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

LEO XIII. DELEGATES THE PATRIARCH OF BABYLON TO RECEIVE NESTORIANS

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM.

LEO XIII DELEGAT PATRIARCHAM BABYLONENSEM CHALDAEORUM AD RECIPIENDOS NESTORIANOS IN ECCLESIAE CATHOLICAE GREMIUM.

VENERABILI FRATRI IOSEPHO EMMANUELI, PATRIARCHAE BABYLONENSI CHALDAEORUM.

LEO PP. XIII.

Venerabilis Frater, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Ad sinum complexumque Ecclesiae matris, omni charitatis industria, revocare quotquot ab ipsa misere aberraverint, Apostolici muneris officium est magnum, si quod aliud, et sanctissimum. Huic quidem officio ut, quoad posset, satis per Nos fieret, nihil videmur ad hunc diem fecisse reliqui; idque cum in aliis catholicae unitatis expertibus, tum in ea gente, quam iam diu ab Ecclesia haeresis Nestoriana distraxit. Nunc vero permagnas agimus divinae benignitati gratias, quod positas a Nobis in eius gentis salute curas uberrime adiuverit. Siquidem, opera praesertim diligentiaque sodalium Dominicanorum, non modo factum est, ut homines ex illis bene multi, fidei veritate comperta, catholicam professionem inierint; sed accipimus etiam a duobus Episcopis nonnullisque primariis viris, ipsorum manu subscriptam, catholicae fidei formulam, suppliciter enixeque rogantibus, ut se vellemus ad veram Ecclesiam redeuntes recipere. Nos enimvero, pro paterno in ipsos animo, quanta cum voluntate postulata eiusmodi precesque complexi simus, dicere vix attinet.—Itaque te, Venerabilis Frater, cuius pastorale studium prudentiamque habemus probe cognitam, quique in sacris peragendis eodem, quo ipsi utuntur, uteris chaldaico ritu, Nostrum et huius Apostolicae Sedis Delegatum constituimus ac renuntiamus, ad ipsius Sanctae Sedis nutum; tibique necessarias et opportunas facultates, quas etiam sub-

delegare poteris, tribuimus ut servatis de iure servandis, eos in Ecclesiae catholicae gremium recipere, et supra memoratos Episcopos aliosque ecclesiasticos viros a quacumque etiam irregularitate dispensando relevare possis.

Quoniam autem, ut diximus, de Nestorianorum ad Ecclesiam reditu optime adhuc sodales Dominiciani meruerunt, minime dubitamus futurum, quod valde cupimus, ut hac ipsa in re et illi se tibi adiutores bonos de caetero impertiant, et ipse eorum operam auxiliumque libenter adhibeas. Ita coniunctis utrimque studiis communia optata certius evenient et felicius

Nos obstantibus Constitutionibus et sanctionibus Apostolicis, aliisque, speciali licet atque individua mentione ac derogatione dignis, in contrarium facientibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub anulo Piscatoris die XXXI Iulii MDCCCCII, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo quinto.

LEO PP. XIII.

LEO XIII. CONGRATULATES THE BISHOPS OF THE PROVINCE OF BOLOGNA

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM.

LEO XIII GRATULATUR EPIS AEMILIAE DE OBSEQUIIS AC DE INDUSTRIA AD PROPAGANDA DOCUMENTA ENCYCLICAE CIRCA SS. EUCHARISTIAM.

EPISTOLA DILECTO FILIO NOSTRO DOMINICO TIT. SANCTI HONUPHRII IN IANICULO, S.R.E. PRESBYTERO CARDINALI SVAMPA, ARCHIEPISCOPO BONONIENSI, CAETERISQUE VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS EPISCOPIS AEMILIAE REGIONIS.

LEO PP. XIII.

Dilecte fili Noster et Venerabiles Fratres, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Mandata atque expressa communibus litteris obsequia cum praecipua quandam animi voluptate ab Episcopis accipere consuevimus inprovinciae conventus congregatis ; studiosae enim ac sollertis operae, in quam eos incumbere novimus, iucundior concludi ac salubrior exitus non potest quam si ad moderatorem ecclesiae universae consilia referantur et mentes. Hac vero Iubilaei Nostri Pontificalis celebritate multo inde maiorem colligere Nobis iucunditatem videmur ; nam episcopos fratres Nostros id velle per haec obsequia censemus ut ad augendam animo

Nostro laetitiam publice fateantur coniunctionem suam summam esse Nobiscum. Quam quidem rem placuit vobis perspicue declarare hoc maxime tempore, quum datas a Nobis de sanctissima Eucharistia litteras encyclicas suscepistis maiorem in modum venerabundi, eiusque propagandis documentis studium industriamque vestram polliciti ardenter estis. Id ipsum sane spe Nostra atque expectatione continebatur : nec maior in Nobis voluntas inhaeret quam ut fundatur late doctrinae Apostolicae semina. Quod is per vos omnes hoc fauste contingat, fructum hunc esse arbitrabimur haud modicum optatorum Nostrorum. Auspicem divinarum gratiarum benevolentiaeque Nostrae testem Apostolicam benedictionem vobis omnibus gregibusque vestris peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XVII Iunii MDCCCCII, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo quinto.

LEO PP. XIII.

INDULGENCE 'IN ARTICULO MORTIS'

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM.

INDULG. PLEN. IN ARTICULO MORTIS LUCRANDA CONCEDITUR IIS QUI SEQUENTEM ACTUM ADHUC IN VITA EMITTUNT.

URBIS ET ORBIS.

Christifideles iam prope morituros pia Mater Ecclesia nunquam praetermisit opportunis pro rei necessitate solari subsidiis. Saluberrimis autem hisce adiumentis recens aliud iamnunc accenseri potest. Nam plerique e clero iique potissimum, qui curae animarum incumbunt, ut in dies spirituali hominum bono in supremo vitae discrimine provideatur, Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Pp. X preces admoverunt, quo Christifidelibus sequentem actum adhuc in vita emittentibus : ' Domine Deus meus, iam nunc quodcumque mortis genus prout Tibi placuerit, cum omnibus suis angoribus, poenis ac doloribus de manu tua aequo ac libenti animo suscipio,' plenariam indulgentiam in articulo mortis consequendam elargiri dignaretur. Has vero preces, relatas in Audientia habita die 9 Martii 1904 ab infrascripto Cardinali Praefecto S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, Eadem Sanctitas Sua peramanter excipiens,benigne concessit, ut omnes Christifideles, qui, die ab eisdem eligendo, sacramentali confessione rite expiat, sacraque Synaxi refecti, cum vero charitatis in Deum affectui

praedictum actum ediderint, plenariam indulgentiam in ipso mortis articulo lucrari valeant. Praesenti in perpetuum valituro. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. C., die 9 Martii 1904.
L. ✠ S.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Praef.*
Pro Secretario, IOS. M. Cancus. COSELLI, *Suvtus.*

LEO XIII. AND THE ORIENTAL CHURCHES

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM.

LEO XIII OPTAT UT ORIENTALES POPULI AD OVILE CHRISTI DIVERSO EX ITINERE REVERTANTUR.

EPISTOLA VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS ELIAE PETRO PATRIARCHAE ANTIOCHIENSIUM MARONITARUM CAETERISQUE ARCHIEPISCOPIS MARONITIS, BECORKIUM.

LEO PP. XIII.

Venerabiles Fratres, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Coniunctionem vestram cum Apostolica Sede, quamque maxime firmam, gratumque de collatis beneficiis animum demonstrastis binis in litteris splendide. Affert sane laetitiam iucundissimam praeclarae Maronitarum gentis conspectus, per haec Iubilaei Nostri Pontificalis sollemnia affectae erga Nos; supra quam dici potest egregie. Pateant vobis, pateant fidelibus quoque vestris memoris gratiae Nostrae argumenta; enixis enim precibus ac votis studuistis vos et contendistis voluptatem praesentis celebritatis augere Nobis, senectutemque Nostram, per Deum benevolum ac facilem tantopere prorogatam, comparato gaudio recreare. Hisce cum sensibus illam volumus sociatam significationem spei, quae haeret Nobis in animo iampridem defixa. Orientales populos dicimus, quorum expectatione universorum vehementer tenemur, si tandem velint ad amplexus Nostros, ut filii, confluere, atque ad ovile Christi diverso ex itinere reverti. Pergite igitur exorare benignissimum Deum; dabit profecto divinum Numen et adprecantibus vobis et hortantibus Nobis uberrimam gratiarum laetitiarumque segetem. Horum autem donorum caelestium auspicem, benevolentiaeque Nostrae testem, Apostolicam benedictionem vobis omnibus vestrisque fidelibus peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XVI Iulii MDCCCCII, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo quinto.

LEO PP. XIII.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Doctrina Russorum de statu Justitiae Originalis. Dr. G. Matulewicz. Paris: Castleman. 1904.

This learned dissertation on a comparatively unknown subject will be of great use to theologians. It was written in order to qualify for the D.D. degree in the University of Fribourg. The author shows a thorough knowledge of the Orthodox Confessions, and also of the various works of the theological school that has been in existence since about 1840. We might feel surprised at his confining himself to this modern period, but he explains that he does so for the good reason that earlier works do not represent the opinions held in the Russian Church at present. Such changes are inevitable in a heretical body. The theological treatises of the seventeenth century are in disfavour now, partly because they are written according to the scholastic method, and partly because they manifest 'a tendency towards several Latin errors;' those of the eighteenth and early nineteenth are equally unpopular, because they are infected partly with Protestantism and partly with Romanism!

The so-called Orthodox Church is, as might be anticipated, utterly opposed to the very notion of any development of doctrine. Its theologians obstinately maintain that one of the many fatal results of this erroneous principle is our Catholic doctrine regarding original justice and original sin. This, they say, was unheard of in the early Church, it began about the fifth century was developed by the scholastics, and confirmed by the Council of Trent, till at length it reached its climax in the definition of the Immaculate Conception. The origin of this departure from primitive purity of belief may, however, be more fully described.

In the fifth century two mutually opposed systems sprang up; that of Pelagius and that of Augustine. The first was negative, the second positive. Pelagius, by denying that sin meant more than the loss of grace, put aside all difference between Adam in the state of original justice and an infant born after his fall, and restricted the consequences of Adam's sin to bad example. Augustine, on the contrary, asserted that Adam's

sin blotted out the light of reason, deprived man of free will, and left him only the liability to transgress. The controversies, however, that arose in the West on the subject after Augustine's death, owing to the innate perversity of 'development of doctrine,' had two results; the teaching of Augustine as regards the state of fallen nature was utterly changed, while as regards the state of innocence it was distorted. Anselm of Canterbury, the founder of scholasticism, removed every remnant and trace of Augustine's teaching on the subject of original sin, and laid the foundations of the doctrine which is accepted by the Latins down to the present day—which, be it known, is Pelagianism. Anselm was followed by Scotus and other scholastics. The Council of Trent continued the ill-omened work, and the last stone of the Latin edifice of error was laid by Pius IX. in 1854!

It will be understood from these few remarks that the Holy Synod and its theologians make St. Augustine, whom they cordially abhor and detest, in different ways the 'fons et origo' of both 'Lutheran and Catholic errors.' They, of course, misunderstand him, but their failure to apprehend, or at any rate to represent, his meaning, shows what they themselves hold. Thus the present day notions of the Orthodox Greeks may be gathered not only from their symbolic books, but also from those objections to the Catholic doctrine which are set forth in their standard theological works.

When Dr. Matulewicz reaches the positive part of his dissertation, his task is easier. But unless long quotations were given, it would be difficult to convey an adequate idea of the extent of his researches. If a paradox be allowed, the very notion of the supernatural is absent from Russian theology. The phenomenal resemblance that exists between it and the system of Baius is pointed out by the author in what is, perhaps, one of the most valuable chapters of his brochure. Both agree in holding that the beatific vision is the natural end of man that to gain this happiness man needs only his own faculties, that the state of pure nature is impossible, that God could not have created man such as he is at present, etc. But we may not pursue the subject further, so to conclude let us say that this little treatise is indispensable to all those who would acquire an accurate idea of one of the many fundamental differences that at the present day separate East and West.

P. J. G.

MEMOIR OF THE LIFE OF SISTER MARY GENEVIEVE BEALE: Foundress of the Congregation of St. Louis Nuns in Ireland. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers, & Walker.

THE Convent of St. Louis, Monaghan, is already well known in the educational world. The work that it has done in the past, and is still doing, speaks for itself, especially when we remember that in Monaghan, unlike so many other similar institutions, the entire training of the pupils is performed by members of the community. Though founded little over forty years, it has already reached the foremost place among the educational establishments of this country, and to its credit, it should be remembered, that when others held aloof in opposition or in fear, Monaghan Convent threw itself unreservedly into the Irish Ireland movement, and has given a lead that must be fonowed. No wonder then that to-day the Convent of St. Louis attracts to itself boarders, not only from the Diocese of Clogher and the North, but also from the most extreme corners of the South and West, while even from England, Scotland, America, and distant Australia not a few representatives may be found. The present volume deals with the life and conversion of Sister Genevieve Beale, the foundress of the St. Louis Order in Ireland—how having become a Catholic she became a novice at Juilly with the Sisters of St. Louis, then recently founded by the Abbé Bautain —returned to Ireland and established the Convent in Monaghan, at the invitation of Dr. M'Nally, then Bishop of Clogher, in 1859. The early days in Mill Street were days of poverty and want, but with the assistance of kind friends, especially Bianconi and Lady Rossmore, the present site was secured and a boarding school opened. The Order of St. Louis has gone on prospering since then. Branches have been founded in Ramsgrange, Middleton, Kiltimagh, Clones, and Bundoran, but the one which bids fair to rival the northern house in its educational work and its attractions is the beautifully situated Convent of St. Louis, Carrickmacross. The gifted authoress has done her work well, telling her story simply and directly whilst publishing the documents on which she relies. We wish the work the success which it deserves, and we trust that it marks yet another stage in the progress of the Order of St. Louis.

J. MACC.

BEATI ALBERTI MAGNI COMMENTARIUS IN JOB. Herder. 1904.

To many people Albert the Great is better known as a philosopher than as a commentator of Scripture. Yet he wrote extensively on the Gospels, and also on several books of the Old Testament. One of the most valuable among the latter works is his exposition of the Book of Job. It is a patristic and moral commentary, in the terse scholastic style of the thirteenth century. Preachers may derive considerable benefit from its explanation of the mysterious doings and sayings of 'the man that lived in the land of Hus.' The commentary itself appears to have been written at Cologne in 1274, about the time when Blessed Albert's great disciple, St. Thomas of Aquin, died.

For the present edition five MSS. (respectively from Erlangen, Trier, Basel, Munich, Florence, and of various dates, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century) have been used. Specimen pages of all are given in an Appendix, where the reader will find also several very useful indices.

R. W.

WOMAN. By the Rev. N. Walsh, S.J. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, Ltd. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Bros. Price 2s.

'To consider what is the proper and special mission of woman in this world' is the purpose of Father Walsh's latest (we believe it is his latest) book. He thinks that woman's talents are domestic, those that are naturally intended to beautify home life. If this be so, then the question of the education of women, ordinarily speaking, resolves itself into this: What education best fits a woman to be the supreme influence for good in her home, 'to be the ornament of her house'? Before all things else a woman 'should be solidly virtuous and religious.' Hers should be a rational religious spirit, however, a happy mean between the spirit of the world and the spirit of the cloister. In the matter of secular education 'the first place should be given to the study of her own language, so that she may speak and write it well, and also acquire a fair knowledge of its literature and of its classical writers' (*en passant*, we do not quite grasp this distinction). 'This will be,' continues the author, 'not only a source of

improvement and pleasure to herself, but will enable her to canvass books, to criticise authors, to take part in conversation with husband, father, son, or brother who takes an interest in and likes to discuss such topics.' Surely a more convincing motive might have been given for the study of literature. The second place may be given, according to Father Walsh, 'to the study of modern languages, particularly French and German.' Here, again, his reasons are unconvincing. 'Young men have not, as a rule, the time, the opportunities, perhaps the talent, for acquiring this branch of education as girls have. A good knowledge of French will make them a great help, perhaps a necessity, to the other members of the family when travelling, as this delightful and educating recreation has become, owing to the railway and other causes, a matter of course, and is within the reach of all well-to-do people.'

'The third place should be given to what are commonly called "accomplishments," and first of these to music.' But our author would not insist very strongly on this department of education. Now, since Father Walsh, seemingly, regards all things from the view-point of utility, we may naturally urge that a tolerable knowledge of music would be a much more useful accomplishment in the mistress of a house or in her daughters than a good knowledge of French, even if we take Father Walsh's word for it that travelling 'is a matter of course,' and at the same time believe that girls in this country actually learn what would pass for French, *in France.*

Father Walsh next deals with 'Study of a lower kind,' viz., housekeeping, more satisfactorily, it must be said, than with any hitherto treated. The chapter on 'Studies—Education,' end with a short lecture on sweetness and unselfishness. These qualities are, probably, of greater importance than all the other branches of a woman's education, and a whole chapter might, with profit, have been devoted to the subject of Character Training. The chapter on Higher Studies for Women is supremely disappointing. Father Walsh holds very definite views, for which he advances no argument whatever.

The very important subject of Marriage is dismissed in three short pages. We know not in what clime Father Walsh expects to find his readers; though the book is published in Dublin, there is no indication in its pages that it is intended for the direction of *Irish* life. If Father Walsh had kept Ireland just a

little in his mind's eye, many questions under this heading would have confronted him, answers to which would be very welcome.

Candidly, the book cannot be regarded as any considerable contribution to the literature of the social question in Ireland or elsewhere. In this latter age the great problems of life are too complex to be dismissed in a couple of pages. Father Walsh's work enshrines many old-world maxims on which reflection can hardly be fruitless. It is decidedly edifying; but it contains few striking thoughts, and does not appreciably advance the boundaries of our knowledge. Those who have read Father Walsh's previous works are, we fear, doomed to disappointment here. The simplicity of style which gave such a charm to *The Saved and Lost* and *Cardinal Franzelin* degenerates frequently to commonplace and platitude in this work. With all its faults, however, we believe its perusal will not be profitless.

T. O'K.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN IRELAND[1]

I

WHATEVER may have been the success obtained by individuals in the past, I think the day has dawned when a person uneducated in, at least, the rudiments of knowledge, must take a very inferior rank in human classification. The country whose inhabitants are not now fairly well educated must rank in the world in a very backward position, indeed. Hence, real, practical philanthropy and patriotism would impel efforts and zeal in the matter of education ; and the greater the advantages it confers, the higher and the more noble are the services employed in its diffusion. The education which is a requirement for worldly, material progress equips a mind which is immortal with only mortal qualities ; but the advantages which are to be permanent and the imparting of which are worthy of the most heroic sacrifices, can only be procured by an education which teaches morals meritorious of everlasting reward, and which points out the road to heaven. Hence, true love of mankind employs itself in religious education which is, in truth, philanthropy and patriotism supernaturalized. To educate in useful secular and in true religious knowledge is the exalted vocation of the schoolmaster and the priest. To foster such

[1] Written in part for the Australian Catholic Congress, Oct. 1904.

education is every man's duty, and to provide it abundantly is unquestionably the duty of every Christian State. This is particularly so for the wants of the youth of this country, the people of which properly desire denominational education for their children. As these are educated so will the future population of the country be. Ireland has had a unique history and experience in educational matters. A great change in them is very much talked about at present: and, therefore, a 'paper' on the merits of primary education and its history in this country, and on some of the religious safeguards that should surround it in the future, may not be without interest for the readers of the I. E. RECORD.

II

In the beginning I wish to state that I regard education not merely as the imparting of useful knowledge of some kind or another; but as a communication of such information to man as civilization regards as worth having, and as a training, besides, from whatsoever source it may come, by which we would be enabled to work out the whole process of social, intellectual, and moral culture.

Primary education I understand to be the communication of the fundamentals of knowledge to the human mind, and the application of them to the development of our natural and spiritual gifts. These beginnings of education are generally communicated to man when he is passing through the years of infancy and youth; and the education then imparted and acquired is commonly regarded, I think, as primary.

If education in these years be neglected, farewell, as a general rule, to all hopes of our becoming learned. It is in our juvenile years that education can be most easily begun, and have its foundations—without which a fabric of learning cannot be constructed—most securely laid. Not merely is a human being more docile in youth, but the human mind is then more capable of receiving such education as is suitable for it. Even deportment, amiability, grace, appearance, and movement are then more

easily acquired, as is also a knowledge of languages and peoples. The irksomeness of learning will frequently be strongly felt in youth, but the discipline requisite for overcoming it is then more easily submitted to. The occupations of the world do not then much interfere with our persistent efforts to overcome the preliminary difficulties of learning. The powers of the mind when we are young are whetted with a curiosity that makes learning even attractive, if it be only judiciously imparted. Hence, educationalists are constantly devising schemes and plans for the encouragement and guidance of this curiosity ; and when they are fairly successful, a love for knowledge that makes learning a pleasure, is acquired. Knowledge and habits thus acquired, produce lasting effects ; and if they be built upon truth and propriety, the fabric is beautiful and indestructible.

In the course of education [writes Dr. Murray [1]] there goes on over and above the accumulation of knowledge a certain moulding and fashioning of the mind and heart ; and this, too, very often of the most rapid, decided, and enduring character. New ideas and new tendencies are imparted, and those that exist already are corrected and strengthened. Habits of thought and feeling that are planted in this season of life and have taken to the soil, will stand many years' buffeting afterwards, before they are torn up, if they are ever torn up, by the roots.

III

Education is not merely the cultivation of human talents for passing advantages and applause, but it is the nurturing in the soul of man of his noblest faculties for the realization of his loftiest aspirations and ambitions. These faculties require early training even more than the gifts of speech and the tastes for music and penmanship. Hence, it is all important that education, particularly primary education, be religious ; and whosoever values his religion as worth having and practising, will struggle to have it taught, according to his appreciation of it, to those

[1] *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 186.

whom he loves, or who are under his care. Atheists discard religious education. Persons of no fixed belief are so bewildered about their opinions that they do not consider it worth while to have their sons and daughters trained in any denominational way of thinking. But Catholics who believe, with the certainty of divine faith, in a God deserving of being adored, obeyed and loved,—in a soul that will be everlastingly and immeasurably happy or miserable according as it lives in conformity with its faith or not,—in a Church that guides them infallibly to heaven, and draws them back securely if they have erred or sinned by travelling along the wrong road—Catholics who hope in a God of mercy to forgive and reward (provided the means laid down are taken to obtain that merciful dispensation of divine bounty)—they value their religion beyond all human price and esteem no sacrifices too great for their enjoyment of it, and for the unsullied transmission of it to their posterity. With them, next to the blessings of Redemption, are the blessings of a sound, enlightened, Catholic education. Without at least a sufficiency of the latter, the former are like the most palatable fruits which are on trees beyond our reach, or like the most valuable quartz of gold under the feet of the traveller in search of wealth and who is unconscious of their proximity.

Secular education furnishes the mind with knowledge for successful mechanical, commercial and professional occupations—and decks out man as an agreeable, lovable, sympathetic and civilizing influence in every-day pursuits and as an accomplished unit in social life. Success in these matters is not impeded, but is vastly assisted, by Catholic education ; and, indeed, it is hardly attainable, unless the human character be moulded on religious principles and the rebelling passions of man restrained by religious aids and influences. But that success is at best only transient ; and those who would look for the more enduring happiness and long for fruits of everlasting enjoyment, must not neglect the sowing of religious convictions and the training of religious aspirations in the human mind while it is yet a soil free from weeds and tares.

'My dear child,' said a saintly queen to her darling son entering upon the period of life when moral responsibility commences, 'I love you with all a mother's love and willingly would I lay down my life for your comfort and welfare; but much though I desire to see you live and reign on your father's throne, I would rather see you dead at my feet this moment than have you to live and commit even one mortal sin.'

Sentiments like these are common enough amongst the fathers and mothers of Ireland, and ought to be the sentiments of parents all the world over. Death rather than damnation should be the earnest wish and prayer of every parent who is anxions to meet his children in heaven. Had there been no Blanche of Castile, France would never have had a St. Louis; and had there been no infusion of Catholic teaching in primary education in Ireland since education came to be catered for by the State, our country would not have retained the True Faith.

IV

Experience abundantly proves that early religious training is, as a general rule, a requirement for religious growth and development. The want of correct knowledge of fundamentals amongst many outside the Catholic Church calling themselves Christians, and the prevalence of unmeaning cant and blasphemy amongst sects at variance with themselves and others on vital questions of faith and morals, show the thoughtful the sad mistake of early religious neglect. The absence of that faith which is the root of all virtue and which the Catholic Church plants in our souls in our earliest years, accounts for the absence of supernatural merit in the lives of those who do not live according to faith, and the deprivation of supernatural glory in the case of those who have died without its consolations.

V

The Catholic Church ever eager for the eternal welfare of the human race, while not neglecting but even promoting our temporal welfare, would, from our earliest years, endow

our minds with those accomplishments on which all probity depends ; and it traces out for us the lines on which human integrity is to proceed. It would early sow the seeds from which faith and good works, meriting everlasting life, would spring forth ; it would keep out the weeds and eradicate the cockle that would stifle virtue's growth ; and it would train in Christian honour and wisdom the virtuous aspirations of mankind. This training must be done—to be done securely—in infancy, and jealously guarded even in manhood and on to old age. The first truths of religion must be taught when the infant lips begin to babble. The holy names of Jesus and Mary must be caught up with the earliest efforts of juvenile imitation ; and the simple, sublime, necessary truths of religion, must be imparted with the rudimentary learning of the primers of secular knowledge. Children will not get knowledge of Christian Doctrine by inspiration as they get divine faith by infusion at their baptism ; and, even though they are not yet distracted by the clamours of controversy or the bewilderments of unbelief, the knowledge of religious truths must come to them by teaching as the objects of their faith can hardly be known in any other way. 'How shall they believe Him of whom they have not heard ? And how shall they hear without a preacher ? ' Or, as we may render it here—without a teacher ?

VI

Teaching, then, and in early years, is necessary for a knowledge of the truths of religion and of the virtues and obligations of a Christian life. This, to be efficient, must be done at school. For the masses of mankind domestic, religious teaching must be regarded as ineffective, if not impossible. Most persons are unfit to teach and cannot afford to have tutors or governesses. The world recognises the advantages—the necessity—of public schools, wherein, besides the advantages of trained, experienced, learned teachers imparting their knowledge to numbers of pupils simultaneously on varieties of subjects, rivalry stimulates the pupils in a wholesome contest for knowledge.

Acquaintanceships are formed. Surveillance should be observed and checks must be administered for every manifestation of vice. Some training must be done at home and much religious learning may be acquired in church and chapel; but at least a knowledge of the catechism, of prayers, and Bible history, must be imparted, the suppression of vice must be attended to, and a love of virtue and goodness must be nurtured in those halls of learning wherein the little ones are to spend a considerable portion of their juvenile careers. For the knowledge of the truths of faith and of the obligations of the moral code, for protection from the insertion of corrupting atoms into the youthful constitution, and for the development and training of the seeds of faith and virtue, religious education must not be neglected in the schools, but must be jealously provided and attended to.

VII

It is all-important, therefore, that primary education be religious; and this the Bishops and priests of Ireland—the faithful guardians of the faith and morals of the Irish people—have ever struggled for; and, next to preaching the Word of God and ministering to the dying, have ever been most anxious about. Success in it, however, was no easy task.

Though Ireland was the academy of the civilized world in times passed, and though the arts and sciences and Christian virtue flourished in the country as long as outsiders kept aloof, the Danish and English invasions and the so-called Protestant Reformation so persecuted it that, up to a recent period, education, in any general way, was a work of impossibility, and even for any individual Catholics who would not part with their faith, a matter of extreme difficulty. There was no love of learning amongst the invaders or settlers, or reformers. There was no Christian code worthy of the name in vogue amongst them. Robbery, murder, confiscation, etc., were the morals of the day, and a price was put on the Catholic schoolmaster's

head as well as upon that of the faithful priest or patriot felon.

VIII

But did not the invaders and their governments do much for the education of the people? They did something, no doubt; but it was all aimed avowedly at denationalizing the inhabitants and proselytising them; and —the better to effect this two-fold purpose—at depriving them of their Celtic language and Saxonizing them. A few quotations from authentic sources will make this historically clear. I give them from 'Special Parliamentary Reports on Educational Subjects,' presented in 1897.

'National education began in 1537 when the Irish Parliament' (of course under British control) 'established parochial schools enacting that the English tongue,[1] habit and order be henceforth used by all men.'

'In 1570 the Act of the Twelfth of Elizabeth established Diocesan Protestant Schools in a country entirely Catholic.'

In 1608 the Royal Free Schools of a similar character were founded, and in 1657 or 1669 the Erasmus Smith Schools, which numbered a few years ago 144, were established for the like purpose.

In 1672, the Blue Coat Hospital Schools—exclusively Protestant—come into existence with large endowments; and in 1732, grants were provided by Parliament for the use of Protestant schoolmasters to teach the 'English tongue;' and in 1733, the Protestant Charter Schools were established, Acts of Parliament having been passed making it treason to seek education abroad, and forbidding Catholic education at home. The Royal Charter declared that:

> In many parts of our said kingdom (of Ireland) there are great tracts of mountainy and coarse lands . . . almost entirely inhabited by Papists and that in most parts of the same . . . the Papists far exceed the Protestants of all denominations in number: that the generality of the popish natives appear to

[1] Henry VIII. had only just broken with Rome, and the new religion had hardly been started.

have very little sense or knowledge of religion but what they implicitly take from their clergy . . . so that if some effectual method be not made use of to instruct these great numbers of people in the principles of true religion and loyalty there is little prospect but that superstition, idolatry, and disaffection to Us and Our royal Posterity will, from generation to generation, be propagated amongst them. That amongst the ways proper to be taken for converting and civilizing of the said deluded persons and bringing them . . . to be good Christians and faithful subjects, one of the most necessary . . . has always been thought to be establishing a sufficient number of *English Protestant Schools wherein the children of the Irish natives may be instructed in the English tongue and the fundamental principles of true religion.*

In 1806, the London Hibernian Society for Scriptural Education in Schools was established, and in 1811 the 'Kildare Place Society' was founded for the furtherance of primary education in Ireland, and on the principles of veritable proselytism. Funds for the support of these various schemes from properties stolen from the Irish Catholics were supplied from public and private sources; but all without any notable effect as far as the masses of the people were concerned. They, preferring their religion to that of the invaders, their souls to all earthly considerations, despised the means of education thus offered, and contented themselves with such education as they could procure otherwise.

IX

Such, then, was the only education offered to the people of Ireland by the British Government up to the thirties in the last century—up to the period of youth for many still living. It was a gilt pill that contained a deadly poison for the souls of our countrymen. It contained ingredients capable of developing the natural faculties and of promoting the temporal advantages and pleasures of man; but it could not be partaken of without the poison that was skilfully blended in it and coaxingly presented to a suffering and afflicted people. Let those who accuse us of ignorance, discontent, and other national drawbacks, but examine the

causes and they will find them in the efforts made to denationalize and pervert us ; and let it be borne in mind that these efforts were paid for and subsidized out of the hard earnings of the Irish Catholic people. The injury done us is crowned with intolerable insolence and insult when we are taunted with our drawbacks by those degenerates and their posterity who batten on luxuries purchased by national and religious apostacy.

X

Meanwhile education on Catholic lines was carried on in every cessation of persecution, and from the dawn of religious toleration, by private efforts and by various teaching institutes conducted by religious. The Venerable Oliver Plunkett, whom Ireland regards as the Martyr Primate of Armagh—and whom we hope and pray to have soon on our altars as a canonized saint—established an important Catholic school in this town of Drogheda in which I now write, even at a period of short intervals of persecutions of great fury. Other holy men acted similarly elsewhere. The hedge-schoolmaster kept planting the seeds of learning, while the priests at the turf fires in the humble cabins taught the rudiments of classics and laid the foundations for that theological training that afterwards refilled the sanctuaries and rehabilitated the English-speaking portion of the Catholic Church. A poet has touchingly described the situation :—

> Still crouching 'neath the shelt'ring hedge or stretched on mountain fern,
> The teacher and his pupils met feloniously to learn.

At the dawn of the nineteenth century, Catholic seminaries began to arise in the country, and in 1802 the great Institute of the Irish Christian Brothers was founded in Waterford by that eminent Catholic philantrophist, Edmund Rice. Its object is ' the education of male children, especially the poor, according to the principles and teachings of the Catholic Church.' It quickly established and spread itself extensively over Ireland and other lands, and to-day

is doing mighty work for Catholic education, even in Rome itself. Besides the blessings in religious and secular knowledge it is now diffusing from some seventy establishments in Ireland, its very existence is a menace to those who would to-day, if they could, remove all National Schools from clerical control and thoroughly secularize them. Teaching institutes for girls and infant boys also arose in Ireland at the dawn of religious toleration, such as those conducted by the Ursuline Nuns, the Poor Clares, the Nuns of the Order of St. Dominic, the Sisters of Our Lady of Loreto, of Charity, and of Mercy, and the Presentation Sisters. For infant and bigger boys there also arose, besides those of the Christian Brothers, the Schools of the Brothers of St. Patrick, established in 1808, of the Presentation Brothers and of some others. Nevertheless the supply of schools was extremely scanty, and less than one hundred years ago, as Dr. Higgins, Bishop of Rockhampton, tells us,

> The provisions for the education of the poor generally prevailing throughout the country were, of a very unsatisfactory character. The children were gathered into hovels, sometimes into cattle sheds; the teachers were untrained, and somewhat nomadic in habits, moving from place to place and accepting the hospitality of the people as remuneration for their services, while the only schools worthy of the name were those which were originally established and endowed for the education of the poor, without religious distinction, but which had become, through the manipulation of the Protestant majority of the Boards of Management, well-devised systems of proselytism.[1]

XI

This state of affairs was most unsatisfactory and could not be allowed to continue in any country supposed to be ruled by civilized government. Accordingly, we find a Royal Commission appointed in 1806 to investigate the causes of British blundering and to suggest a remedy. The Commissioners sat for six years, issued fourteen reports on the schools of royal and private foundations, on the

[1] *The Catholic Church in Ireland in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 18.

Charter Schools, Foundling Hospital Schools, and on the diocesan and parochial schools ; and then comes forth the grand admission, containing an acknowledgment of the failure of British power and British gold to destroy Catholic education in Ireland and to alter the faith of the Irish people. The unanimous finding of the Royal Commission in 1812 was that

> No plan of education, however wisely and unexceptionally contrived in other respects, can be carried into effectual operation in Ireland, unless it be explicitly avowed and clearly understood as its leading principle that no attempt shall be made to influence or disturb the peculiar religious tenets of any sect or denomination of Christians.[1]

Behold, here, an avowed surrender ! What became of the threats and stripes, and hangings, and quarterings, and confiscations of Elizabeth and the Stuarts ; of the Parliamentary enactments and Royal Charters of the Williams and the Georges, and of the puny efforts of London Societies and British Bible-readers and Soupers to set up the Protestant religion in faithful Catholic Ireland ?

XII

Though the sponge was thus thrown up and an obvious duty acknowledged as of urgent moment, it took half a generation, or at least four generations of children, from the issuing of that report until even an attempt was made to remedy the crying injustice. In 1831, however, Mr. Stanley, Chief Secretary for Ireland, wrote a letter to the then Duke of Leinster, introducing the system of National Education which exists in the country to-day. It aimed at establishing a system of ' combined literary and separate religious instruction,' and it was proclaimed that all persuasions should be equitably represented on the governing Board. Yet, that Board was made consist of three members of the then Established Church, two Roman Catholics, one Presbyterian, and one Unitarian—in other words, out of seven only two were Catholics, while five were Protestants.

[1] *Special Parliamentary Reports on Educational Subjects*, p. 215.

A most unfair combination this certainly was in a country the vast preponderating population of the children of which were Roman Catholics. But the need of the country for State-aid for education was very great, and the professions of non-interference in religious matters in hours of secular instruction and the liberty for priests to have religion taught at a certain period every day and on one whole day in each week, and the power of managers who might be priests to appoint and dismiss teachers, were considerations that inclined many of the Catholic Bishops favourably to the new scheme. It thus got a tolerably fair start, but soon the anti-Catholic bias and the preponderating influence of the Protestant majority began to make themselves felt. Of the seventeen appointments during the following fifteen years, eleven were Protestant. And to undermine the Catholic religion thus, and otherwise, was the hope of Archbishop Whately—one of the most influential members of the early Board of National Education. He and his colleagues proceeded stealthily in their work that it might be all the more efficacious. 'The education supplied by the National Board,' his daughter tells us he wrote to her, 'is gradually undermining the vast fabric of the Irish Roman Catholic Church. . . . If we give up mixed education, as carried out in the system of the National Education Board, we give up the only hope of weaning the Irish from Popery. But I cannot venture openly to express this opinion.'

The Protestant element for a long time predominated, and although the great majority of scholars and masters were Catholics, the three-fifths of the Board that was called upon to decide all questions relative to the rights of the pupils and their masters were Protestant. The result of this preponderating Protestant influence was strikingly illustrated by the inequitable treatment extended for many years to schools conducted by Religious, and also in the composition of the text books intended for the use of the pupils. These pupils were four-fifth Catholics, yet of the fourteen reading text books compiled there was not one by a Catholic, and only one by an Irishman. Five of these books were by a Scotch Presbyterian minister, four by a Protestant Archbishop, one by a Scotch Presbyterian layman, and three by an English Protestant. Scripture lessons for the use of children, four-fifths Catholics, were written by a

Presbyterian and by an Anglican minister, and of a collection of religious poetry, 70,000 copies of which were circulated in two years, every single poem was written by an Anglican, or by a Presbyterian, or by a Dissenting minister. One of these books was devoted to history and literature, but the amount of information given in this book for the enlightenment of Irish children on the history of their country was confined to the two following statements—' It was towards the end of this (twelfth) century that Henry II invaded Ireland and obtained the homage of the Irish kings ; ' 1800 : ' Union of Great Britain and Ireland ; ' while a description of the Lakes of Killarney which appeared in the first edition of the Fourth Reader was suppressed in the next.[1]

I remember an instance of the narrow-minded irreligious bigotry that permeated the doings of the so-called National Board. While Scripture lessons in galore, written by non-Catholics, were in the school books, a well-known beautiful poem was ruthlessly excluded because it contained a charming allusion to Catholic belief in the efficacy of prayer to the angels :—

And while they are keeping bright watch o'er thy sleeping
Oh ! pray to them softly, my baby, with me !
And say thou wouldst rather they'd watch o'er thy father,
For I know that the angels are whispering with thee.

No wonder, then, the National system was regarded with misgivings by all the Roman Catholic Bishops and met with determined opposition from some of them. Un-Irish, Godless, it undoubtedly was meant to be, and the objects to be obtained by its schools were undoubtedly the same as those attempted by the public schools that preceded them. The National system, however, had come to stay. Improvements in the character of the Board giving Catholics half its composition, and dividing the offices under it somewhat in the same proportion, were effected from 1861. A more broad-minded and national quality of school-books was introduced. Training Colleges, thoroughly Catholic for both male and female teachers, were established, and popular representative Catholics were appointed to

[1] *The Catholic Church in Ireland in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 22.

the Board of Control. The absence of other endowed means of education for the vast masses of the children, and the liberty to impart as much religious education as is desired under fairly reasonable conditions, effected the rest ; and we find the National system of education in Ireland to-day charged with the education of almost the entire of its juvenile population. Under the management of priests the schools have become practically denominational. Though some grievances in this matter still remain, they are not insupportable, and Catholics can learn well in the National Schools the rudiments of secular knowledge without danger to their nationality or religion.

XIII

There is excellent primary education for all our better-class Catholic youth in the numerous seminaries and convents of the country. It is to be regretted that so many children are sent abroad for their education, without counter-balancing advantages, or any necessity, while the Irish Catholic boarding schools are not sufficiently patronized. There is Catholic primary education for our waifs and strays in our workhouses and industrial schools, for our juvenile criminals in our Catholic reformatories, and for the rest of our Catholic population in a sufficient number of National Schools conveniently placed, as a rule, all over the country and conducted by zealous, enlightened, virtuous Catholic teachers, under the management and control, for the most part, of the parish priests. These teachers receive merited encomiums in the official reports of the School Inspectors ; and it should not be forgotten that they have been trained very numerously in our Catholic Training Colleges, and that their selection is due to the care and prudence of the clerical managers.

The want of public funds for the up-keep of the National Schools is somewhat of a draw-back ; but its effect has been grossly exaggerated by persons eager for the demolition of clerical control, and unscrupulous in the use of weapons for that purpose.

There are four classes of National Schools: (*a*) Model Schools which, though pampered with endowment and preserved by Government funds, are not beyond their share of reproach in the manner of their up-keep and preservation; (*b*) Schools vested in the Board of National Education about which similar censure has been pronounced; (*c*) Schools vested in trustees which, though partially built by the State, receive no aid at all from it for their up-keep and preservation; and (*d*) non-vested schools entirely created by local effort, almost exclusively Catholic, and entirely preserved by monies from the same source. The convent schools of Ireland are almost all of this latter class, and they have won the unstinted praise of Mr. Dale in his official report published some months ago. Where the non-vested schools are bad, the Catholic clerical managers have been for years endeavouring to supersede them by suitable trustee-vested schools, but the Treasury has not been able to keep pace with their demands and to do its part in the erection of new, suitable schools. Where vested schools are deficient in design and accommodation, the fault is to be attributed to the Board of Works which has supplied the plans in the great majority of cases and approved of them in the others. Where they are falling into disrepair, which is the exception —notwithstanding the new-born zeal of some School Inspectors who discern blemishes and drawbacks now that were never visible a few years ago—the Board of Education, which has contributed about half the cost of their erection, will contribute nothing to their preservation. The trustees, forsooth, undertook to maintain them as Catholic clerical managers almost universally do; but to maintain them in the up-to-date style latterly required, to have them on a par with English and Scotch rate-aided schools elaborately furnished and ornamented, was never contemplated; and if this has to be done, surely the proportion due to Ireland for primary education by the Development Act of 1902, should be expended on them at least as far as it is at present available. For sinister purposes this is being refused.

Local taxation is advocated to further oppress our

population, already overtaxed to the extent of three million pounds annually. Popular control over the schools is dangled as the bait for enticing the people to oust their priests from the management of them. An untruthful tirade was foully hurled against Catholic clerical managers by the present Resident Commissioner and virtual head of the Primary Educational System, before a hostile assembly in the Orange city of Belfast in the year 1902. His slanders, being stated to be justified by official reports which were, however, not available for examination for many months after the slanders were uttered, and which when examined were found to refute, instead of to sustain, the accusations, got the start, went all the world over, and inflicted considerable injury on the priests of Ireland in their character as school-managers. A deeply-laid scheme to co-ordinate all systems of education in Ireland, to place them under one board of control, and to have it completely under the control of Dublin Castle, was the plot that was being worked out. But it has been revealed and it is doomed to be baffled; as all other plots against the Catholic religion and the nationality of the people of Ireland have been baffled in the past.

The ownership of the schools built by their own industry and by the contributions of their people, the priests, in their professional capacity, must retain. This they are entitled to do by principles of justice and bound to do by their sacred duty of preserving religious education. Signs are not wanting that if they ceased to have the ownership of their schools by any species of Cromwellian legislation, the schools thus stolen would become pupilless and the hedge-schools again in vogue in our midst. The power of appointment and dismissal of teachers, as guaranteed safe from abuse by the control exercised over it by the Catholic Bishops, must not be interfered with.

Of the training of the inward man [says Dr. Murray[1]], there are two important things to note. The first is that

[1] *Essays*, vol. ii., p. 187.

many influences working together are concerned in it. . . . . The influence exercised by the teacher is, perhaps, the most powerful of all. . . . . They who possess 'the faculty of attracting and assimilating the minds of those who come in contact with them,' do, when invested with the close and commanding relation of master, fashion, as if at will, the tendencies of thought in those under their charge; impart to their minds a manly or effeminate cast; infuse into them habits of rational faith or irrational scepticism, of high, sturdy moral principle or of a wriggling accommodating system of life, in a word, mould and make the man.

The right of supervision over the conduct of the schools at all hours, and the freedom to impart religious instruction, as at present guarded from interference with secular teaching, the Catholic clerical managers and, I think, their teachers and people, are determined at all costs to maintain. In the exercise of these rights, powers, and privileges they will gratuitously do the work of good citizens, faithful pastors and true patriots, and safeguard and promote the best interests of Faith and Fatherland.

JOHN CURRY, P.P.

CANON LAW REFORM

II.—APPOINTMENTS TO PARISHES

THE Council of Trent decreed[1] that when a parish becomes vacant, by death or otherwise, the new parish priest is to be chosen by concursus. St. Pius V determined more precisely the manner in which this concursus should be held ; later on, under Clement XI, the S. Congregation of the Council issued a further decree to the same effect ; and later still Benedict XIV embodied in his constitution *Cum Illud* the forms which he, by long experience had ascertained to be most useful for conducting the examination. There is scarcely any law of the Church that comes to us with more authority than this ; nevertheless it is not observed in Ireland, nor in other countries more or less similarly circumstanced.

The bishops are not, in my opinion, to be blamed for this omission. However much one may be convinced of the necessity of some form of concursus to encourage learning among the clergy, it must be admitted, I fear, that the form prescribed by the Council of Trent and the Pontiffs already mentioned, was not suitable for all time ; and that if the decrees in question have fallen into disuse, this is because it was found by experience that the concursus, as held, did little good and led to no small amount of mischief.

It is not necessary for me to dilate on these evils, some of which may be expected to result from the concursus in any form. They are well known and may be safely left to be presented in all their ugliness by those—and they are many—to whom the system is objectionable in any shape. My purpose is to call attention to the other side of the shield, and show that though the system of concursus for vacant parishes is not without its defects, like other earthly institutions, it has compensating advan-

[1] Sess. 24, *De Ref.*, c. 18.

tages, and may be so modified as to diminish the inconvenient results and increase those which are useful.

I. No one, I take it, doubts that it is of the utmost importance to the Church to have in the ranks of her clergy not only men who are eminent as preachers, jurists, philosophers, and theologians, but also some who have been distinguished in almost every branch of history, science, and literature. Neither, I imagine, will it be denied that during the last hundred years few clergymen, comparatively speaking, have attained anything like eminence in any of these departments ; and that very few indeed of these have been found outside the religious orders.

If I were asked to lay my finger on the causes that have led to this sad divorce between learning and the secular clergy, I fear I could not say that it is altogether due to lack either of time or of occasion to cultivate some branch of study. Many Irish priests, I believe, do not well know what to do with their time ; and as for occasions and opportunities, are not books cheap ? Are not the fields, the rocks, the woods, the stars, the rivers, the historical monuments of the country, open to all ? The Press is willing to receive contributions. There may be some little delay at first ; this, however, does not damp the ardour of lay men and women. In every city and considerable town there are newspapers that might be worked in the interest of the good cause ; but few articles appear therein from the pens of clergymen. How many lectures, as distinguished from political speeches, do they deliver ?

It is not, therefore, I fear, to any want of time or opportunity that the defect is due. I am disposed to ascribe it in some degree to the kind of education given in seminaries, which, as compared with university teaching, tends to narrow the view and stunt the growth of literary and scientific interest. That this, however, is not the only or even the main cause, is plain from the fact that even those sciences which are taught, and fairly well taught, in seminaries, have not sufficient attraction for priests in after life to induce any considerable literary effort. On

these sacred subjects also books are written by heretics and infidels, by laymen and clergymen of other denominations ; but not by the secular clergy of our Church, who, no doubt, lack neither ability nor training.

May it be, then, that the stagnation is largely due to the fact that for priests there is little or no special reward for learning ? If you wish to become a professor, there is one college open to you ; a college whose chairs are wretchedly endowed and must be obtained by a concursus in which the more eminent you are the greater chance there is that some one just out from college will simply leave you nowhere. No man with a reputation derived from published work could be expected to submit himself to a concursus such as is required for a chair at Maynooth ; no such man has ever done so in my time. Or you may hope for a parish ; and you will be told by any one who knows ecclesiastical life that you will probably attain your object sooner and surer,—a more desirable parish, too,—if you stick to parochial work, lie low, and publish nothing. In this way you will have the reputation of being a learned and, what is better, a prudent man. Poets are traditionally known as a *genus irritabile*—they have not been, as a rule, what we call prudent ; and so, I imagine, the cultivation of learning is likely to beget a certain independence of character which, however manly and virtuous in itself, does not always make one expert in the gentle art of ingratiating oneself with those who have it in their power to bestow good things.

If, therefore, it is considered desirable that a fair number of priests should take their place in the ranks of those who direct the higher intellectual life of the country,—of the pressmen and bookmen—I see no way for it but to stimulate them by sufficient rewards to devote to intellectual work the time they can spare during their early years in the ministry. Let well-endowed scholarships be offered for competition,—something for which it will be worth a young man's while to strive, that will keep him in comfort for the rest of his days ; and then you will see that clever first-prize men will not give up reading and writing when

their college course is past and there is no more to be got by striving.

I can imagine I see the eyes of some of my readers open wide at the notion of a scholarship so well endowed as to keep one in comfort all one's days. Where is the Irish Church—where is any Church nowadays—to get the means of providing such endowments ? I answer : they are already provided. There are in every diocese a sufficient number of parishes which, if offered as prizes, would easily fulfil the condition.

II. In this connection I would like to direct attention to what I regard as two great defects in the scheme set forth by the Council of Trent and elaborated by the Pontiffs already mentioned : (1) it provided too many prizes, and (2) gave them to men who did not deserve them.

1. I do not see what good can come from a system whereby all the parishes in a diocese are given by concursus ; the result cannot be to stimulate learning. Every priest in every diocese should have a prospect of getting charge of a parish within a reasonable time, if he does not fail to make use of the talents that God has given him. Now, no one who knows the world would expect all priests, or even the majority of them, to be so learned as to be entitled to some considerable reward for their learning. Learned men are not to be found or produced every day ; the most we can expect is that there should be a few in every diocese. If, therefore, all the parishes were given by concursus, the result would be either that other qualifications would be taken into account,—as, indeed, the Council of Trent expressly directs.—and then where would be the reward for learning ? or that the degree of intellectual culture required for the reward would be so low as to be possessed by everybody. This means that it would be totally useless for the purpose which prizes—and such prizes—for learning should serve.

2. Accordingly, as was to be expected, the result of offering all the parishes in every diocese to be competed for at concursus, was to foster the study of what may be

called the catechism of the ecclesiastical sciences. In his Constitution *Cum Illud*, Benedict XIV mentions an oral examination on some question taken either from the writings of the Fathers, or from the Council of Trent, or from the Roman Catechism, as well as a sermon on some Gospel text or other suitable subject. One may easily surmise what this would come to in practice. In those days there were no class-books such as are now common in seminaries; but one feels sure that the questions proposed at the concursus would be such as are to be found in large type in any ordinary hand-book; questions admirably suited as tests, to determine whether one has the knowledge of theology necessary for a parish priest; but useless as means of stimulating to the cultivation of that higher learning which alone should entitle to a reward so substantial as early induction into a comfortable parish. No one, as a matter of fact, ever pretended that under this system parishes were given as rewards for real learning.

I must not be understood to make little of the kind of knowledge that the Council of Trent and the Pontiffs required; it is a necessary qualification for a parish priest, and was possessed, I fear, by few enough of the parochial clergy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Accordingly, it is no wonder that the Church did so much to foster it at that period. In later times, however, owing to the multiplication of seminaries and the education of all the diocesan clergy therein, this kind of knowledge has become quite common and needs no special encouragement; and if, after leaving college, a priest should fail to keep himself familiar with the teaching of the hand-books, his bishop, as a rule, has conferences in which he or his representative may take note of the failure. No wonder, therefore, that the concursus, as decreed by the Council of Trent and prescribed by the Pontiffs, should have fallen so much into disuse.

III. Accordingly, if it should be considered desirable, with a view to foster learning in secular priests, to hold concursus for vacant parishes, it seems to me that the

system sketched by the Council of Trent and elaborated by Clement XI and Benedict XIV would need to be greatly modified,—principally in four directions :—(1) The number of parishes to be offered for competition in any diocese should not exceed one-third of the whole ; (2) no one should have a right to compete who had not served, say, ten or twelve years on the mission ; (3) a high standard should be maintained, and no appointment made as a result of the concursus in cases where the candidate best qualified had not come up to this minimum of proficiency ; (4) not only theology and the kindred subjects, but literature, profane history, and natural science in all its branches, should be fostered in this way.

1. The number of parishes to be offered for competition —not more than one-third of those in the diocese—is set down merely as a basis of discussion ; it might very possibly have to be increased or diminished. I think it convenient to divide the parishes of every diocese into three groups ; those in one group would be filled by concursus, those in another by appointment made by a special body to be specified later on, and those in the third by episcopal act as at present. Those which would be offered for concursus should comprise some, but not all, of the best ; some of the plums would be required as rewards for other qualifications more necessary even than learning.

2. Reasonable men, I imagine, will admit that some period of trial is required before settling a man into an important position from which he cannot afterwards be removed, even though he should be found unsuitable. Moreover, in the interest of learning itself, it is important that these prizes should act as stimuli to the formation of habits of intellectual work of a high quality,—habits such as it takes a considerable number of years to ripen. Further, the minimum of character for learning which I should require will be seen to be such as could, as a rule, be reached only by one who, after he had left college, had given a good deal of time to study. The exact number of years—ten, twelve, or x—would be a matter of detail to be settled differently in different places.

3. To secure a high standard I should dispense with examination as ordinarily understood, and take into account only published work ; this, however, would comprise, not merely books, but sermons, lectures, articles in magazines and newspapers,—everything in a word, in the way of well-founded repute for learning that, if possessed by a priest, would be likely to redound to the honour of the Church. Candidates would submit all their publications to a board of examiners, not necessarily chosen from the diocesan clergy ; indeed there is no reason why the same body of judges might not serve for a number of dioceses. It would be an injunction to this board to take as the standard of absolute merit what they would conceive to be the kind of learning which it is desirable to foster in clergymen by rewards such as parishes. The relative excellence might be determined on similar lines ; or it might be possible to divide into sub-groups the parishes to be offered as prizes ; and, as they became vacant, to offer them as rewards for proficiency in different branches ; some for dogmatic theology, some for moral, Sacred Scripture, history, literature, natural science, and so on. And as the work of the judges would be arduous and undesirable, it should be paid for out of the funds of the vacant benefices.

For some time, at least, it would often happen, I fear, that no candidate would be found to come up to the absolute standard ; in such cases the parishes in question might be assigned alternately to each of the other two groups, and provided for accordingly.

4. Some will probably think it strange to find a reputation for literary excellence, or for proficiency in natural science, profane history, and such things, recognised as qualifications entitling to the reward of a parish ; and I shall be asked why I depart from the tradition which at the concursus took cognisance only of what we may call the sacred sciences. In return, I will ask you to bear in mind that at the time the concursus was introduced, and down practically to the beginning of the last century, if not even later, learned clergymen in Catholic countries

were provided with benefices much more valuable than parishes,—such as stalls in the various chapters, abbeys held in *commendam*, and other offices to which only the habitual cure of souls was attached. University-bred clergymen, in fact, were wont to look down on the position of parish priests, and were rarely—at least after they had attained any eminence—found in the ranks of that body. It is not true, therefore, that the Church gave the prizes at her disposal to those only who were eminent in the sacred sciences.

This was but as it should be. For who will deny that the author of a *History of England* like that of Lingard, an inventor such as Dr. Callan, or the writer of a story like *Fabiola*, would deserve any prize which the Church could bestow? It is reasonable, I admit, to multiply the inducements to cultivate the sacred sciences that become a priest so much, and are likely to be neglected if not fostered among the clergy. This could be done when grouping the parishes, as already suggested, by assigning a proportionally greater number to theology, Scripture, ecclesiastical history, and canon law; so, however, that other very useful and becoming, though secular, subjects should not go without hope of reward. The number of parishes to be assigned to each sub-group would be a matter of detail which should be settled differently according to circumstances.

IV. Priests with whom I have discussed this whole matter have objected to the general principle of the scheme on the ground that not learning alone, but piety and zeal —and these principally—count in missionary work; and that it is these latter qualities that should be rewarded. Now, so far am I from discouraging piety and zeal, that I should set aside as their reward two-thirds, at least, of the parishes of the diocese; nay, more; since it would often happen, as I have said, that the parishes assigned as rewards of learning would go as prizes for zeal, by reason of the high standard required in the domain of learning. Am I not, therefore, in a position to retort?—It is not merely piety and zeal that count for something on the mission,

but learning also; and I appeal to history, and in particular to ecclesiastical life as we all know it, to decide whether you, in your system, have provided a sufficient reward for learning.

But it will be urged, your learned man may be deficient in the prudence, piety, and other virtues, necessary for a parish priest. I might answer: and so might the unlearned man for whom you are so solicitous; we have all known some of them,—in good parishes, too,—who did not seem to be worthy of any special remuneration. Let that pass, however. The bishop has ten or twelve years—as many, indeed, as you like—to observe my learned man and know what kind he is; if he knows him to be unfit for a parish, let him—the bishop—be empowered to veto the appointment; and let him, in case he does so, be prepared to justify this act on appeal, by submitting evidence which the superior court will be bound to treat as confidential.[1]

I am well aware that by thus requiring the bishop to be prepared to show cause, however confidentially, for setting a candidate aside, I make it somewhat easier for bad men to become parish priests in certain cases. I do not pretend that the system I advocate has no drawbacks; but contend that evils of the same kind are connected with every possible system; that learned priests, even though they may be unworthy, provided they do nothing which the bishop could adduce against them on appeal, are pretty sure to get parishes under the system in vogue at present; that suspicions such as cannot be justified in court, by evidence which must be treated as confidential, are to be

[1] This is in accordance with the canon law. Under the scheme drawn up by Benedict XIV. in the Constitution *Cum Illud*, the man whom the synodal judges deem most worthy has a right to the parish, and the bishop has merely a right of veto. Should this right be exercised, the rejected candidate can appeal; in which case the bishop is expected to lay, in strict confidence, before the superior court the evidence on which he based his veto. 'Ubi Episcopus, posthabito uno vel altero ex approbatis, ecclesiam contulerit magis idoneo ob aliquam sibi ipsi notam causam, quam censeat significari oporteri judici appellationis, ad detegendam injuste fortasse praeelectionis notam, familiaribus litteris judicem certiorem efficiet, inviolabilis secreti lege adjecta. . . Sciant porro judices, delatas ab Episcopo causas et rationes inviolabiliter secreti fide esse custodiendas.'

discounted and repressed; and that, even at some cost, something must be done to encourage learning, which has drooped and is still drooping under the present system of promotion. The proposition I make is not without danger; neither is that which you advocate. The question is: Which is likely to result in the greater evil? And the answer will depend to a very great extent on the relative importance which one is disposed to attach to learning.

V. Some of those who advocate the concursus in some form are pretty sure to ask why I cannot be content with the system that prevails in the United States, where a certain number of parishes in each diocese are offered for competition, the candidates stand a qualifying examination, and the bishop is free to select from those who pass the man whom, for reasons known to himself, he deems the most worthy.

This system I regard as little better than nothing. Throughout the United States it is regarded as almost a complete sham; the qualifying examination is of such a kind that not only learned, but all kinds of priests can pass; with the result that after the concursus, as before it, the appointment remains entirely in the hands of the bishop. It is practically useless to encourage learning by rewards, if catechism knowledge suffices to gain the prize, and if the most learned of those who are otherwise qualified is not entitled to receive it.

VI. This brings me to another part of my subject, in dealing with which I must be brief. I have suggested that the parishes of the diocese should be divided into three groups, not necessarily equal; and that those in one group should be offered for concursus, those in another filled by the bishop as at present, and those in the third by a body to be specially constituted for that purpose. The body I contemplate is a board of five, all parish priests of the diocese, to be selected annually in the diocesan synod; one each by the bishop, the chapter, and the parish priests

who are not canons; two by the curates of seven years' standing, each of whom would be entitled to cast but one vote.

The suggestion of such a change as this may, I fear, be considered a slur on those by whom appointments have been hitherto made ; the more so as I do not think it wise, or necessary, to submit the evidence that goes to show that reform is needed in this direction. No disrespect, however, is meant ; I contemplate systems rather than those by whom they have been or are administered. The paternal rule under which we have been living is not without serious drawbacks, which tend to increase rather than diminish as the people grow to manhood and begin to think for themselves. A certain independence of character which does not prevent one being duly submissive withal, is one of the most virtuous qualities of the missionary priest ; this, I take it, is why the canon law took care to make secure the position of parish priests and canons ; at a time, too, when almost all the clergy of the diocese belonged to one or other of these bodies, and when a large number of parishes were in the gift of lay patrons. Now, at least with us, the great body of the clergy have yet to get parishes, and can get them only from the bishop ; even parish priests have been known to desire a change of residence ; so that, unless clergymen are more than men, the result must be a lack of that virtuous independence which the Church was careful to foster.

I do not expect justice to be done in every case, no matter what body may be endowed with power ; and I know full well that there are ways of ingratiating oneself with the democracy and their deputies as well as with monarchs. I advocate a certain plurality of patrons, so that a man of spirit who, through no fault of his, is not in favour with one, may have some chance of finding grace in the sight of another.

I plead—humbly and without any selfish purpose I hope ; but with a deep conviction of the importance of my cause, I am sure—I plead for the independence of the order to which I belong ; a manly independence that is not incompatible with humility and reverence, but excludes flattery

and servility of all kinds. Who was more manly than St. Paul, the finest type of missioner yet produced or likely to appear in future ? Was he not humble, reverent, obedient ? Yet who that reads his letters and the story of his acts, could think of associating with his character the notion of servility ? It was the same in a lesser degree with all the great men who propagated the Gospel ; as it was the opposite, the spirit of fawning for place, that contributed so much in the Middle Ages to the corruption of those who entered into the harvest of these men of God. No body of preachers may hope to command the sympathetic attention of the world unless they are animated with a spirit of manly independence ; it was in this conviction that the Council of Trent established the system of concursus. I plead for the observance of that great law. Modify it ; amend it ; make it suitable to the circumstances of the time ; but safeguard the principle on which it is based ; for, as long as clergymen are men, they will be tempted to sacrifice their independence,—and their efficacy,—if all power of rewarding is centred in the hands of one.

I appeal with special earnestness for the encouragement of learning among the clergy. It seems to me quite plain that the modern world is ruled through the printing press ; that since we left the universities secular priests have had little to do with the working of that machine ; and that this state of things is likely to continue until we get back into the universities and as long as learning is rewarded among us as it is at present.

W. McDonald, D.D.

SOME TENDENCIES OF MODERN DEVOTION

THE title of this article looks somewhat suggestive and I have no doubt that its development will, to many, seem more so. Some of the things I am about to say will necessarily savour of contention. But discussion is often useful and sometimes even necessary, and it is not my purpose to speak contentiously. Were I merely voicing my own opinions I should feel bound to leave unsaid much of what I intend to say. And were I not convinced that speaking may be beneficial I should feel equally bound to hold my tongue. But the views which I intend to put forward I share with many whose judgment demands respect—and the inclination to speak I feel in common with many who seem to let 'I dare not wait upon I would.' My excuse for coming forward is that I hold it higher wisdom to face and handle a danger early than to fold one's arms and wait for a crisis.

It is a very favourite theme with Protestants—that of the Catholic doctrine of the Invocation of Saints, or rather what they are pleased to mistake for Catholic teaching in the matter. They take care to tell the world that to bring the saints into the foreground is to put God in the background, that to honour the saints is to dishonour God; and that in so far as Catholics have recourse to the saints' intercession they cease to have recourse to God. Catholic theologians give a sufficient answer to all these false indictments by a simple statement of the teaching of the Catholic Church. When we bring the saints into the foreground we always bring them in God's train, since He is the God of the saints. When we honour the saints we simply pay them the reverence which is their due as friends of God, reserving for God alone the one supreme honour and the one test of that honour—the offering of sacrifice. When we pray to the saints we never allow them to come between us and God; we bring them with us before the throne of the Most High, to the end

that, with their help, we may obtain from God the favours which our own unaided efforts would be powerless to obtain. There is always added strength and efficiency in numbers, especially when the helpers are stronger than ourselves.

This is the teaching of the Catholic Church, a teaching which even he who runs may read in every page of her liturgy. Nearly every day of the year we celebrate in the Office and in Mass the feast of some saint or other. But from the beginning to the end God is most studiously kept in the foreground. It is His praises that are sounded, His mercy that is besought. We recall here and there the memory of the saint in order to thank God the more and the more surely to win His mercy. We offer the Mass in honour of the saint, but it is to God we offer the sacrifice. And nowhere in the whole range of the Church's liturgy can there be found a formal prayer of supplication addressed to one of God's saints or even to God's own Mother. The solemn formula *Oremus*, or 'Let us pray,' is invariably the prelude to a prayer addressed directly to the Giver of all good gifts.

One could scarcely desire a clearer expression of the Church's mind, or a more graphic picture of the conscious immediate contact of the soul with God in the midst of its intercourse with the saints, than in the 'Litany of the Blessed Virgin,' or the 'Litany of the Saints.' Consider the former. We begin with the Antiphon, 'We fly to thy patronage;' thus by an express action placing ourselves under our Lady's protection—not as an end but as a means to an end. For we straightway prostrate ourselves before the Divine Throne, and, face to face with God, One in Three, beg and clamour for mercy. Then, having presented our petitions to the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost; we turn to the august Lady at our side and beseech her, by every title which she holds dear, not to have mercy on us, but to pray for us. Having exhausted the list of the Mother's titles, and thus made surer of her help, we turn again to her Divine Son and crave His mercy and forgiveness.

The ' Litany of the Saints ' is a more ambitious scheme of intercession, but it is fashioned on precisely the same plan. Here, too, we come face to face with God, as it were, no created being between us but many a powerful helper by our side. There is again the solemn cry for mercy as a kind of antiphon, and then the searching appeal to the whole court of heaven to come to our aid, beginning with the Queen of heaven and running through the whole hierarchy from the highest to the lowest. We have not had to raise our voice to call them for we know them to be near their King, and having asked them to help us we feel sure that they are ready to plead our cause. Now we unburthen our souls and go through the whole category of our wants, pouring out our souls in supplication while sweet pleading voices take up our cry from end to end of the celestial choir. An inspiring picture, drawn by a mother's hand to be engraven on her children's hearts, of the Universal Fatherhood of God and the deathless brotherhood of man.

Rightly understood, this faith of ours is a faith which, far from separating us from our Divine Lord, brings us all the more surely to His feet. It strikes one very forcibly that the pharisee who went up to the temple to pray and got so little for his pains, is a fair type of those who, in their prayers, would exclude the intercession of the saints. It is true God is the God of mercy, and the Sacred Heart beats with loving human throbs ; but, all the same, a sinner is a sinner even when he is on the road to repentance, even the ' just man falls seven times a day,' and was not the Agony in the garden mainly a shrinking from sin.

The prodigal, I am sure, would much rather have faced his brother than his father, on his return home—he knew that the brother had been left a lesser legacy of pain and sorrow. But had he met his brother first and been forgiven, he would have hesitated less about going to meet his father. And is not God the Father of the Prodigal ? True, Magdalen the sinner kissed the very feet of God and was not repulsed—and when we love as

deeply and as faithfully as Mary we may approach as confidently and as nearly as she.

It is uttering a truism to say that to believe is one thing, to live up to our belief another. To knowingly contradict by our actions what we believe with a faith as strong as death is a Christian inconsistency as old as Christianity itself. But there is sometimes a variance which is unconscious, being the result of error or ignorance or want of consideration. It is Catholic teaching that the saints do not come between us and God. And yet, it is blinding one's eyes to fact to assert that in the practice of Catholic devotion they never do; it would be almost equally unreasonable to deny that this unconscious drifting from the true Catholic idea is becoming more pronounced as time goes on.

Before going any further, however, I feel bound to make a limitation. The freaks of devotion to which I would call attention are practically identified with womankind, and this principally for two reasons. Women are generally considered, and not without reason, the devout sex; devotion seems to be more 'in their line,' be the cause what it may. Men, as a rule, are content with the piety which is strictly necessary—at least in the matter of external observances—and are slow to travel in their devotions beyond the borderland of obligation. Hence, those devotional planetary wanderings which, to some extent, characterise present-day religious fervour cannot well be laid to the charge of the sex which is not devout. Moreover—I ask pardon in anticipation of the 'New Woman'—it may be taken as admitted that men in the mass, though they cannot boast a monopoly, can lay claim to at least a preponderance of brain-power. They have a keener sense of logic and a clearer perception of what is inconsistent. Accordingly, when they do think fit, as not a few of them sometimes do, to soar a little towards devotional heights they manage to keep their heads a little better than women, and are better able to see where they are and what they are about. Intuition and impulse help the 'devout sex' to make the pace—

but judgment has always a good deal to say to the issue.

But I must make a further limitation. In putting devotion on its defence I wish to arraign what I may call, by way of paradox, educated devotion. Who would dare to say a word against the devotions of the women-saints that people the hamlets and hill-sides of Ireland? Their piety begins with prayer in the morning, ends with the family Rosary and night prayer at night, and jewels the space between with simple aspirations. And how sublime they are—the cabin aspirations of Ireland! Whether the sun shines or the rain and storm do their worst, it is all the same: 'Glory be to God and praise be to His holy name.' When the hope of yesterday is shattered, and there is no ground of hope for to-morrow, what matter: ''Tis a long lane that has no turning—God is good.' Whether the Lord gives or the Lord takes away: 'Blessed be the name of the Lord;' 'God's holy Will be done, sure He knows what's best.' It is devotion like this which brings one of those tottering forms to the Confessional after, it may be, an absence of some months, to sum up her history of guilt since last Confession in the words: 'Father, I didn't do anything since I was with your Reverence the last time, thanks be to God, an' His blessed Mother.' God guard and keep these devotions of the hill-sides to bring blessings on the valleys below. They are ever beating against heaven's gates with a sure, unwearying persistence, sometimes strong, sometimes gentle—like the waves against the shore beneath my feet.

Having thus defined the scope of my criticism, I think I may safely enunciate the proposition that the devotions of the twentieth century have three leading characteristics—they are many, they are very much concerned about temporal favours, and they centre largely round sensible objects.

They are many. That they are so I do not regard as a crime, but I think I may call it a danger. Our energies, whether of soul or body, are limited; and not even the plenitude of devotional grace can enable them to cross

the boundaries of the finite. 'I fear the man of one book,' is an old adage, and, if rightly understood, a true one. A stone dropped into the still waters of a lake leaves behind on the surface tiny circles of activity. Gradually the circles widen—but in proportion as the energy spreads itself it becomes weaker at any particular point, until in the end, by its extravagance, it destroys itself. Do we not meet with a little extravagance in the spiritual life of many a devotee? New erratic impulses arise, new fashions of devotion come into vogue, and so the number of observances increases. And thus it comes to pass that daily devotions are gone through with the speed of a race against time and with a consequent want of attention and reverence. It may happen even that in the stress of competition at night some little fanciful devotions are rushed through, while the examen of conscience and the act of contrition are left out in the cold—though they may not be very much out of place.

Sometimes this quality of multiplicity demoralizes after another fashion. Patrons are added to the list—but with a qualification. We are not to be devoted to them, but they are to be devoted to us. We do not intend to pay them any regular court but they are expected to be ever ready to help. If they respond—or seem to respond—to our call, we are thankful for the moment : but the moment quickly passes. If they fail us—or seem to fail us—in our hour of need, the fault is always theirs and never our own. And all the while we lay the flattering unction to our souls that we belong to the category of the devout, with a fulness of right in direct proportion to the number of saints in our petty calendar. Is this devotion or superstition? And where does God come in?

Let me not be misunderstood, however. I do not wish for a moment to declaim against a number of special devotions within reasonable limits and for some solid reason grounded on faith. But as a Christian I object to the practice of making the saints of God the sport of a pious holiday. The endless multiplication of petty observances, regular or intermittent, without a warrant either in

reason or in faith, and merely to suit the whim or the selfishness of devotion which is questionable, is an evil to be avoided and is, unfortunately, an evil which is growing.

As a second characteristic of the fashionable devotions of to-day, I have stated that they are concerned very much about temporal favours. The fact is incontrovertible, as anyone who reads one of our pious magazines will bear witness. Is it going too far to say that the practice of asking for spiritual favours is getting out of fashion? Such a phenomenon has, it must be admitted, a rather sinister significance. It squares rather badly with the question: 'What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his soul?' and not at all with the advice: 'Seek first the kingdom of God and His justice.' Even in idea it falls short of true Christian piety, but in practice it runs plainly counter to religion pure and undefiled.

In enumerating devotion to the Sacred Heart, to St. Joseph, and to St. Anthony, I do not claim to have exhausted the devotions that claim a position of pre-eminence, but I am well within the circle if not at the very centre of popularity—a popularity partly explained by the fact that each has a special bulletin to advocate its claims. And I think I shall be able to show that there are aspects connected with the three devotions I have named which invite, nay demand, honest friendly criticism.

Of devotion to the Sacred Heart in its different forms I may speak at some other time. Here one remark will be sufficient for my purpose. Devotion to the Sacred Heart has, for pretty obvious reasons, retained its spiritual character with comparative success. But I challenge any unprejudiced Catholic, priest or layman, to peruse the intention sheet of the *Irish Messenger* for December, 1903, contrast it with the corresponding one of December, 1899, and then to tell us what he thinks.

Devotion to St. Joseph runs in the same direction, and with even greater volume in its current. I have before me two numbers of *St. Joseph's Sheaf*, chosen quite at random, and in both the petitions for temporal favours outnumber those for favours which are spiritual. In one

of these numbers there is an entry which has a special significance as showing how easily devotion can run into superstition :—

A mother of a little boy was in great trouble as he had continual convulsions. Someone sent her a prayer in an envelope to be said to St. Joseph for thirty days. She could not imagine who sent it, as she had very few Catholic friends. She determined to say the prayer, and the convulsions ceased. As they have never returned she firmly believes the favour was granted by St. Joseph in answer to her prayers.

I am not prepared to deny that her child was cured by St. Joseph's intercession—though I should require much stronger evidence to induce me to believe it. But the poor woman was strongly under the impression that St. Joseph sent her the letter in which the prayer was enclosed. The office of iconoclast is generally a thankless one—but it may be an act of religion to demolish an idol. There is an authorised thirty days' prayer to St. Joseph, but from the manner of her getting it, I feel sure that this is not the one she used. It is not so very long since a 'snowball' thirty days' prayer to St. Joseph was set rolling, much to the disquietude of the faithful and the detriment of souls. The craze had two periods. During the first period—I think I am right in calling it the first—the prayer was delivered by hand, and the recipient was supposed to say the prayer, make five copies, and deliver each by hand to somebody else, friend or acquaintance or utter stranger. If sent by post the prayer had no virtue whatever. Then the process was partly reversed, and delivery by post became absolutely necessary, *necessitate medii*. How far this wave of superstition spread I do not know, but more than one priest had to warn his people against it from the altar. I fancy that the poor mother whose child was cured must have come within the circle of its influence.

Of devotion to St. Anthony, what is one to say? I do not wish to speak with irreverence, but I simply interpret facts when I say that this dear saint is being gradually degraded to the rank of errand-boy, whose office is to

minister to all the petty comforts of his clients. He has got to find everything from a hairpin to a husband, but I do not remember having met anyone who has asked him to bring back a virtue that was lost or on the way to being so. He is often hidden under a penny stamp and is bidden to guide the letter—it may be a very silly letter—aright. But who has ever asked him to guide aright the many thoughts and words that so much need direction? From morn till noon and from noon to dewy eve he is expected to run hither and thither upon earth—but I am afraid it would be a novel experience for him to be asked to take a message from earth to heaven. And yet surely we ought to know that there is not a saint in heaven but considers the faintest uplifting of an immortal soul as an object a thousand times more precious than all the gold and dross of earth. Is it not, therefore, something akin to insult to be always pestering a saint about what is temporal, and never to ask him for something which is eternal?

And again I ask, in all this parade of so-called devotion where does God come in? Put this present-day cult of St. Anthony into words, set the result side by side with the 'Litany of the Saints,' and see how glaring is the contrast. It is far from my intention to oust one single practice of piety that rings true, but it should be the aim of everyone to guard against what is counterfeit; and for the glory of God and the honour of St. Anthony it is expedient that devotion to the Saint should be properly adjusted before it is too late.

From what I have been saying it may seem to follow that I would deny the special intervention of this kindly wonder-worker in the thousand and one cases in which his clients believe him to have interested himself. This, however, would be a mistaken inference. I am quite prepared to admit that favour often follows petition as effect follows cause; but I am, at the same time, strongly inclined to think that the relation of cause and effect is sometimes imaginary rather than real. And when he does intervene, it is, it must be, in the hope of coaxing

his wayward children unto a better sense—a hope which has, I fear, been often doomed to disappointment.

There is one special practice in this connection which imperatively calls for observation. It is a postulate of the spiritual life that a temporal blessing may prove a spiritual curse, and that, therefore, temporal favours are always to be petitioned for conditionally. It is not necessary of course that the condition should be expressly stated, but nothing at least in the petition should exclude its being implied. In the light of these principles let us examine for a moment a type of petition which has now become a kind of stock-in-trade :—

> I promise the Sacred Heart (or St. Joseph, or St. Anthony), that if I pass my examination I shall get Mass said, etc.

In any event, a conditional promise or reward seems a very niggardly way of treating our patrons. Why not, as it were, burn our ships ; not merely promise to get the Mass said afterwards if all goes well, but get it said here and now, and thereby show our confidence in those whose assistance we implore. It certainly looks like trifling with God and His friends to make a condition such as the above, particularly in a petition for a favour which is temporal. But it is more. The obtaining the temporal favour is made a condition of giving a return. What does this mean ? It cannot have any other meaning surely than that we consider the withholding of the favour to show a lack of interest in our welfare, or at least to absolve us from any special obligation of gratitude. Now, I respectfully submit that such a belief bears, on its face, the hallmark of superstition. For, to say that a temporal blessing may be a spiritual curse is simply another way of saying that a refusal to grant or obtain a temporal favour may be a matter for deep and lasting thankfulness.

The third great characteristic of up-to-date devotions, as I have stated, lies in the fact that they centre largely round sensible objects. To speak philosophically, not merely is their formal object very much of the earth, earthly, as we have seen, but their material object as well.

This is not, to be sure, a peculiarity of modern devotion as practised generally throughout the Catholic Church; it is true only of countries like our own, whose history has made the fulness of even obligatory observance impossible. In the dark days when Christ the Lord was born anew on the mountain-side with a crag for His pillow, the vault of heaven for His canopy, and the congregation for His body-guard, the only created objects of devotion were the crucifix and the priest. Better days followed, and little churches came to be built, and diminutive statues and pictures were erected. Peace and prosperity and liberty have grown apace, with the result that the era of little symbols has passed away and given place to more elaborate forms. To-day our commodious churches are peopled with statues of almost life-size proportions—some fashioned, others made—all appealing with practically equal force to the imagination of the great majority of our Catholic folk, whose sense of discrimination in this direction is still rudimentary.

It is unnecessary here, and quite irrelevant to my purpose, to defend the Catholic doctrine with regard to the utility and the devotional value of images. For an outsider to admit its reasonableness it is only necessary to understand it. The reverence we hold to be not absolute but relative, not given to the image for its own sake but to honour the person whom it is supposed to represent. It is an honour the world pays every day to the sons of men and why should not Christians give it to the beloved children and friends of God?

When, however, theologians try to analyse the precise kind of relative veneration which the faithful pay to images, difficulties immediately arise and a certain definite answer becomes impossible. And this very uncertainty about the ultimate character of devotion to images shows pretty clearly, I think, how easy it may be to go to excess in this matter, and confound what is true with what is false. Anyone who has eyes to see cannot but admit that something like irregularity is creeping in here. It is not so very long ago that I was witness to the following incident.

I happened to be in a church when a little girl of nine or ten entered. She came up the centre of the church to the altar-rails and passed under the lamp burning before the Blessed Sacrament, without making a sign. She turned aside and knelt for some time in prayer before a statue of our Lady, and genuflected to the statue when her devotions there were concluded. The very same phenomena were repeated before another statue, and then the child passed out of the church without ever recognising the great Living Presence in the tabernacle. And is it not a thing of everyday occurrence, devotees entering God's house to pay their devoirs before the statue of some favourite saint, and going out again without saying a prayer to the Living God who dwells therein ?

If we analyse the matter we are here face to face with a very strange perversion. God is the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end, of all things. Christ, our Lord, true God and true Man, is the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end, of Christianity. It follows that when we enter a church where the God-Man truly abides, our first thought and our last should be of Him, whoever else may fill the space between. It is, therefore, a pernicious shifting of the Christian centre of gravity, to put devotion to the saints or to images in the first place, and devotion to the Blessed Sacrament in the second. This is evident, even though the true character of each devotion be preserved, for proper balance of devotion is lost. But is not fatuity going very far when Christians will pour out their souls in prayer and supplication before a statue of the Sacred Heart, and never speak a word directly to the Living, Beating Heart in the tabernacle ?

To speak about the cultus of images and not to say a word or two about shrines, would mean to be guilty of an unpardonable omission. Advanced critics regard shrines as objectionable and plainly worthy of censure. But, on the other hand, private individuals should be very slow to anathematize a practice which is both widespread and tolerated. Besides, if we view the question on its merits we are not warranted in coming to such a drastic conclusion.

Every shrine, with its many lights dimming the radiance of the sanctuary lamp, bears, I admit, *prima facie* evidence of irregularity. The deordination, however, is only on the surface. To begin with, if the very fact of the lights being many is a crime—then churches should never be lighted for evening services. The lights must be judged not by how they look, but by what they mean. What, then, is the meaning of shrine-lights? They may be conceived as being significant directly of honour, or directly of prayer. Those, however, who would regard each candle lighted at a shrine as a direct and immediate expression of honour must find it very hard to defend the legitimacy of this form of devotion. Even on the High Altar, and during the celebration of Holy Mass, there are very strict limits in this matter beyond which we dare not go. On special occasions a larger liberty is given, and by a kind of analogy, I suppose, the practice of lighting a number of candles on side-altars is legalized on special feasts. But it is evident that a multitude of lighted candles as a mark of honour towards either God or His saints is rather the exception than the rule. And if the Church recognises only a special transitory reason as a sufficient warrant for such an exception even on the High Altar, she certainly would not be prepared to sanction a perennial exception at a shrine. It would, therefore, be hazardous to contend that lights at a shrine are a direct expression of honour. In such an hypothesis the true character of lesser honour is indeed preserved, but it is accorded undue prominence in opposition to what seems the spirit of the Church.

It is true, of course, that shrine-lights are not on an altar, but significance is here independent of place or site, and is not determined by feet or inches. It remains, therefore, that the true meaning of these lights is the alternative one given above—they are directly and immediately concrete acts of prayer. In other words they are reminders, living representatives, as it were, left behind by the worshippers after they have done part of the work themselves. If this be their true significance, it gives

them a *locus standi* of their own, and puts them outside the pale of the ordinary laws of the rubrics.

Having now, to my own satisfaction at least, brought in a verdict in favour of shrines, I feel bound to add a rider. There is no evil in them that one can see, but they are not without an element of danger.

Some souls there are that love a dim religious light and never pray so well as when the evening shadows creep round the church, and the solitary lamp of the sanctuary hesitatingly cuts the darkness with its little fitful gleam. But most people feel a greater sense of comfort and a stronger inclination to pray in the presence of many lights. Children especially, whose habits of devotion are not yet formed, love to pray before the merry twinkle of the shrines. Then there is the additional fact that by lighting a candle one can pray by proxy, and thus economize labour and double convenience. These considerations make it fairly evident that a shrine is a more effective way of propagating and popularizing a devotion than even the printing-press.

Herein lies the danger. A sacred object in a church which has a shrine attached is a greater convenience and a greater centre of attraction than one that has none. Is it then unnatural that the tabernacle, with its dim solitary guardian light, should sometimes fade into insignificance and be forgotten, in presence of a statue with its brilliantly-lighted shrine ? Is it heresy to assert that the absence of that abiding devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, which one ought to expect, is in some measure attributable to the lower devotions being more attractive ? And if not, is it permissible to ask whether there is any law forbidding us to popularize by the same means the cardinal devotion of Christianity ?

A great deal more may be said on these questions, but I feel I have already outrun the patience of my readers. It has been my purpose simply to direct attention, to open up a subject for thought and discussion. In what I have said I have spoken tentatively, knowing well that there are older and wiser heads than mine that could speak on

these questions with far greater authority, and with better success. I shall consider my aim accomplished if I tempt even one of them to come forward.

In any event it is about time that something were said, and something done. It is an age of criticism ; for good or evil criticism which is bold enough to look us in the face even when we are standing within the sanctuary. The Catholic Church is the city built upon a hill, for all the world to look upon and enter, and the searchlight is nowadays being turned upon her with a vengeance. Not merely those without but those within as well consider it their duty to examine and to find fault. It is, therefore, expedient that we should put our house in order, and abolish or check any irregularity, which, though not very heinous in itself, may yet give a handle to our enemies : ' Let your light *so* shine before men that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven.'

I have not considered it either my office or my right to definitely allocate responsibility for the irregularities of devotion to which I have called attention. Possibly we might all find it salutary to examine our consciences in the matter. I cannot, however, resist the temptation to make one remark which seems to be very pertinent : in the order of grace as well as in the order of nature the child is father to the man. Not a few thoughtful minds trace the present apathy and indifference of educated French Catholics to the fact that the Catholic schools of France have not heeded the warning of Mgr. Dupanloup ; they have failed to show their pupils ' the nobler side of Christianity, and belittled true religion by encouraging a multiplicity of puerile devotions and picturesque but archaic observances.'

D. Dinneen.

LOUIS VEUILLOT[1]

RECENT events have made it clear that a crisis has come in the history of the French Church. Catholics throughout the world, and even earnest Protestants, await with anxious expectation the issue of the contest now knit to the death between the forces of religion and infidelity. Is the glory of France as the eldest daughter of the Church, and special protector of the Holy See, destined to fade before the united strength of Socialism and Freemasonry ; or can we hope that with the overthrow of the present régime better days may be at hand ?

To the question thus put it is not easy to find a satisfactory answer. No doubt we can refer to the past. We can point out that many times during the last century the storm raged as fiercely as it does to-day, and the cause of the Church looked equally hopeless, and yet these tempests passed over leaving France still faithful to the traditions of centuries. We have hardly any doubt that the same will be true of the present crisis, but our confidence should be greater were it not for one apparently slight defect. We miss the presence of some determined Catholic leader, able to appreciate the issues at stake, and able to rouse Catholic France in defence of her threatened institutions, a man like Montalembert or Veuillot who would place the interests of religion above every political or financial advantage, and who would not be ashamed to proclaim his attachment to it even at the tribune or the bar. We scrutinize the Catholic ranks to-day ; we are not unmindful of the abilities, self-sacrifice and energy of men like the Count de Mun, Sangnier, Leon Harmel, Coppée, Brunetière, and a host of others equally distinguished, yet we look in vain for the leader we desire. What would we not give for even a year of Louis Veuillot at the helm of *L'Univers*,

---

[1] *Louis Veuillot*, par Eugene Veuillot. Paris: Victor Retaux, Libraire-Editeur, Rue Bonaparte. 3 vols. 1903-1904.
Louis Veuillot. Etude morale et littéraire, par M. Cornut. Paris, 1890.
Stimmen aus Maria Laach xxiv.

with the same bold, fighting, sledge-hammer, methods as he adopted in unison with the Catholic Party during the momentous struggle for free education. His manly, straightforward onslaught on the Bloc and all its principles and works would soon infuse new energy into the lifeless masses of French Catholics; men who to-day are afraid to defend the interests dear to their hearts, lest they should merit the reproach of being 'Clerical,' would shake off their cowardice and take their proper places in the fighting ranks; while statesmen like Combes and Jaurés would soon learn that they were face to face with a man able and willing to fight with whatever weapons they themselves might choose. We remember his courage, his zeal, his disinterestedness; we call to mind how he sacrificed his promotion and offers of reward that he might have a freer hand in the defence of the Church; and whatever we may say at times of his policy or his methods of controversy, yet give us such a man to-day as Veuillot in the Catholic ranks to rouse them, and such a paper as *L'Univers* to spread his views, and we confess that we should feel less nervous for the interests of religion.

Veuillot was in every sense of the word a man of the people. Born in 1813, of very humble parents, he experienced from his earliest day all the privations and sufferings of the labouring poor, for whom in after life he entertained the warmest sympathy, and whose support he knew how to win as only the son of a peasant could. While a child, his parents removed to Paris, but fortunately for our hero he was left behind at Boynes, with his grandparents, where he grew up breathing the pure air of the country, mixing with the innocent country children at the common school, and drinking in those lessons of natural virtue and of self-restraint which, even in his most careless days, were never wholly forgotten. At school his quickness of temper was almost as remarkable as his keenness of intellect. His little companions even then learned to their cost that the young Veuillot could, and with provocation would, strike straight out from the shoulder. But with all that he was a general favourite with both pupils and teacher, the latter

of whom was known to declare that a great future lay before him.

When about thirteen years of age he rejoined his parents at Paris, where he soon secured a position as clerk in a solicitor's office. Here his fellow-clerks, for the greater part ex-graduates of colleges and sons of the wealthy *bourgeoisie*, were inclined at times to amuse themselves at the expense of this raw, untutored plebeian, but after a few preliminary experiences they had good reason to remember that Louis' tongue and fist were about equally dangerous. The lawyer in whose office he served was gifted with a turn for literature. His brother, Casimir Delavigne, author of some popular French plays, was then in the heyday of his glory. As a result the clerks were encouraged to admire the poetry of Casimir, and to show their admiration by imitating his example. Louis was no exception to the rule. He read everything that came in his way, tried his hand at dramatic criticism and poetry, and secured the encouragement of *littérateurs* like Henry Latouche and even Victor Hugo.

But journalism was the field towards which his inclinations drew him, and in which he was to take the very highest place. Fortunately for his future career, when he was about seventeen years of age, a friend offered him a place on a provincial paper at Rouen, and without much regret he abandoned his hopes of advancement at the Bar to enrol himself as art critic among the staff of *L'Echo de la Seine Inférieure*. As such his sarcastic, at times merciless, criticisms soon brought upon his head the insatiable wrath of the Rouen actors who, more than once, demanded an apology or satisfaction—the latter of which was always freely accorded. From Rouen he passed to Perigeux, where he became editor-in-chief of *Le Mémorial de la Dordogne*, a conservative paper supporting the government of Louis Philippe, and, like the other provincial papers of those days more or less under the inspiration of the Cabinet. Here he found plenty of time to pursue his studies without serious distractions.

At twenty-four he returned to Paris to take his place

on *Le Charte de 1830*. Guizot, with some of his colleagues of the Ministry belonging to the 'doctrinaire' school, had resolved to found a strong newspaper in defence of the Government, and of their own peculiar views. Louis Veuillot was recommended to them as a fit man for the political department, but in spite of all their hopes the paper lived only a few months. With the overthrow of the Ministry, unwilling to desert the party of Guizot, the young journalist found himself weary of life, and uncertain as to his future projects. Whilst in this despondent mood his friend Ollivier visited him one day, told him of an excursion he himself was going to make into Italy and the East, and invited Louis to join him. The question of funds was the only difficulty, but the Government came to his assistance by granting him a nominal commission to examine into the schools and hospitals of Italy, and with a heart full of joy and excitement he set out for Rome 'and for salvation.'

Like many other French parents, Louis' father and mother considered that they had done their duty by their children in having them baptized. Living with his grandparents, who were utterly indifferent, young Louis grew up without any knowledge or practice of religion. No doubt the schoolmaster prepared him for his First Communion, as he was bound to do; but the preparation carried on between bouts of heavy drinking was a matter of the merest routine, and the *curé* was too careless to expose the master's neglect. It was at the end of such training that he was allowed to make his First Communion. 'Happy are those,' he writes in his *Rome and Loretto*, 'who start the battle of life under the protection of the souvenirs of that happy day. For myself I was not so fortunate. Driven on to the Holy Table by ignorant, I will not say even impious hands, I approached without considering the solemn and sacred banquet in which I was taking a part. Many a day was to pass ere I returned again.' How many there are, even outside France, who could tell the same story! Thrown amongst infidel companions at Paris and in the provinces, he abandoned entirely religious practices, and was to all

intents and purposes beyond the influence of the Church. But in going to Rome he was going to salvation. Fortunately for him, M. Adolphe Feburier and his wife had offered him their hospitality during his stay in the Eternal City. Deeply religious, cultured, prudent, they were just the people likely to make an impression on Veuillot's heart. The very evening of his arrival, wandering around to see by moonlight the ruins of the Forum and the Capitol, they entered the Church of the Ara Coeli where the Forty Hours' devotions were being held. Following the example of the devout worshippers and of his companions, Louis fell upon his knees before the Blessed Sacrament, and for the first time for years, perhaps during his life, prayed earnestly for his family and for himself. Everything in Rome, the churches, the paintings, the monuments, even the very stones on the city streets seemed to invite him to repentance. He sought an interview with the famous Jesuit father, Père Rosaven, and after a short time his doubts having been completely removed, he determined to begin a new life by a good Confession. It was in the Church of St. Mary Major that, surrounded by his happy companions, he made his conversion Communion, or, as he preferred to call it, his first. In remembrance of this happy event he dedicated, many years later, his beautiful work *Rome and Loretto*, to the basilica of St. Mary Major.

> Holy Virgin [he writes in the dedication] I have neither the riches nor the piety of the illustrious sovereigns who have embellished your sanctuary. I am only a poor workman, and my soul is more poverty-stricken still because there sin spreads itself and ripens even to danger of the harvest. I am yours, however, and you have given me a thousand proofs of your maternal love, and, therefore, I make bold to offer you the tribute of my studies. Bless the work, above all bless the workman, and if I might dare to seek a favour it is, that my lips may be allowed once more to touch the marbles before your holy image worn by the constant tread of holy pilgrims.

From Rome he travelled to Loretto, and from thence to Switzerland, where he resolved to make a retreat in the Jesuit House at Fribourg. Whether his stay there should be long or short he had not yet decided, but his

confessor soon set his mind at rest. 'Your interests,' he counselled, 'your family duties, your obligations as a Christian call you to Paris. Go there in God's name.'

He returned to Paris in August, 1838, a changed man, even to his most intimate friends. Henceforth politics and political journalism had no attractions for him. The Church alone had a right to his labours. It was under the influence of this holy conviction that he gave to the world his work *Les Pèlerinages de Suisse*, which was highly praised by critics of all schools, and awakened anxious expectations in Catholic circles as to its author's future developments. *Les Pèlerinages de Suisse* was followed at regular intervals by *Le Père Santive*, *Le Saint Rosarie medité*, *L'Epouse Imaginaire*, and best of all *Rome and Loretto*, a kind of autobiography. Many tempting offers were made to induce him to dedicate his pen to the royalist cause. To all he returned an answer of similar import to that which he addressed to the Count O'Mahony, who besought him to throw himself into the defence of the Cross crowned by the fleur-de-lys :—

> Let us [he wrote] throw ourselves at the foot of the Cross, and pray God for France and for justice. And if God be pleased to place on the arms of that Cross the fleur-de-lys, certain it is that my hand shall never cast them down. But let Him decide. For me the simple Cross is sufficient, and if the fleur-de-lys should threaten the destruction of souls, then for the love of God and for our brothers forget their existence, and let your battle-cry be *Vive la Croix*.

Strangely enough, France, in a certain sense the home of revolution and of unbelief, can boast of having given more gifted defenders to the Church during the nineteenth century than perhaps any other nation. Chateaubriand and De Maistre, Mgr. de Boulogne, the Viscount de Bonald led the way, to be followed by a group of younger, more impulsive, but not more determined men. It is around De Lamennais and *L'Avenir* that we find gathered the first army corps of the Catholic Party. Never was there assembled together in defence of any cause a more brilliant or a more loyal band of supporters, and never a leader

more capable of arousing enthusiasm amongst his followers. There we see Lacordaire, Montalembert, Charles de Coux the gifted economist, Gerbet, De Salinis, Rohrbacher, Gousset (afterwards Cardinal of Lyons), Dom Gueranger and Melchior Du Lac. But, alas, their enthusiasm carried them forward too quickly. Enemies sprang up at every turn ; many who at first were warm supporters, foreseeing the coming storm, began to fall away ; charges of heresy and of treason to the Church were whispered about till at last in despair the fatal resolution was taken of demanding the judgment of Rome. *L'Avenir* was suspended for a time, and De Lamennais, Montalembert, and Lacordaire hastened to throw themselves at the feet of Gregory XVI :—

> Deign, Most Holy Father [they wrote], deign to cast a look of compassion on us, the lowest of your children, who have been accused of rebellion against your infallible authority. You are the rule of their faith ; never, oh, never have they accepted any other ! Holy Father, we beseech you to pronounce over us the words which give life because they give light, and may your blessed hand be stretched over us to sanctify our obedience and our love.

The rest of the unfortunate story is already well known. Disappointment after disappointment met them at every turn, till at last in spite of friendly warnings to the contrary De Lamennais, maddened by despair, called for the judgment which Gregory XVI would feign have postponed. In a short time the Encyclical *Mirari Vos*, a practical condemnation of their policy, appeared, and was handed to De Lamennais at Munich, during a banquet given him by his admirers. He returned to his hotel, and with the approval of Montalembert and Lacordaire, issued a declaration that in accordance with the Papal instructions *L'Avenir* would cease to appear, and with it the society for the defence of religious liberty also fell.

But though the first Catholic Party had thus gone down in disgrace, their ideas and their hopes still remained, and not a few earnest men refused to yield to the almost universal despair. Yet if the movement were to be kept alive a journal must be founded so as not to abandon the

field entirely to the infidel and hardly less obnoxious Gallican press. It was then (1833) that the establishment of *L'Univers* was agreed upon as a paper devoted to no political party, and identified with no particular school of Catholic thought. The Abbé Migne was the first director, assisted by a brilliant band of ecclesiastics and laymen, some of them already known in the De Lamennais movement, others destined in later years to impress their names on the religious history of France. But in spite of all their efforts the paper failed to win even a respectable meed of success. They were daily living from hand to mouth, borrowing whenever they could find anyone generous enough to lend, and issuing bills payable at some future date, whenever they could not.

Before his conversion Louis Veuillot hardly knew of the existence of *L'Univers*. The first visit which he paid to its directors is well worth remembering. The office was situated in the Rue Fossés de Saint Jacques, a place which, even to-day, is anything but inspiring. The entrance was in complete darkness the evening he arrived, nor was there an office boy to usher in the visitors. Louis groped his way towards the editor's room, and on pushing in the half-open door found himself in a little apartment, bare save for a few chairs and a long table strewn with papers at which two men laboured in silence ; the one wearing a soutane, the other apparently a layman. On his entrance they responded to his salute by half rising in their chairs. His proofs were furnished in a few minutes. He sat down to their correction, and left the office without a single word having been exchanged.

He soon threw himself heart and soul into the work of *L'Univers*, contributing articles for which he generally got no reward save the thanks of the editor, appealing to his friends for its support, and making a campaign through the country to secure a wider circle of readers. In their straitened circumstances there were some who counselled the reception of the subsidy which the Government would have freely given, but Louis bitterly opposed such a project, preferring poverty and liberty to riches with its accom-

panying obligations of supporting a party, especially when that party was in opposition to the known desires of the Catholics of France. Just then when the Education question was coming prominently before the public mind Louis Veuillot was appointed editor of *L'Univers*, a post which he was to retain to his death, and from which he exercised an enormous influence, not only upon the ecclesiastical affairs of France, but of the world.

To understand the work that was before *L'Univers* and the Catholic Party we must briefly indicate the grievances of which they complained. When Napoleon seized the power in France, one of his first and most constant cares was the education of the young. It is in the schools, he argued, that lasting impressions are made, and if we are ever to have a united, happy, loyal people, we must secure that education be everywhere of the same kind and the same standard. The training of the young belongs entirely to the State, and private enterprise must be jealously excluded. The University is to be the centre from which the springs of education must flow, so that to it belongs the educational monopoly. It is to fix the conditions and grant the licences for the opening of secondary and even primary schools, but it may refuse such licences, or when given withdraw them, without being responsible to any court of appeal. The University was to have the field, and no rivals were allowed. With the University thus controlling absolutely the secondary schools, and almost absolutely the primary schools also—a University deeply imbued with the worst and the most violent rationalistic views—we can understand the grievances under which zealous Catholics laboured.

To remove this educational monopoly was the great aim of the Catholic Party. Just now they had at their head two men, each a leader in his own department: Montalembert, the scion of one of the noblest houses of France, one of the most eloquent among the many distinguished orators who have ever graced the French tribune, and Veuillot, a plebeian of the plebeians, full of the fiery, generous enthusiasm which wins the confidence of the

masses, at the helm of the foremost Catholic journal of the nineteenth century.

It was a struggle to the death between the Catholic Party and the University.

'The Catholics,' wrote Louis Veuillot to the Minister of Public Instruction, 'are resolved not to abandon the fight which they have begun against the State education. The system of which you, sir, are the head exposes our religion to such dangers, hampers it with fetters so unbearable, prepares for it poisons so subtle that we believe it to be a crime to remain silent even a moment. You shall not extinguish us save by justice or by force. You shall be obliged either to allow us open our schools, or to open for us the prison.'

Montalembert, as head of the Party, issued a manifesto, the tone of which would be highly desirable in Ireland at present.

The Catholics of France [he wrote] have been accustomed for years to rely on everybody else except themselves. Numerous, rich, esteemed even by their most violent adversaries, they lack only one thing, and that is courage. In public life they are Catholics in the last place, instead of being Catholics before everything. They will never get what they seek, until they make up their minds to act like men. Liberty is not bestowed; it is won.

But despite his appeals many held coldly aloof, or expressed their disapproval. The spirit of slavery had burnt itself into their souls, and not even the fiery eloquence of a Montalembert could infuse a little generous enthusiasm. Still the struggle went on, and the war against the University Monopoly was waged with increased bitterness after the introduction of the project of Villemain which, while pretending to redress the Catholic grievance confirmed entirely the authority of the professors, and dexterously sought to divide the Catholic ranks by offering a large bribe to the clerical seminaries.

Louis Veuillot and *L'Univers* were not backward in the fight. By pamphlet and in the columns of his paper he heaped ridicule upon the Government's proposals, and besought all friends of liberty to stand firm against bribery

as against persecution. In consequence he was cited before the Courts of Justice and condemned to pay a heavy fine as well as to undergo a month's imprisonment. The Government proposals passed the Senate and were sent forward for discussion to the Chamber of Deputies, after which, during the vacation, a period of calm set in, to be followed only by events more startling.

We shall pass over for the present the divisions in the Catholic ranks, the disputes between Montalembert and Veuillot, and we shall proceed directly to the last struggle culminating in the Falloux Law of 1850. The Revolution of '48 had opened men's minds to the dangers of University teaching, and to the direction in which it tended. M. Thiers denounced the schoolmasters as an army of communists and anti-clericals. 'The University,' he wrote, 'has fallen into the hands of phalansterians. To-day my opposition is directed against the real enemy, and the real enemy is the democracy, into whose hands I will not deliver the last rampart of social order, the Catholic Church.' It was in religion and religious training alone that he could see any hope for the future. Many of his colleagues were of a similar conviction, and as a result M. Falloux was appointed Minister of Public Instruction, on the express understanding that the education difficulty was to be settled immediately. An extra-Parliamentary Commission was selected to prepare a bill for the Chamber, the majority of whose members was unfavourable to the Catholic claims. Montalembert and the Abbé Dupanloup were the most prominent representatives of their party, but wisely or unwisely instead of standing by the demands for complete educational liberty, which their friends had up till then put forward, they were willing to make a bargain and to sacrifice some of their claims. Such a line of conduct divided the Catholic forces. The opposition of Louis Veuillot, who had been carefully excluded from the Commisson, was feared, and as a consequence, M. Falloux was deputed to wait upon him and secure his approval, or at least his silence, but the most he could extract from him was a promise not to open the attack till the Chamber had

appointed its committee. Ten days later the campaign began with an article from Veuillot in *L'Univers* :—

A new and heart-breaking chapter [he writes] has begun in the history of our long struggle for freedom of education. It is not without serious uneasiness and regret that we shall enter upon it. The University stands before us, such as it was, such as it shall remain, deaf to the lessons of the past, wedded to the most dangerous tendencies of the century, irreconcilable with the Church and with liberty ; but it is not the University alone which causes us anxiety. By the side of it we see some of our dearest friends, our most illustrious leaders, those whom we have until now followed, and whom we love, those whose hearts are the most honest, their intentions the purest, their devotion the most tried ; men of talent, men of weight who can well pretend to speak and to bargain in the name of their Catholic countrymen. For ourselves, we shall stand by our old principles, and though pained by our present isolation we shall be comforted by our memories and our own conscience.

It was evident that the Catholic Party was completely shattered. Montalembert openly attacked *L'Univers* and its editor in the Assembly. But the friends of social order demanded the overthrow of the University power, and as a result the Falloux Law allowing the opening of Free Secondary Schools was passed in 1850.

JAMES MACCAFFREY.

[*To be continued.*]

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

NEW LEGISLATION ON THE ACCEPTANCE AND CELEBRATION OF MANUAL MASSES

In the I. E. Record of October a very important decree of the S. Congr. Con., dated 11th May, 1904, has been published. This decree, *Ut debita*, deals with the acceptance and celebration of Manual Masses. The teaching of moral theologians, if not of canonists, is, in some matters, considerably modified by the new legislation contained in this decree. During several centuries the Popes and the Sacred Congregations have made laws with the object of repressing abuses by which the due discharge of obligations in connection with Masses has been seriously disarranged. The recent decree helps to complete the previous legislation. Its grave import renders an explanation, however brief, of its contents useful.

(1) *Masses affected by the decree.*—The decree, *Ut debita*, speaks principally of Manual Masses :—

> Declarat in primis Sacra Congregatio manuales missas praesenti decreto intelligi et haberi eas omnes quas fideles oblata manuali stipe celebrari postulant, cuilibet vel quomodocunque, sive brevi manu, sive in testamentis, hanc stipem tradant, dummodo perpetuam fundationem non constituant, vel talem ac tam diuturnam ut tanquam perpetua haberi debeat.
>
> Pariter inter manuales missas accenseri illas, quae privatae alicujus familiae patrimonium gravant quidem in perpetuum, sed in nulla ecclesia sunt constitutae, quibus missis ubivis a quibuslibet sacerdotibus, patrisfamilias arbitrio, satisfieri potest.
>
> Ad instar manualium vero esse, quae in aliqua ecclesia constitutae, vel beneficiis adnexae, a proprio beneficiario vel in propria ecclesia hac illave de casu applicari non possunt ; et ideo aut de jure, aut cum S. Sedis indulto, aliis sacerdotibus tradi debent ut iisdem satisfiat.

All Masses which are not Foundation Masses, in the

strict sense, are, according to the decree, to be taken as Manual Masses. Foundation Masses are those for whose perpetual or, at least, long continued celebration a capital sum or a property has been attached to an ecclesiastical institution, to be administered by legitimate Church authority. The decree enumerates three classes of Masses which are to be considered Manual Masses :—

(*a*) Masses which are asked by the faithful who offer honoraria for their celebration. It matters not, as far as the recent decree is concerned, how these honoraria are offered. Whether they be offered directly or indirectly to a priest, whether they be offered by a person during his life or left by will, they come under this class of Manual Masses.

(*b*) Masses asked by the head of a family in virtue of an obligation attached to his patrimony, even though these Masses be a perpetual claim on the family property. These, not being attached to an ecclesiastical institution, and not being under ecclesiastical administration, are not Foundation Masses. They must be considered as merely Manual Masses.

(*c*) Masses which are called by the decree *ad instar Manualium*. These are Masses which were originally Foundation Masses, but which, owing to different circumstances, can no longer be celebrated in the church to which they were attached, or by the priest for whose benefit they were founded. When, by law or by pontifical indult, these Masses must be transferred to other priests for celebration they lose their nature of Foundation Masses and become, for present purposes, Manual Masses. The decree *Ut debita* lays down rules, binding *sub gravi*, for the acceptance and celebration of these three classes of Manual Masses.

(2) *Acceptance of Manual Masses*.—The decree then lays down regulations for the acceptance of these Masses :—

Jamvero de his omnibus S. C. decernit : 1° Neminem posse plus missarum quaerere et accipere quam celebrare probabiliter valeat intra temporis terminos inferius statutos, et per se ipsum,

vel per sacerdotes sibi subditos, si agatur de Ordinario dioecesano, aut Praelato regulari.

Priests are, therefore, forbidden to seek and accept more honoraria for Masses than they can personally satisfy within the time indicated in a subsequent article of the decree. The law does not forbid priests to accept honoraria unless they be *certain* that they can celebrate them within a reasonable time. There must, however, be a *probability* that they can celebrate within a reasonable time the Masses which they promise to say. Hence a priest must calculate whether or not there is a probability of his being able to satisfy the obligation before he accept new honoraria, taking into account the number of Masses which his ordinary duties oblige him to say. He must consider the number of Masses he must say *pro populo*, if he be a parish priest. He must consider the number of funeral Masses he will likely be called on to say for his deceased parishioners. Taking all such matters into consideration he is not free to accept new obligations unless it appear probable that he can personally fulfil them within the available time. If a priest has already lawfully accepted a number of honoraria and now finds that his ordinary duties require him to say some Masses, *v.g.* for the dead, he is free to dispose of those former honoraria according to the regulations laid down in subsequent articles of the decree.

This law does not forbid a priest to accept more Masses than he can personally celebrate within the available time if he has the consent, explicit or implicit, of the donors. Whether or not this consent be present each priest must judge for himself from the circumstances of the case. It is obvious that the simplest way of obtaining this information is to ask the donors. Sometimes, however, this might be inconvenient. It cannot be taken for granted, when such inconvenience does arise, that the donor consents to transfer the Masses to other priests or to make a delay in the celebration of these Masses. The donor, notwithstanding that inconvenience, might wish to have the Masses celebrated by the priest to whom the honoraria

have been given, or in a particular church, or within the statutory time. The priest must then in such cases not take it on himself to accept and transfer the Masses to another, or to delay their celebration, without having reasonably made up his mind that his doing so is in conformity with the will of the donor.

If the faithful, unsolicited, offer honoraria for Masses to a priest he still is not free to accept them, without the explicit or implicit consent of the donors, if he cannot personally celebrate them within the available time. The decree, no doubt, says '*quaerere et accipere*,' but to solicit honoraria is unlawful only in so far as it leads to the acceptance of obligations which cannot be personally fulfilled by the priest within a reasonable time. Hence, the undue acceptance of honoraria is the substantial fact which is prohibited by the decree. Consequently, even if Masses be offered to a priest, without his solicitation, he is bound to see that he can probably personally celebrate them within a reasonable time, before he is free to accept them.

The Ordinary of a diocese, according to the decree, *Ut debita*, may accept honoraria not only for himself but also for the priests who are under his jurisdiction. The same is true of the Generals and Provincials of religious Orders.

(3) *Time available for the celebration of Manual Masses.* —The decree proceeds to indicate the time which is available for the celebration of Manual Masses :—

> 2° Utile tempus ad manualium missarum obligationes implendas esse mensem pro missa una, semestre pro centum missis, et aliud longius vel brevius temporis spatium plus minusve, juxta majorem vel minorem numerum missarum.

Moral theologians were accustomed to make a distinction between Masses to be said for the recently deceased and other Masses. They declared that a month was the time available for the celebration of Masses for the recently deceased. They allowed the opinion to be at least extrinsically probable which held that two months, in ordinary cases, was the time available for the celebration of other Masses. The recent decree considerably modifies

these opinions. There is no distinction made by the decree between Masses for the living and Masses for the dead. A rule is laid down which applies equally to both classes of Masses. According to the decree the time available for the celebration of one Mass is one month, and the time available for the celebration of 100 Masses for the same object is six months. We must judge from these figures what time is available for a greater or a smaller number of Masses. We presume that for 20 Masses two months, for 40 Masses three months, for 60 Masses four months, for 80 Masses five months, for 140 Masses eight months, for 180 Masses ten months, and for 220 Masses twelve months are available.

This rule is binding *sub gravi*. A relatively slight delay would not, however, be a grave sin. Thus, a delay of less than two weeks would not be a grave sin if there were question of the celebration of 20 Masses for the same object.

This law does not mean to interfere with the explicit or implicit desire of the donors of honoraria. If a donor wish to have Masses celebrated before the statutory time that wish is binding under pain of sin. On the other hand the donors can grant a longer time for the celebration of Masses than the decree allows in ordinary cases. Priests must be careful, however, not to unreasonably presume on the will of the donors in so serious a matter.

(4) *Obligation not to accept more Masses than can be celebrated within a year.*—The decree, having legislated against the acceptance of Masses which cannot be said within stated times, proceeds to limit the number of Masses which may be accepted by any priest :—

3° Nemini licere tot missas assumere quibus intra annum a die susceptae obligationis satisfacere probabiliter ipse nequeat; salva tamen semper contraria offerentium voluntate, qui aut brevius tempus pro missarum celebratione sive explicite sive implicite ob urgentem aliquam causam deposcant, aut longius tempus concedant, aut majorem missarum numerum sponte sua tribuant.

Hence a priest may not, without the explicit or implicit

permission of the donors, accept more Masses than he can probably personally celebrate within a year from the time of acceptance of the obligation. The explicit or implicit consent of the donors, just as it can render the available time for Masses shorter than the statutory time, can also permit a priest to accept more Masses than he can probably celebrate within the year. The decree mentions one case in which the implicit consent of the donor is given to such an acceptance of honoraria. It is the case of a donor, who, knowing what he is doing, freely offers to a priest more honoraria than can be personally satisfied by him within the year. In this case the priest may accept the larger number of honoraria. He must, however, be sure that the donor knows the real state of affairs before he is at liberty to accept the greater number of honoraria.

(5) *Obligation of sending unsatisfied honoraria to the Ordinary.*—The decree next indicates what is to be done with honoraria which a priest has been unable, or has neglected, to satisfy before the end of the year :—

4° Cum in decreto *Vigilanti* diei 25 mensis Maii, 1893, statutum fuerit ' ut in posterum omnes et singuli ubique locorum beneficiati et administratores piarum causarum, aut utcunque ad missarum onera implenda obligati, sive ecclesiastici sive laici, in fine cujuslibet anni missarum onera, quae reliqua sunt, et quibus nondum satisfecerint, propriis Ordinariis tradant juxta modum ab iis definiendum ' ; ad tollendas ambiguitates Emi. Patres declarant ac statuunt, tempus his verbis praefinitum ita esse accipiendum, ut pro missis fundatis aut alicui beneficio adnexis obligatio eas deponendi decurrat a fine illius anni intra quem onera impleri debuissent : pro missis vero manualibus obligatio eas deponendi incipiat post annum a die suscepti oneris, si agatur de magno missarum numero ; salvis praescriptionibus praecedentis articuli pro minori missarum numero, aut diversa voluntate offerentium.

The decree *Vigilanti* ordered all, whether clergy or laity, whose duty it was to celebrate or have celebrated, any Masses, Foundation or Manual, to hand over to the Ordinary at the end of the year, after a manner to be determined by the Ordinary, the obligations which remained and which were not satisfied. Considerable doubt existed amongst canonists as to the precise time which

was meant by the phrase 'end of the year.' All agreed that those concerned were bound to hand over to the Ordinary all the remaining obligations which should have been fulfilled, but they disagreed as to the time when they were to be so handed over. The recent decree, to a great extent, removes these doubts. It lays down that the obligation of handing to the Ordinary Foundation Masses or Masses attached to a benefice begins at the end of the year during which those Masses ought to have been celebrated. It declares, too, that the obligation of giving up Manual Masses begins at the end of twelve months after the obligation was undertaken, if there be question of a large number of Masses. By a large number, we presume, is meant a number which a priest is bound to say within a year, and which need not be celebrated within a shorter period. The decree does not state when a smaller number of Masses must be given to the Ordinary. That they must be, at some time, sent to the Ordinary is clear from the decree *Vigilanti* which speaks of 'onera, quae reliqua sunt, et quibus nondum satisfecerint.' But no indication is given as to the precise time when they must be handed over. It is suggested by the phrase, 'si agatur de magno missarum numero' that an equally long time is not allowed for a smaller number of Masses. Hence they must, probably, be given up at the end of each civil year—or, at least, at a time which the Ordinary, using the power implied in the words 'juxta modum ab iis definiendum,' determines.

The phrase 'quibus nondum satisfecerint' shows that the Masses for the celebration of which a longer time than a year has been allowed by the donors do not come under this law until the available time for celebrating them has passed.

The Ordinary to whom unsatisfied honoraria must be sent is the diocesan Ordinary if there be question of Foundation Masses under his jurisdiction, or of Manual Masses of priests who are his subjects. The Ordinaries for Regulars are their General and Provincial.

The part of the decree, 'salvis praescriptionibus, etc.,' merely indicates that nothing in this article interferes either

with the rules laid down in a previous article of the decree about the obligation of celebrating within a shorter period a smaller number of Masses, or with the will of the donors requiring the celebration of Masses within a definite period. Though priests be not bound to hand over honoraria to the Ordinary till the end of the year they are bound to celebrate them within the period required by law or by the will of the donors.

Before passing to other regulations the decree *Ut debita* states that this and preceding articles bind *sub gravi*. 'Super integra et perfecta observantia praescriptionum quae tum in hoc articulo, tum in praecedentibus statutae sunt, omnium ad quos spectat conscientia graviter oneratur.'

[*To be continued.*]

ABSTINENCE IN WORKHOUSES

REV. DEAR SIR,—Under the regulations in force in the Workhouse to which I am chaplain, meat is given to the inmates on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday of each week—even on Saturdays of Quarter Tense, and on Vigils, on which abstinence from meat is obligatory, when they fall on any of these days.

As the able-bodied inmates, if residing outside the Workhouse, would be bound to abstain from meat on these days, *i.e.*, Vigils and Saturdays, I ask :—

1° Is it the duty of the chaplain to endeavour to get *abstinence fare substituted for meat* on these days for this class? Such change in the dietary cannot be made by the Master of the Workhouse, but only by the Board with the sanction of the Local Government Board.

2° If he cannot get *such fare substituted*, is it his duty to bring the matter under the notice of the Bishop with a view of obtaining a dispensation in the abstinence?

All the inmates are Catholics. A reply in next issue will oblige.

A CHAPLAIN.

(1) *Per se*, it is the duty of the Parish Priest, rather than of the chaplain, to make an effort to remedy the regrettable state of affairs mentioned by our corre-

spondent. The Parish Priest is *per se* bound to look after the spiritual interests of all his parishioners. We say *per se* because the Bishop can, at any time, subject the chaplain to an obligation in such a matter. From answers to inquiries which we have made we conclude that the Bishop usually does confide to the chaplain full charge over the inmates of workhouses in Ireland. Of course the Parish Priest is frequently the chaplain.

The Parish Priest, or the chaplain where he has independent charge of the workhouse, ought to try, by every legitimate means in his power, to get the practice of the workhouse brought into conformity with the laws of the Church. A public protest made to the guardians would not, we think, fail to bring about the desired effect. Even a private conversation with some Catholic guardians would go far towards obtaining a remedy In Ireland our Catholic representative men are, as a rule, quite willing to lend a helping hand in promoting Catholic interests. We do not think that there would be much difficulty in obtaining the necessary sanction of the Local Government Board, if the Board of guardians were to introduce a new rule in such a matter.

(2) In the circumstances mentioned by our correspondent the inmates of the workhouse are not bound by the law of abstinence. Hence no dispensation is necessary. It would be useful, however, if any serious difficulty were encountered, to inform the Bishop of the existing abuse, so that his authoritative voice might assist in bringing about a beneficent change in the workhouses in his diocese.

MATRIMONIAL CASE—MARRIAGE OF PEREGRINI

Rev. Dear Sir,—Kindly give me your opinion on the following marriage case. A man and woman, about to get married, have domiciles in England (where the priests in charge of the parishes are called Missionary Rectors). They come to Ireland to get married, and intend to return to England immediately after the ceremony, retaining their domicile there all the time.

Can they be validly married in Ireland at all? And if so, by whom?—Yours sincerely,

SACERDOS.

The case presented for solution by our correspondent refers to the marriage of people who are domiciled in a place (England) where the decree *Tametsi* has not been promulgated, and who wish to be married in a place (Ireland) where the Tridentine law has been promulgated.

(1) If either party has acquired at least a quasi-domicile in Ireland the marriage ceremony can be performed before the Parish Priest of the quasi-domicile, or before another priest with the license of the Parish Priest. The way in which our correspondent speaks suggests that, in the case, neither party has acquired a quasi-domicile.

(2) If either party has become a *vagus* the marriage ceremony can be performed before the Parish Priest of the place where the ceremony takes place, or in the same place before another priest having his license. Our correspondent thinks, and he is the best judge in the circumstances, that this condition has not been fulfilled, since he states of both that they retain 'their domicile there (in England) all the time.'

(3) Since neither party has acquired a quasi-domicile in Ireland, and since neither party has become a *vagus*, marriage attempted between them in Ireland, without the license of their own Rector, who is their parish priest in the sense of the decree *Tametsi*, is invalid. The territorial nature of the Tridentine law prevents its validity. Any priest who obtains that license can validly assist at their marriage in Ireland.

We presume that both are Catholics. If one were not a Catholic then their marriage would be valid in Ireland, so far as clandestinity is concerned, without the license of their English Rector, because the law of clandestinity, neither as personal nor as territorial, would bind in that case, since the decree *Tametsi* does not bind in England, and does not bind in cases of mixed marriages in Ireland.

J. M. HARTY.

LITURGY

PRAYERS IN THE 'MISSA QUOTIDIANA'

REV. DEAR SIR,—In saying a Requiem Mass—the *Missa Quotidiana*—(*a*) for a brother and sister (deceased), or (*b*) for a brother and two sisters (deceased), what change or changes should a priest make in the *Oratio pro pluribus defunctis*? Which prayer should he select when the Mass is for 'a deceased person,' of whom he knows nothing? Should any change be made in it? —Yours, etc.

C. D.

In both instances the form of the 'oratio pro pluribus defunctis' selected should run '*animabus* (*seu animas*) *famulorum tuorum* tantum.' As to hypothesis (*a*) it has been decided that in case of a prayer for two deceased persons of different sexes it is not permissible to use the form '*animabus famuli tui et famulae tuae*.[1] The plural form masculine should therefore be use exclusively in such a contingency. The same holds where the prayer is for more than two, one of whom only belongs to the male sex. Here, too, the words 'famulorum tuorum,' and these only, are to be employed.[2] Where the prayer is said for deceased persons of different quality, two or more of whom belong to each sex, then the form '*animabus famulorum famulorumque tuorum*' is the legitimate one.

The Congregation of Rites has also decided that when the *Missa Quotidiana* is said for the souls in Purgatory, or deceased persons in general, the three prayers found under this Mass in the Missal are to be said[3]:—'Si vero pro defunctis in genere Missa celebretur, orationes esse dicendas quae pro Missis Quotidianis in Missali prostant: eodemque ordine in quo sunt inscriptae.'

[1] S.R.C. Decr., June 14, 1901.
[2] Van Der Stappen, *De Rub. Miss.*, p. 305.
[3] June 30, 1896.

PURIFICATION OF CORPORAL WHEN CHALICE REMAINS UNPURIFIED

REV. DEAR SIR,—May I ask you to oblige me by answering the following question :—A priest says two Masses in the same Church on the same day, and allows the chalice to remain upon the altar between the two Masses. In the first Mass he consecrates upon the corporal, gives Communion to the faithful, and, upon returning to the altar, collects the fragments off the corporal : should these fragments be put into a ciborium if there is one at hand, or should they be put into the chalice ?—Faithfully yours,

C. D.

The collected fragments may not be put into the chalice. Such a proceeding is totally at variance with the direction prescribing that a chalice, which is to remain unpurified till a subsequent Mass, should be carefully exhausted of every drop of the sacred species before being put aside.[1] If then the corporal has to be purified '*post sumptionem pretiossissimi sanguinis*,' the fragments are to be put into the ciborium. But why may not the particles have been put into the pyxis, or ciborium, and the corporal purified before the consumption of the Precious Blood ? This would have been the better course to adopt, but possibly, for some unexplained reason, it was not feasible.

With regard to leaving the unpurified chalice on the altar pending the second Mass we see no great objection to it, provided the chalice would be perfectly safe there. At the same time the proper place for such a chalice would be a strong safe in the sacristy. Failing this, the tabernacle[2] might be used for its custody. De Herdt observes :—'Calix reverenter tractandus est . . . semper ponendus super corporale et si aliquo tempore servandus sit semper in loco decente et clauso collocandus.'[3] All this is pre-

[1] Cf. App. ad Rit. Rom. *De Miss. bis eodem die celebranda.*
[2] Van Der Stappen, *De celeb. Miss.*, p. 457.
[3] *Praxis Lit.*, vol. i. p. 359 (nov. ed.).

scribed to ensure the absolute safety of the chalice, and secure it against the danger of possible irreverence. But if, as we may easily believe, it would be perfectly safe and secure on the altar, then it may be left there, especially if the interval be very short.

'AROUND THE EUCHARIST'

REV. DEAR SIR,—A short article, bearing the above title, by one of your distinguished correspondents, appeared in the December number (1903) of the I. E. RECORD.

Ever since I have been expecting some notice to be taken of it by one of our practical priests. As time does not seem 'to bring it forth,' I venture, though loathfully, to raise my voice against what appears to be unsettling to the sacerdotal conscience. In these days of probablism, it is a little venturesome to draw the bow too tight; and who should fear—and who does fear—so much to commit formal sin, as those chosen souls deputed by the loving Redeemer to act as His sacred body-guard.

Father O'Callaghan does not mince the matter when, writing on the renewal or particles, and quoting Dean O'Kane, he says, 'Speaking of the obligation generally, no one can have a doubt but that it binds *sub gravi*, since it is imposed by the Church in a matter that intimately concerns the honour and reverence due to the Lord in the Holy Sacrament.'[1]

Everybody is ready to grant this; and, therefore, to violate such an obligation so as to incur a *grave peccatum*, will depend upon the delay in not fulfilling it, which limit of time may be gathered from (1) either the general teaching of theologians, or (2) from the special statutes of a diocese. The replies of the Sacred Congregation of the Council and of Rites seem to exact that the renewal be made '*saltem semel in hebdomada.*' But when we examine the theologians and rubricists, they seem much more generous, and would require that the delay (outside danger of corruption from great damp or some such special cause) be extended to over a fortnight, in order to contract *grave* violation of the obligation. As your revered correspondent says, quoting Martene: 'Communis Ecclesiae Latinae usus obtinuit, ut semel tantum singulis hebdomadis, *aut ad*

[1] 'Around the Eucharist,' I. E. RECORD, Dec., 1903.

summum singulis quibusque quindenis diebus Eucharistia innovaretur.' [1]

If your learned correspondent had halted here, no doubt the majority of priests would know how to safely direct their conscience on this practical and serious point. But for Ireland, at least, he narrows the limit of time to *eight* days ; because, as he truly says, the Irish Synods, and notably the National one of Thurles in 1850, have enacted that the species ' renovandas esse octavo quolibet die.' [2] He then distinctly asserts that this is of obligation, and enforces his contention by similarly quoting O'Kane. It is true, he also inserts, a little further down, some modifying words of the same distinguished author, when he quotes, ' to defer the renewal of the particles *for fifteen days* would not exceed a *venial* sin,' etc. This ameliorating clause would bring a consoling unction to our soul, if we did not happen to refer to O'Kane's own work. O'Kane is merely quoting an opinion of Romsée, afterwards adopted by De Herdt.[3] If we may safely follow Romsée, De Herdt, and I believe other able rubricists, and hold that, even without some reasonable cause, a grave sin will not be committed, unless the renewal exceeds fifteen days ; why, then, lay down so categorically that in Ireland all doubt is removed (on account of synodal decrees), and that the ' Sacred Particles kept in a ciborium, or in a pyxis, or the one in a Benediction lunette, MUST BE RENEWED every eight days '? Following up such a decision with a quotation from O'Kane to the effect that the obligation generally binds *sub gravi*, it seems to me that he cancels any more liberal interpretation made by the various authors, and leaves his readers under the impression that, ' unless in the case of great damp or some other special cause accelerating the process of corruption,' a poor priest would commit a grave peccatum, if he fails to renew the sacred species *every eight days*.

In other words, if your distinguished correspondent had quoted verbatim and in its own sequence the whole of the first part of No. 620 in O'Kane's admirable work on the Rubrics, every priest, reading it, would come to O'Kane's own judgment, viz., ' that a delay which does not put off the renewal for more than fifteen days, cannot be regarded as, per se, a materia gravis ;

[1] ' Around the Eucharist,' I. E. RECORD, December, 1903.
[2] *De Euch.*, n. 17.
[3] See O'Kane *On the Rubrics*, ch. xi. no. 620.

otherwise these statutes (Belgian) would not have been approved at Rome.'

I ask you, Mr. Editor, to give us the benefit of your opinion, as to whether *omnibus pensatis*, even in Ireland, even in face of synodal decrees, this opinion of the distinguished Maynooth writer may not be followed *in tutâ conscientiâ* by all those whose duty it is to watch 'Around the Eucharist'?

I trust it is not necessary to add that it is not in any captious spirit I have penned these lines; but simply that we may all enjoy liberty of conscience.

In most country places, ay and often in our city churches too, every observant priest knows how difficult and inconvenient it would be, even generally, to keep within the eight days. Some large sodality is about communicating on a Sunday morning, the consecrating priest tries to gauge the number of particles required (he must not fall short). It turns out spilling rain, or for some other cause there is a considerable falling off in the number of the communicants. In country places, at least, the week-day communicants are sparse. He may even have to give Communion *after* Mass on Sundays. It is true he *may* empty the ciborium the *following* Sunday morning (when the eight days are up); but is he to keep a large congregation waiting at a Sunday's Mass, while he carefully purifies a ciborium, etc.? My fellow brethren will easily suggest other difficulties. Let us know the truth, 'and the truth will make us free' (St. John viii. 32).

SACERDOS PERPLEXUS.

'Sacerdos Perplexus' has, we think, been needlessly alarmed by what appeared some time ago in the pages of the I. E. RECORD, under the title 'Around the Eucharist.' The writer of the article in question would be the last to impose *onera intolerabilia* or 'draw the bow too tight' where the sacerdotal conscience is concerned. In the course of some remarks which reverence for the Blessed Sacrament prompted him to make about the care and custody of the sacred species, he pointed out the obligation incumbent on Priests of frequently renewing the consecrated particles, and added that in this country, by reason of the enactment of the Synod of Thurles, 1850 (and that of Maynooth, 1875) there is a grave obligation of renewing

the Hosts every eight days. All this is quite true when understood within proper limitations.

As we are appealed to we shall give our view on the matter. The statute implies two things : (*a*) that the sacred species is to be renewed so frequently that all danger of corruption will be eliminated, and (*b*) that, to guard against this danger, the renewal should take place every eight days. That the first part of the law binds under grave sin no one will doubt. All theologians are agreed that owing to the possibility of corruption, failure to renew the particles for a month would certainly be a grave sin of irreverence towards the Blessed Eucharist. But the point is whether the eight days were selected rather to urge the observance of this obligation, than to fix it determinedly. Even in the latter case the law, being a positive ecclesiastical enactment, would admit of *epieikeia* whenever, as in the instances mentioned by 'Sacerdos Perplexus,' its exact fulfilment was physically or morally impossible, and apart from *epieikeia* there would be grave sin when the renewal was put off to a period notably in excess of the eight days. But in the former case grave sin would be committed only when the substance of the obligation was gravely imperilled, that is to say, when the delay was so long as to cause possible corruption. In which way then does the statute bind ?

At the end of the Maynooth statute reference is made to a decree of the Congregation of Rites bearing date 3rd September, 1672, as though it were this decree which suggested the time limit mentioned in the statute. Now, Gardellini,[1] in his *Suffragia* on the decrees, quotes a decision of the Congregation of Rites, *Ad conchen* which, though dated according to him 3rd September, 1662, is evidently the same as that referred to by the compiler of the Maynooth Synodal Decrees. This decree (which, by the way, we have been unable to discover in the new collection under either date) explicitly says :—'In renovatione, quae quolibet octavo die fieri debet,' on which Gardellini, whose work has recently been revised under the auspices of the Con-

[1] Vol. iv. pp. 278-281.

gregation of Rites, has this comment :—' Quod si ad quindecim dies protrahatur renovatio, non id reprobandum culpae vertendum quia hoc intra breve tempus haud formido quae sacrae species corrumpantur.' The concluding words seem to imply that the time was fixed merely to urge the obligation. Gasparri,[1] having noticed the legislation of several Provincial Synods and Councils, some of which prescribed the eight days' renewal, says :—' Nihilominus, si quis etiam in Occidentali Ecclesia sacras species non renovaret nisi singulis quindecim diebus plures a peccato excusant, dummodo loci ac temporis conditiones omne periculum initialis corruptionis excludant.' He states, however, that the frequency of renewal will depend on the freshness of the particles, and that where the Hosts are twenty days old when consecrated the renewal may not at all be put off (*nullo modo potest protrahi*) for fifteen days, because after a month there is danger of corruption. In the Statutes of the Archdiocese of Paris, edited 1902, we find this regulation :—' D'après les decrets de la S.R.C. les saintes espèces doivent être renouvelés tous les huit jours. Dans aucun cas on ne differera ce renouvellement au dela de quinze jours.' Here the first part seems merely directive, while there is a very grave obligation imposed by the second. Finally, in the Maynooth statute itself we have the reason and end of its enactment which is ' Ne duitius asservatae particulae corrumpantur.'

For all these reasons, then, we conclude that while this statute imposes a very grave obligation of taking every reasonable precaution against irreverence to the Blessed Eucharist, consequent on the corruption of the particles, it would not, however, be a grave sin to defer the renewal to fifteen days, provided there was really no danger of corruption. At the same time every respect is due to the statute when it says the renewal ought to take place every eight days. This interval was probably mentioned because those well acquainted with the climatic conditions of our country, and with the cold, damp temperature of our

[1] *De Sanct. Euch.*, vol. ii. p. 276.

churches, believed that it would not be safe to keep the Hosts unrenewed for a longer time. Of course the particles that are consecrated, and therefore reserved in the tabernacle, are more exposed to the danger of corruption than the unconsecrated hosts, which may be kept in the warm surroundings of the priest's house.

P. MORRISROE.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE MOORE MEMORIAL FUND

REV. DEAR SIR,—May I venture to ask for space in your very influential review to plead with the Irish clergy at home and abroad the cause of the 'Moore Memorial.' Knowing how highly the work of Moore is appreciated by Irish priests, I am satisfied that there is no class of our countrymen I could appeal to with greater confidence. In the school, on the platform and at the social board, the Irish clergy have constantly, unfailingly and universally paid their tribute to the genius of our national poet. Amongst them, perhaps more than amongst any other section of Irishmen, the songs, the poems and prose works of Thomas Moore have been held in honour. Now that there is question of erecting once for all a suitable monument to the poet, I am sure that the clergy will help, as far as they can, to make it worthy of Moore and worthy of the capital of Ireland.

The work of Moore appeals, I think, to all that is noblest and best in the nature of Irishmen. He drew his inspiration entirely from the soil and atmosphere of his native land. At a time when the culture of ancient Ireland was a subject of mockery to so many even of her own sons, Moore turned to it, admired it, defended it, and by the magic of his touch revealed to the world a glimpse of its grandeur and loveliness. It is scarcely fair to judge him by the standards of our day; but even so judged, did he not make the national spirit of his country the lifelong theme of his songs?

In the ancient civilization of the Gael and in the legends and myths that grew up around it, he found a source of inspiration for some of his noblest lyrics. He brings us back in spirit to the halls of Tara and the palace of Fingal. He calls up the vision of a predestined race which had turned its gaze, even in far-off times, towards

> 'That Eden where the immortal brave
> Dwell in a land serene
> Whose bowers above the shining wave
> At sunset oft are seen.'

He celebrates the achievements of the *Red Branch Knights*. He sends on to posterity the most tuneful echo ever yet heard of the great tragedy of the North, the 'Lament of Deirdre for the

Children of Usnach.' He has caught up and transmitted to us the strain of that wonderful 'Song of Fionnuala'—'Lir's lonely daughter'—which in its weird, melancholy pathos has not its equal in the world. He has made us listen to the croon of the Banshee, and shown us the track of 'the Mountain Sprite,' and the spectre of 'O'Donohue's White Horse.'

In dealing with religious subjects Moore rose to the full height of his genius. In his Biblical poems he is truly sublime; and in such short lyrics as

> 'This world is all a fleeting show
> For man's illusion given,'

and

> 'Thou art, O God, the life and light
> Of all this wondrous world we see,'

he is on a level in that branch of verse with the best poets of his age.

It is, however, where religion and nationality meet and combine that he is most at home. The sacred places of our religious history have for him a charm that is almost beyond expression. Glendalough, Kildare's holy shrine, sweet Inisfallen, Aranmore, have an additional halo, a romantic sweetness shed around them by the songs of Moore.

And as for Irish history, there is scarcely any of its great heroes and heroines, or of its epoch-marking episodes that have not inspired the poet. He has sung the glories of Brian the Brave. He has sounded the defiant battle-cry of the Prince of Breffni. He has recalled the fate and sacrifices of the 'Wild Geese.'

> 'The Blakes and O'Donnells whose fathers resigned
> The green hills of their youth among strangers to find
> The repose which at home they had looked for in vain.'

And nearer still to us he has left the mark of his genius on the great upheaval of '98, not only in his *Biography of Lord Edward Fitzgerald*, but in that captivating song 'She is far from the Land,' in which the destiny of Sarah Curran and Robert Emmet is enshrined in a form worthy of the ill-fated love it has immortalized. Washington Irving has paid his tribute to the genius of Moore by quoting this poem in his *Sketch Book*, and writing a beautiful essay on the subject that inspired it.

I am informed that even in the theological schools Moore's

Travels of an Irish Gentleman in search of a Religion is quoted with interest and pleasure ; and we have it on the authority of the Rev. Mr. Edghill, Protestant Rector of the parish in which he died, that our national bard was faithful to the last to the creed of his childhood.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the sweet expression of sentiment in all the *Melodies* which touches the heart and turns even sorrow into pleasure. How many a careworn brow has been smoothed over by the poet's wand ? How many an Irish home has been enlivened by the strains of the bard ? How many a bosom has been swayed by the noblest emotions of patriotism and love at the call of this national minstrel ? The tears of the exile freely respond to the double charm of the music of his native land which Moore did so much to rescue from oblivion and of the refinement and tenderness of the words with which it is allied. Wherever the Irishman wanders over the world the songs of Moore accompany him and help to bind him, as if by invisible threads, to the land of his birth. Let the critics say what they will, Moore has exercised and still exercises a subtle influence over the Irish race which comforts them in their sorrows, cheers them in their trials, and adds an element of refinement and distinction to their joys. His name, too, has travelled far beyond the confines even of Greater Ireland. His fame is universal. His songs are sung by the greatest artists of the greatest cities in the world. He has found an entrance into the castles and mansions of nobles as he has established a home in the cabins of the humblest peasants ; and everywhere he has brought with him an echo of Ireland's history, of her struggles, her sufferings, and her hopes.

It is only right, I think, that the man who has bequeathed to his country such a priceless treasure should have in the city of his birth and in Ireland's capital a monument worthy of his genius. I therefore humbly appeal to the Irish clergy at home and abroad, and wherever these lines may find them, to help us in the work we have undertaken. We have secured the co-operation of a very powerful committee—men of all shades of opinion and of all ranks and classes.

I trust it may be found possible to organize a little concert during the winter in every town and village in the country and give the people at large an opportunity of contributing a trifle to the work. Perhaps the students of Maynooth, All Hallows,

Thurles, Waterford, Carlow, and of all our Colleges and Convents, could see their way to give us a little help. All contributions will be gratefully received and duly acknowledged by the Dublin Committee, by the Hon. Treasurers, Mr. Thomas Sexton and Dr. Perceval Wright, or by

Yours faithfully,

EDWARD H. ENNIS, B.L.

41, Fitzwilliam-place, Dublin.

'AN IRISH VINCENTIAN MARTYR IN 1651'

REV. DEAR SIR,—I am happy to be able to throw some additional light on the holy martyr whose fate is so lovingly chronicled in the current issue by Father Boyle, C.M.

Father Boyle gives the name of the Irish Vincentian martyr as 'Lye' and equates 'Touä' with 'Tuam,' adding that his martyrdom took place in the latter town (Co. Galway).

It will doubtless interest Father Boyle and many other readers to know that the name of the martyr was Rev. Thady Lee, whose forbears were from Kilmeedy, Co. Limerick. He himself was born in Tuogh, Co. Limerick (the French form, 'Touä,' being a fairly good phonetic rendering of the townland known as Tuogh), not far from Clonshire, near Adare. He was in minor orders, and hence is styled a 'cleric' by St. Vincent de Paul, who also alludes to his talent for music. The Lees were a good old county Limerick family and Thady entered the Paris house of the Vincentians on October 21st, 1643. It is doubtful if his father lived to see the siege of Limerick, but from St. Vincent's letter (March 22nd, 1652) it is certain that his mother was alive at Tuogh in 1651, as the saintly disciple of St. Vincent de Paul was martyred 'before the eyes of his mother in his native place [en son pays]. Mrs. Lee was subsequently transplanted.' —I remain, Yours very sincerely,

WM. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

October 7th, 1904.

DOCUMENTS

IMPORTANT RESOLUTIONS OF THE IRISH HIERARCHY

A General Meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland was held on Tuesday, the 11th October, at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. His Eminence Cardinal Logue, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of All Ireland, presided.

The following Resolution was unanimously adopted :—

Resolved,—' That we reaffirm the statement on the educational grievances of Irish Catholics and the resolutions dealing with the general disabilities from which Irish Catholics still suffer without redress, as issued by us last June ; and that we hereby convey to the local authorities throughout the country our gratification at the intelligent and keen appreciation so many of them have manifested, of the gravity of the issues covered by our statement.

' In view of the persistent refusal of the civic right of Irish Catholics to suitable University education, and of the insidious attempts constantly on foot to undermine almost everything that remains sound in the fabric of Irish education, especially in the primary stage, and the consequent need of arming our people with due knowledge of the threatened danger, we ask our priests to read from their pulpits the above-mentioned statement and resolutions at the principal Mass in each Church on the first Sunday of November.'

The following are the statement and resolutions referred to :—

Statement.

' As authoritative statements made recently in Parliament indicate that the Government of the country contemplate serious changes in our systems of primary and secondary education, and as some pronouncements made by individual Catholics would suggest that the gravity of the issues involved and their true nature are not sufficiently understood, we deem it our duty to make the following statement :—

' We feel that any limitation or restriction of the control which is now exercised by managers over the schools of the National system of education would be so injurious to the religious interests of our people as to make it imperative on us to resist

the introduction of such a measure, and, in case it were adopted, to reconsider our whole position in relation to those schools.

'As the power of appointment of the teachers in National Schools is the principal guarantee that Catholic parents have that the education of their children will be placed in trustworthy hands, and as the reports of the Inspectors of National Schools concur in stating that that power is, on the whole, well and judiciously employed by the clergy, we are satisfied that on moral and religious as well as educational grounds, it would be disastrous to interfere with it.

'There is no sufficient reason for the adoption of extreme measures such as have been recently suggested; the National system as it actually exists is the growth of sixty years; it has gradually been transformed from its original irreligious conception into a form that is in harmony with the actual conditions of the country; it has removed, broadly speaking, all religious strife and contention from the primary schools; it has been widening year by year, and improving its educational work, and, although there are still many defects, we are convinced that these may be remedied under the present system without convulsing the country, and perhaps throwing education back for generations, especially if the appointment of Commissioners is carefully made, and on educational qualifications.

'If the improvement of education is the object which the Government and those who are behind them have in view, they would first try what simple and obvious reform within the existing system would effect. In a wretchedly poor country that is drained by excessive taxation and a ruinous land system, it would occur to anyone that wherever parsimony was allowable it was not in dealing with our schools. Yet at the moment that England is transferring over a million a year from local rates to Imperial taxation for the support of her schools, the Equivalent Grant for this country is refused to our primary schools on the score that our poor people do not contribute enough locally to their support. In our opinion, the primary schools of Ireland, especially in the poorer districts, have the first claim on this Equivalent Grant, which by itself would be sufficient to remove practically all the material defects about which complaint is now being made, and amongst other things, would render unnecessary the objectionable suggestion of amalgamating boys' and girls' schools in districts where the necessity for such amalgamation does not exist,

whether as regards attendance or educational efficiency, but solely to save expense.

'Then the waste of £30,000 a year on the Model Schools ought to cease; the Training Colleges should be helped until they reach the highest point of efficiency; the salaries of the teachers should be made such as to attract the best and most suitable candidates to the profession. These and other reforms would remove the greater part of the defects which are now the pretexts for attacking ostensibly the present system, but in reality the power of the clergy in the schools.

'Statements have been made as to the want of interest on the part of the people in education. We do not think that it is so. The amount of voluntary contributions which they make towards the building of schools, particularly convent and monasteries' schools, towards which in many instances the Government makes no building grant, is very large; and all over Ireland it is the uniform experience of managers that the people willingly contribute whatever is necessary to the upkeep of the schools. There are exceptions, we allow, but they must not be taken as a type of the whole, and, for our part, we should gladly second any measure to compel such managers to do their duty. In the details of the educational work done in the schools parents do not, as a rule, interfere, from the conviction, which we regard as, on the whole, sensible on their part, that these things are somewhat outside their competence, and can be safely left to the teachers under the supervision of expert inspectors and the immediate control of the managers.

'The alternative to the present Board of National Education of a Governmental Department, subject to the British Parliament and directed by Governmental officials, would be most objectionable to the Irish people and to us on religious, political, and educational grounds, and we feel that Mr. John Redmond deserves the thanks of the country for the prompt and decisive action which he took in the House of Commons against this project.

'A Department of Education may be well enough in England, where society is socially and politically in a normal condition, but in Ireland it would mean another outwork of Dublin Castle, and a further opportunity of practical ascendancy for a favoured sect.

'We regard with distrust this new-found zeal for educational

reform and the importation of English secularists to propagate their views, and are satisfied that its purpose is not the improvement of our schools, but the elimination from them of the religious influence of the Church. To say the least of it, it is suspicious to see the Chief Secretary, who refuses the great educational reform that nine-tenths of the Irish people earnestly and persistently demand, pressing upon us changes which the country does not ask for, and which run counter to all our religious sentiments.

'The need of co-ordination amongst the different parts of our educational system is urged as a pressing reason for some fundamental change. No doubt, the education of a country must be treated as an organic whole, in which all the constituents will mutually sustain and help each other; but we have nothing but amazement for such an argument in the mouth of those who insist on keeping Irish education in its present maimed and helpless state. The first condition of co-ordination is to have the elements to co-ordinate; but to talk to the Catholics of Ireland about co-ordination in education, without any University to complete the system, is pretty much like the organisation of a house without a roof.

'Even the limited proposal towards which the Chief Secretary has some private and underhand inquiry in progress at the present moment, is utterly impracticable, and cannot be entertained by Irish Catholics.

'On the Intermediate Board we have, at any rate, an assurance for the independence of our schools and colleges, and for fair play and equality for Catholics. We have no intention of exchanging these advantages for the control of a Department. The *personnel* of such a body would be sure to be objectionable. Its Protestant members might be Protestants, but we fear its Catholic members would be chosen to represent Governmental rather than Catholic interests.

'Its officials, too, could not command the confidence of the country, and we should never consent to place our schools and colleges at their mercy.

'Then, in relation to the main purposes of co-ordination, the position would be intolerable. While a Protestant pupil in any school might hope to pass from grade to grade until his education was completed in a University, a Catholic pupil finds his career cut short at the school, and no University available for

him. Probably the fourth Queen's College, which, under the name of a College of Science, is being built in Dublin, will be considered sufficient for all Catholic needs, while our Protestant fellow-countrymen will have their full share of the advantages of this College, and Dublin University and the Queen's Colleges besides.

'A further and more important question arises as to teachers. A University is the natural supply of teachers of secondary and science, it not of all, schools. If this Department is set working, while the Catholics of Ireland are left without University education, it will simply be a fresh endowment and establishment of Protestantism, in which the present possibly unavoidable employment of Protestants by the Agricultural Department for practically all its educational work will have to be made a permanent system.

'This is a state of things to which we shall never assent; and we have to add that, while we shall continue to do everything in our power to improve the education of our people, we shall not be induced by specious pretexts to adopt measures that are conceived in an anti-Catholic and an anti-National spirit. The first condition of a radical reform of Irish education is the establishment of a University system that the vast majority of the Irish people will accept. Until that is done, we shall regard all this talk about co-ordination and local control and educational progress as insincere, and as aimed at lessening clerical—that is Catholic—influence in the schools, rather than at promoting their educational efficiency.'

RESOLUTIONS.

1. 'That the rents drawn by Trinity College out of land in almost every part of Ireland, which, as the outcome of confiscation, have been reserved during three hundred years as a prize for a State-favoured minority, are of right the inheritance of the nation at large, and should be devoted, however late in the day, to provide in an effective manner, as far as they can go, for the wants of all the people of Ireland in the domain of higher education.'

2. 'That the practical exclusion of Catholics and of others who are known to entertain popular sympathies from public offices and employment in the gift of the Government, is a flagrant abuse of governmental power, worthy of the worst days of

ascendancy, and has its counterpart in an enormous and most wasteful expenditure of Irish taxation, to multiply situations for a small section of the community, and afford them good reason for calling themselves the loyal minority.'

3. 'That, whereas in addition to their endowments for higher and intermediate education and the great wealth of their Church, amounting to a capital of eight millions, derived originally from the appropriation of Catholic Church property, Irish Protestants have their full share of the State grants for primary, intermediate, industrial school, and technical education, it is intolerable that the efforts of our poor people to rebuild their churches, support their clergy, and make some provision for the better education of their children, should be travestied by the champions of an arrogant minority or their allies; and we are strongly of opinion that the more attention that is concentrated on this question the more will the public in these countries marvel at the slender resources on which the Church of the Nation does its work for the great bulk of the people, and the huge endowments that remain to the Church of the few.'

4. 'That, while we ask for no consideration for Catholics that we do not desire for all others in regard to State, or Company, or business employment, and while we utterly repudiate the idea of excluding Protestants or anyone else from any position to which they are entitled on the merits, we consider that the utterly indefensible state of things to which attention is called in the foregoing resolutions is so discouraging to our people, so fatal to effort and enterprise, and consequently so ruinous to the country as a whole, that we think that the attention of the public men and the Press of the country and the full force of enlightened public opinion should be concentrated upon it, until the monopolists are compelled to stand on exactly the same footing as the rest of their fellow-countrymen in public opportunities and advantages.'

✠ MICHAEL CARDINAL LOGUE, *Chairman.*
✠ RICHARD ALPHONSUS,
Bishop of Waterford and Lismore,
✠ JOHN,
Bishop of Elphin,
} *Secretaries.*

INDULGENCE FOR NOVENA TO ST. FRANCIS XAVIER

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM.

URBIS ET ORBIS.

INDULG. CHRISTIFIDELIBUS CONCEDUNTUR INTUITU 'NOVENDIALIUM A GRATIA' IN HONOREM S. FRANCISCI XAVERII.

Abhinc tribus fere saeculis Christifideles ad S. Franciscum Xaverium Indiarum Apostolum praedicatione et miraculis insignem confidenter confugere consueverunt devoto praesertim exercitio, quod propter magnam in praesentibus vitae necessitatibus compertam efficaciam '*Novendiales a gratia*' appellare non dubitarunt. Ad quod pium exercitium magis fovendum Summi Pontifices indulgentias sive partiales sive plenarias iam pridem elargiti sunt, quae tamen ad quasdam regiones et praecipue ad ecclesias Societatis Iesu coarctabantur. Nunc vero, quo uberiores ex his novendialibus precibus pietatis fructus colligantur, SSmo. Dno. Nro. Pio PP. X preces sunt exhibitae, ut easdem, ubivis peractas, sacris indulgentiis ditare dignaretur. Has vero preces idem SSmus. in audientia habita die 23 Martii 1904 ab infrascripto Cardinali Praefecto Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, peramanter excipiens, universis Christifidelibus memoratum exercitium quovis anni tempore sive publice sive privatim peragentibus, sequentes indulgentias, defunctis quoque applicabiles bis tantum in anno acquirendas, concedere dignatus est ; nempe : 1° tercentum dierum quovis earumdem novendialium die lucrandam ab iis, qui vel subsequentem orationem vel, si illam ad manum non habeant, quinquies *Pater, Ave et Gloria Patri*, etc., corde saltem contrito ac devote recitaverint ; 20 plenariam autem iis, qui post huiusmodi pium expletum exercitium infra octo dies confessi ac S. Synaxi refecti ad mentem Sanctitatis Suae pie oraverint :

Oratio quolibet novendialium die recitanda ;

' O valde amabilis et charitate plenus, Sancte Francisce Xaveri, tecum Maiestatem Divinam reverenter adoro ; et quoniam summopere gaudeo de singularibus gratiae donis, quae Ipsa tibi contulit in hac vita, et gloriae post mortem, Ei maximas ago gratias, teque toto cordis affectu deprecor, ut efficaci tua intercessione praecipuam mihi gratiam velis obtinere sanctam vitam agendi sancteque moriendi. Insuper te rogo, ut mihi

impetres . . . (*hic exprimatur gratia sive spiritualis sive temporalis imploranda*). Si vero id, quod a te suppliciter peto, ad Dei gloriam et ad maius bonum animae meae minime confert, tu, quaeso, mihi impetres quod utrique est utilius. Amen. *Pater*, *Ave* et *Gloria Patri*, etc.'

Praesenti in perpetuum valituro. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis die 23 Martii 1904.

ALOISIUS Card. TRIPEPI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

Pro Secret., IOSEPH M. Cancus COSELLI, *Subtus.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

LOST ANGEL OF A RUINED PARADISE. A Drama of Modern Life. By Very Rev. P. A. Canon Sheehan, D.D. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1904.

As a drama of modern life this effort of the author of *My New Curate* is interesting and attractive. We cannot say that it is absolutely successful; but it has sufficient merits to commend it whatever may be its defects. Its chief deficiency is that on the whole it seems so much out of touch with real life. In this respect, no doubt, it is unequal: for there are scenes that may be met with any day very graphically presented, as for instance, 'A Railway Carriage between Bray and Dublin. Grace, Eva, and Lilian in a corner of the carriage. Grace and Eva are eating chocolate creams voraciously. Lilian is reading, or trying to read, *The Deemster*.

'Eva (with her mouth full) "Jolly day."

'Grace (with her mouth full) "Delightful."'

This promises well and the promise is fulfilled. But even here we should think that such expressions as 'Great Scott' and 'For God's sake' are somewhat out of place on the lips of these intellectual young ladies.

The transformation of the Fate Atropos, Lilian White, into Sister Edith seems also a little forced. But we would have our readers judge for themselves. Enough for us to say that the book is a good one and to recommend it accordingly.

A ROLL OF HONOUR. Irish Prelates and Priests of the last Century. With Preface by the Most Rev. Dr. Healy, Archbishop of Tuam. Dublin: Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, 1905.

THIS work, which has been so ardently praised by the Archbishop of Tuam, includes in its 'Roll of Honour' Dr. Doyle, Father Hand, Dr. Murray of Dublin, Father Mathew, Dr.

Russell, Dr. MacHale, Father Haly, S.J., Father Tom Burke, O.P., and Dr. Croke. The sketches of these illustrious presonages are well written and, as far as they go, well informed. In the words of the Most Rev. Dr. Healy, the volume 'comprises the most eminent Irish churchmen of the nineteenth century, whose services to the Church and to their country have rendered their names immortal in the history of our native land.'

The praise given by His Grace to Dr. Murray, the distinguished Archbishop of Dublin, is well merited and will make the sketch of that great prelate's career all the more attractive. The sketches of Dr. Russell, Father Hand, Father Haly, S.J., and Father Burke, O.P., show the variety of the activities of Irish ecclesiastical life in the nineteenth century in a light which will bear comparison with the most flourishing age of the Church in any land.

The account of Dr. Croke brings the interest down to our own days. The full glory of that great prelate's career is still shrouded, however, and is probably destined to remain so for some time longer; but we are confident that, sooner or later, it will come forth in all its truth and grandeur. Meanwhile this popular sketch will serve to keep his memory green and to keep his name, where it well deserves to be, in the very front roll of Ireland's greatest churchmen. We congratulate the 'Catholic Truth Society' on the production of this very handsome volume and wish it a wide sale. We should be glad to see a copy of it in every home in the country.

J. F. H.

CONCERNING THE HOLY BIBLE: ITS USE AND ABUSE. By the Right Rev. Mgr. Canon John S. Vaughan. London: R. & T. Washbourne, 4, Paternoster-row; New York, Cincinnati and Chicago: Benziger Bros.

THE Catholic world may well thank Monsignor Vaughan for his latest work. He has given us a book on a supremely important subject which will be intelligible to the ordinary Catholic, erudite enough to satisfy the scholar, and literary enough for the most exacting and fastidious. His work deals with the leading questions regarding the original language and deals with them luminously and effectively. A special feature

of the work is the section dealing with 'Specimen Difficulties,' the Versions of the Sacred Text; Private Judgment and Free Inquiry; Difficulty of Interpretation; Inspiration, etc., and which are given as a rule in the very words of our opponents. The answers are strong and convincing always, but always given in a spirit of mildness and Christian charity. The book will be a source of enjoyment to many a devout Catholic whose faith in the Holy Bible has been assailed by these specious objections against the authority of the Written Word, unfortunately so common at the present day. Priests will find it useful in the preparation of discourses and instructions for their flocks; and they would do well to bring it under the notice of their people, so as to have it introduced widely into Catholic homes. It is certain to be productive of much good.

T. O'K.

WILLIAM BLAKE. A Study of his Life and Work. By Irene Langridge. London: George Bell & Sons, 1904. Price 10s. 6*d*. net.

THERE are perhaps few people in Ireland who know the extent to which William Blake influences certain currents and tendencies of recent Irish literature. This extraordinary genius, poet, artist, prophet, has enthusiastic disciples who pay him a sort of cult, and amongst them some of the most ardent are leaders in what is called the Irish literary revival. Blake, who held high converse with the great spirits of the past and with the creatures of the imagination of all ages and countries was scarcely more extreme in his fancies than those of our own countrymen who are wont to commune with fairies, sprites and ghouls, and to ride into enchanted castles on a broom-stick.

There is something weird, almost uncanny, in the work of the master whether in poetry, in design, in his sketches, engravings, and hand-coloured illustrations. There appears to us to be something sickly and unsound in everything he did; and whilst nobody will deny him the possession of genius, we do not think it is of a kind to inspire a healthy school.

Miss Langridge in her interesting sketch of the man and his work has given us a fair insight into the character of both. It is interesting to learn that Blake's father, the hosier, James Blake, was the son of an Irishman named John O'Neil, who married a girl from Rathmines, Dublin, named Ellen Blake, and

as he soon afterwards got into debt and trouble of one sort or another he dropped his name of O'Neil and adopted his wife's maiden name.

In the whole history of art and poetry there is nothing to stand in the same category as Blake's *Songs of Innocence* and *Songs of Experience*, the *Book of Thel*, the *Song of Lot* and the *Inventions of the Book of Job*. They stand alone, and perhaps it is as well they should be left to stand so. Mere imitation of genius as always a poor thing.

We recommend Miss Langridge's volume to all who wish to become acquainted with Blake and his work.

Z.

AUBREY DE VERE. A Memoir based on Unpublished Correspondence. By Wilfrid Ward. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1904. Price 14s. net.

THE name of Aubrey de Vere, the sweet and gentle poet of Curragh Chase, will long be held in honour in Catholic Ireland. The memoir of him which we owe to Mr. Wilfrid Ward is now before us and gives us an insight into his life and character for which we are sincerely grateful. For although Mr. Ward laboured under serious difficulties from the fact that most of the materials for a biography had already been published elsewhere, yet he has made such good use of what remained that his *Memoir* will stand on its own merits and serve to throw additional light not only on the genial character of Aubrey de Vere, but on the literary and social history of his time.

From 1814 to 1902 is a long cry, and through the various stages of that long journey Mr. Ward accompanies his friend with sympathy and interest. We learn, for instance, that the tutor to whom Aubrey was entrusted about his eleventh year could not get him to learn any Latin, pronounced him an idiot, and recommended him to cultivate his moral faculties as he had no intellectual ones to develop.

Associated with all the County Limerick families of his own class, the Hunts, Spring Rices, Monsells, Dunravens, etc., it was natural that Aubrey should have been sent to Trinity College. Here he became the intimate friend of Sir William Rowan Hamilton, the famous astronomer, and devoted himself ardently to the study of metaphysics. He had from the first intended to take orders in the Established Church; but had changed his mind

on the subject before he left Trinity, and decided to devote himself entirely to literature. He visited Oxford, Cambridge, and Rome. He made a short sojourn at Rydal in the Lake country, and finally settled down in London.

In one way or another the poet became acquainted with most of the great men of his time, and was particularly intimate with Wordsworth, Tennyson, Monckton Milnes, Carlyle, Taylor, Gladstone, Newman, and Smith O'Brien. His correspondence with several of these, and with men like John Stuart Mill, is well worthy of being preserved. What, for instance, could be more characteristic of the grim old 'Sage of Chelsea' than this note about Ireland :—

'Yes, beyond doubt, there is a good deal in Ireland that we know not. If Ireland consisted all of Tara Hill meetings, of O'Connell balderdash and rusty pistol shots and MacHale letters, Ireland could not cohere at all ; its pot, very languidly simmering of late, would long since have ceased to boil altogether.'

The chapter 'Nach Rom' is of course full of interest to Catholics ; and the quiet contentment of the convert that never belied itself to the last day of a long life is very impressive.

To Irish priests one of the most fascinating chapters in the book will be the one entitled 'Agnosticism and Jacobinism,' where they come in for a good many hard knocks in letters about the Land Agitation, the Phœnix Park Murders, and Home Rule. It is no harm for people to see themselves as others see them, particularly when the other is on the whole such a good-natured critic, one in whom there was no real bitterness.

DIE GESCHICHTE DES MESSOPFER-BEGRIFFS. Dr. Franz S. Renz. 2 Vols. Freising: Datterer et Cie. 1902-1904.

THE greatest act that a priest can perform is the celebration of Mass. Speaking in the person and by the power of Jesus Christ, a priest effects the miracle of transubstantiation and offers the same adorable Body and Blood that was immolated on Calvary.

While, therefore, on the one hand the Mass is to him the inexhaustible source of choicest blessings, on the other it demands from the priest that undeviating correspondence to grace which comes from a due appreciation of the gift of God. Besides the

lively faith in the mystery which pious lay persons possess, and which is the foundation of their devotion, a priest should know the theology of the mystery, and this two-fold enlightenment of mind should be the foundation of *his* devotion. God has said, 'labia sacerdotis custodient scientiam.' The same obligation is inculcated by the solemn words of the ordination prayer, 'ut agnoscant quod agant.' Hence the peculiar and paramount importance to a priest of that part of the Church's teaching which refers to the adorable sacrifice.

It is chiefly for this reason that the present work by the learned professor in the University of Münster is so welcome, viz., *The History of the Sacrificial Idea in the Mass, or The Ancient Faith and the Modern Theories respecting the Essence of the Sacrifice.* As the double title leads us to expect, we find in the work a complete exposition of the positive theology on the subject, and then an equally exhaustive examination of the various theories that have been proposed. Dr. Renz starts from the consideration of the primeval state of man, the fall, and the sacrifice to Jehovah. Though we cannot agree in every particular with his explanation, yet some exegetical principles are well brought out. He does not attach importance to the element of suffering or death in sacrifice *as such*, nor does he expect to gain his central idea, or to frame his definition of sacrifice, from those that were offered in the Old Testament. In this respect he presents a contrast to Thalhofer and others. As regards his exegesis of the New Testament passages, which after all are the decisive ones, we do not remember to have seen elsewhere so good a commentary on the Words of Institution. In a few pages the reader will find everything appertaining to the question adequately treated. The next part contains an admirable summary of the Patristic tradition. Here Dr. Renz has the advantage of having gone over the ground before. In 1892 he published his brochure, *Opfercharakter der Eucharistie, u.s.w.* The passages he quotes from the Didache, and from the works of SS. Ignatius, Justin, Irenaeus, and Cyprian—Origen and Tertullian—the three great Cappadocians —St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, etc.—and the liturgies, both eastern and western, are at once apposite and convincing. If, however, a suggestion be allowed, one would like to say that it would be better to give the quotations in the original with a translation where necessary, than in a translation alone. The

same remark applies to the passages given afterwards from the scholastics and modern theologians. They would look better in Latin than in German. Then as regards the liturgical evidence, we miss even a reference to the valuable testimony contained in Mgr. Rahmani's *Testament of Our Lord* (Kircheim, Mainz, 1899). If, as we fully expect, a second edition of Dr. Renz's erudite work is called for, its value will be greatly enhanced by some quotations from the Testament. Whatever we may think about its discoverer's views regarding its antiquity, the Testament is undoubtedly one of the most important specimens of the early liturgy. As Cooper and Maclean remark in their excellent English translation (page 248), the Testament is evidently the prototype of the Abyssinian Anaphora, the relevant portions of which might also be given. So, too, it would be of advantage to reproduce some passages from the *Sacramentary of Serapion* (ed. Brightman, *J.T.S.*, October, 1899). The necessity for collecting and illustrating all such evidence is felt all the more when one reads such an article as Swete's in the same periodical (January, 1902).

From the Fathers Dr. Renz passes on to the mediæval theologians, Florus, Rabanus Maurus, Lanfranc, etc., and then to the scholastics, Peter Lombard, Alexander Hales, Albert the Great, St. Thomas, and Scotus. It may be observed that the sections on the last two named are especially interesting. So far we find no difference of opinion among the Church's theologians, and therefore the first volume describes only the universal belief of the Chruch.

In the second volume a different scene is presented to our view. We see the theologians of the sixteenth century called on to defend the dogma of the sacrifice of the Mass. Eckius and Cochlaeus, Cardinals Fisher and Cajetan, Clichtovaeus, Fabri, Contarini. Driedo, Hosius, Tapper, Melchior Cano Soto —all appear in turn. A minute investigation into the meaning and scope of the Tridentine decree occupies several pages, for Dr. Renz does not believe in the popular explanation of it. Lastly comes what to many readers will we think be, perhaps, the most interesting part of the whole work, viz., an analysis and estimate of the theories regarding the essence of the Mass so familiar to every student of dogmatic theology. It may be said that Dr. Renz describes also some that will be new to the majority of readers. Instead of having to search in many

books and perhaps to search in vain, for the views held by Cuestas, Casals, and Galens, he will find them all concisely and clearly set forth here. They are comparatively unknown, yet Cuestas was the originator of the theory that goes under the name of Lessius. Casals' theory contains in germ the ideas developed respectively by Vasquez, Bellarmin, Lugo, and Suarez; while Galen is really the predecessor of Suarez, and also of Thalhofer. The vicissitudes of all these and of more recent theories (those of Amort, Stattler, Widmann, Brenner, Möhler, Stöckl), the mutual objections and replies, are described at full length. But Dr. Renz's own estimate of them, and his return to what he considers the ancient idea of sacrifice is what will most engage the attention of some readers. Without attempting to enter into details for which we have not space, it will be enough to say that he disapproves more or less of all such theories. According to him they have no foundation in Scripture or in Tradition; they were unknown to the Fathers, the Scholastics, and the other pre-Tridentine theologians, and they all rest on a false notion of sacrifice. In their eagerness to defend the Tridentine decree, their authors have indulged too much in speculation. Whatever may be thought of Dr. Renz's work in this respect, as a historical exposition of the teaching of theologians on the essence of the Mass, it should find a place in every library. It is a noble work, and one that can hardly be too highly commended.

R. W.

A Holiday in Japan. Out East and Back West. By Charles T. Waters. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers & Walker; London: David Nutt. Price 3s.

This is a very readable book, written in a very charming style, and replete with such information as a tourist can get of the inner life of Japan. The description of the journey to Gibraltar, Colombo, Canton, has nothing very new for anyone who has been on board a P. & O. or an Orient Line steamer to the East. Interest in Japan proper begins with the chapter on Kyoto, and runs through those on Yokohama, Kamakura and Tokyo. As to the religion of the Japanese, Mr. Waters says:—

'Perhaps it is inaccurate to dignify with the name of religion the jumble of Pantheism and Polytheism which forms their system. With no clear notion of immortality and no object of

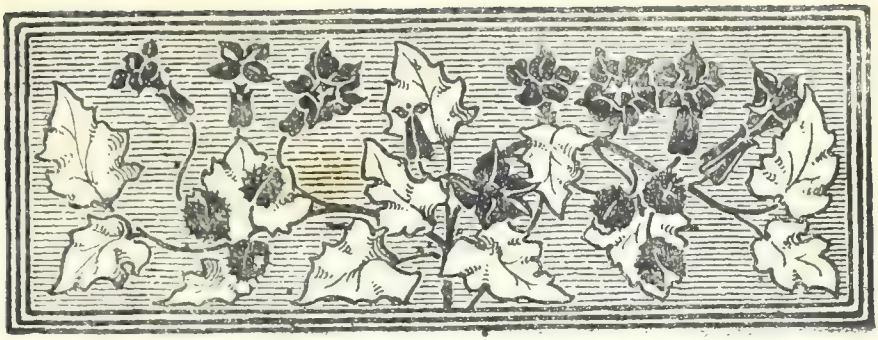
supreme worship more personal than heaven, the mingling of Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism, or nature worship, with which they are imbued can scarcely be called a religious faith ; and it is not surprising that what is best in it should have developed into a gross form of ancestry worship.'

And farther on :—

'There are two religions in Japan, Shinto and Buddhism ; and they form the components of a mixed system which existed in the past. *Shinto*, or "the way of the gods," was the indigenous element. It is a compound of nature and ancestry worship ; but with no theory as to the destiny of man, no dogma, sacred book, or moral precepts, it has no approach to a creed. "Obey the Mikado, the divine descendant of the Sun-Godess, whose dynasty has reigned since the beginning of the world ; reverence the dead ; and do what you like," may be said to sum up its principles. It has countless deities associated with the earth, air, water, and fire, and other objects of sense.'

The social life in the towns through which Mr. Waters passed is very graphically depicted. Altogether a pleasant, attractive, and enlightening book.

Z.



THE FRIARS MINOR AND THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

HIS Eminence Cardinal Merry del Val, Secretary of State, in an eulogistic letter which, on July 4th of the current year, he, in the name of the Holy Father, graciously sent to Father Peter Pauwels, O.F.M., and the other anonymous author of *Les Franciscains et l'Immaculée Conception*, says :—

> To write the history of those events which finally induced Pius IX of immortal memory to proclaim, in due time, this dogma so dear to our hearts, is to place in prominent relief a glory and an honour of the Franciscan Order. Your Order from its cradle has, according to the directions of St. Francis himself, been nourished with devotion to the Immaculate Virgin : later on, treading in the footprints of the Venerable John Duns Scotus, it propagated this truth with so much zeal and enthusiasm that it carried this doctrine of Mary's non-forfeiture of grace as on the crest of a wave to its ultimate triumph, gaining thereby a special title to her protection.

This is praise indeed. I would fain take this excerpt as my text in order to prove how well-merited this encomium of his Eminence is, and by basing my article chiefly on the work which called it forth, to show how it is borne out by historical evidence. My purpose, then, being restricted to the influential part providentially assumed by Friars Minor, it is scarcely necessary to say that I do not intend to discuss the early history of this dogma in the Eastern and Western Churches, but merely to focus attention on the labours, theological and polemical, of the doctors, preachers

and saints of the Franciscan Order. That the Seraphic Founder St. Francis was imbued with the tenderest devotion towards the Blessed Virgin, St. Bonaventure attests, referring to his *incredibilem pietatem*. But was he an adherent of her Immaculate Conception? In the critical edition of the works of St. Francis brought out this year at St. Bonaventure's College, Quaracchi, we read (page 123) the following authentic prayer :—

Ave Domina Sancta, regina sanctissima, Dei Genitrix Maria, quae es Virgo perpetua, electa a sanctissimo Patre de coelo, quam consecravit cum sanctissimo dilecto Filio et Spiritu Paraclito, *in quo fuit et est omnis plenitudo gratiae et omne bonum*. Ave palatium ejus. Ave tabernaculum ejus. Ave domus ejus. Ave vestimentum ejus. Ave ancilla ejus. Ave mater ejus et vos omnes sanctae virtutes quae per gratiam et illuminationem Sancti Spiritus infundimini in corda fidelium ut de infidelibus fideles Deo faciatis.

Would it be inconclusive to read into this prayer—certain words of which I have italicised—an act of faith on his part in the Immaculate Conception? In support of this hypothesis it may be alleged that in the days of St. Francis the cultus of the Conception was already established in Sicily, in Southern Italy, in Spain and in the East, and is it so unlikely to hold that in his journeyings he must have come across many traces of it?

History, however, does not appear to ratify the decree of the celebrated Chapter of Mats as being anything more than an indication of the great devotion he experienced towards God's Holy Mother.

But the first-born of St. Francis, St. Antony of Padua, in his most authentic sermons, professes belief in the Immaculate Conception. There is a sermon for the Third Sunday in Lent or commentary on that text of the Holy Scripture, *Beatus venter qui te portavit*, etc.; he says: *Illa autem gloriosa Virgo singulari gratia praeventa est atque repleta*. And this opinion, in the eyes of St. Antony, is the conclusion flowing from the words of St. Augustine, which he quotes and makes his own in this very passage of his sermon: . . . 'with the exception of the Virgin, of whom I cannot admit that there can be any question

when there is mention of sin, if we could assemble all the Saints that have lived, and were to ask them were they sinless, what do you think would be their answer? All would exclaim: If we said we were sinless we should be deceiving ourselves and truth would not be in us. But this glorious Virgin was prevented by a singular grace and was filled with it.'[1] There is question here of a *singular* grace elevating the Blessed Virgin above all creatures, but St. Antony argued, if Mary had been sanctified after having contracted the original stain, in what would she differ in this respect from Jeremias and St. John the Baptist?

But Melchior Canus, in his treatise *de Locis Theologicis*, maintains that St. Antony did not believe in the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and he quotes a sentence from the sermon preached by the Saint on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin.[2] 'The glorious Virgin was *born* without stain, being sanctified in her mother's womb.' This passage seems, on the face of it, to be in open contradiction with the one quoted above, but it presents no difficulty whatsoever when it is remembered that St. Antony's homilies were not drawn up in scholastic Latin. And what bears this out fully and completely is, that the same Saint taught, in another place, that Jesus Christ was sanctified in Mary's womb.[3] Surely the Saint does not take the term 'to sanctify' as meaning 'to deliver from sin'?

But from these isolated facts I am far from asserting that devotion to the Immaculate Conception was general among Franciscans at the time. The principal Doctors of the Order, Alexander of Hales, St. Bonaventure, Richard of Middletown or Mediavilla, etc., are all opposed to it as may be gathered from St. Bonaventure's own words: *Omnes fere illud tenent quod beata Virgo habuerit originale;*

[1] *Sermones . . in laudem G. V. Mariae*, edited by Father Josa, p. 17. Padua, 1886.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] 'Beata Virgo fuit locus sanctificationis Jesu Christi in qua ipse se sanctificavit.' —*Ibid.*

and what is still more to the point : *Nullus invenitur dixisse de his quos audivimus auribus nostris virginem Mariam a peccato originali fuisse immunem.*[1] This text is peremptory.

But the reaction soon set in, and I take the description of it from a book published last year by X. M. Le Bachelet, S.J.[2] At the dawn of the fourteenth century a champion stepped forward not to create a dogma until then unknown,[3] but to uphold the belief of which manifold manifestations might be adduced, and to inaugurate its ultimate triumph He came from England, where, towards the end of the thirteenth century, the universities had been won over to Mary's cause. Had there really been at Cologne and Paris a great theological joust where, confronted by two hundred arguments drawn up by his opponents, Duns Scotus refuted them so peremptorily that the large majority of theologians, and the University of Paris in particular, rallied to this teaching ? Some weighty authorities question its existence, but what is unquestionable and what is not contested is, that the subtle Doctor imparted a decisive momentum to the cause of the Immaculate Conception.

How did Scotus succeed in bringing this about ? By means of a process which was rather polemical than theological, less in establishing his own thesis than in overcoming that of his opponents.[4] The chief reason appealed to by them was derived from the dignity of Christ the Redeemer, which was irreconcilable, they thought, with the exemption from original sin. On the contrary, replied the Franciscan Doctor, in realising this exemption of His Mother Christ became the Redeemer in her regard more perfectly and more fully. There are two ways of saving any one—we may draw him out of the precipice over which he has fallen, but we may also hinder his fall at the critical moment. So also there are two ways of ransoming anyone—the first by paying the ransom when he is already in chains ;

[1] In 3 dist. 3, art. 1, quaes. 2.

[2] *L'Immaculée Conception*, T. ii. p. 35.

[3] Srangely enough Döllinger, in *Wetzer and Welte's Dict. Encyc.* (Scot), says : ' A point of *doctrine which Scotus initiated* was that of the Immaculate Conception of the B.M.V.'

[4] III. Sent. dist. iii. q.

the second by paying it before the right of slavery is exercised, although it has been acquired. Is not this latter kind of ransom more perfect in its efficacy, more noble in itself, more glorious for him who is the one benefited ? Perfect innocence being a greater good than the remission of the fault contracted, the grace which preserved Mary from original sin was greater than that which would have merely purified her.

But that is not a real redemption ! Quite a mistake, answers Scotus. It is a *preservative redemption*, and not merely a preservation. Every natural descendant of Adam and Eve is, by virtue of his origin, passive of the original stain ; that debt cannot be liquidated (since original sin cannot efface itself) but by the application of the merits of Christ the Redeemer. In other words, Mary the born daughter of Adam had to be conceived in the same state as other members of the human race, dead to the life of grace, subject to the slavery of sin and of the devil and God's enemy ; but the Divine Word saw to His future Mother, He sanctified her at the very moment He created her, bestowing on her, by anticipation and in a more exalted manner and one more worthy of His filial love, His own merits of Redeemer. Mary, to be Immaculate in her Conception, had absolute need of this application of the merits of the Redeemer; how else could she, in her *Magnificat*, have declared God to be her Saviour ?

Mary could, therefore, have been at once ransomed and conceived sinless. But is not a stainless conception in flagrant contradiction with the human generation of the Virgin ? How could it be that her soul was not soiled by its contact and union with a flesh of sin ? Such was the second objection Scotus handled with consummate skill. It must have appeared unanswerable to those theologians of that period who did not plainly distinguish original sin from concupiscence, or who looked upon the latter as a defective quality, tainting primarily the flesh and through it reaching the soul. The subtle Doctor admirably clears the ground strewn with these false ideas. With St. Anselm—and with good reason—he denies that

concupiscence is a real infection of the flesh or a positive vice. Even granting that such be its nature, it is not to be supposed, he adds, that there is an essential connection between it and the hereditary stain. Nothing that properly constitutes original sin remains in those who have been baptised, and yet baptism does not free them from concupiscence.

What does it matter, then, that the generating act of St. Joachim and St. Anne was subject to the common law of human generation ? What does it matter that Mary had under this head a sinful flesh, if by God's special privilege she was never deprived of sanctifying grace ? If the sanctifying grace logically presupposes the generating act ; if in this order of ideas our thought centres on Mary first conceived as a daughter of Adam, then sanctified as a daughter of God, we shall not find there a priority of time which demands in the soul of Mary two successive states, one of sin the other of grace. There is only in her at the first instant of her existence a twofold relation, that of daughter of Adam for which she is indebted to her human generation, subject to the common law and establishing the debt of sin, and that of daughter of God, which she owes to the privileged sanctification which screened her from the consequences of the common law, and extinguished in her the debt of sin by a special application of the merits of the Saviour. With the help of these principles Scotus was able to answer the testimonies which his opponents borrowed from the Fathers and Holy Scripture.

But there remained a final objection: If the Blessed Virgin did not contract original sin why did she incur its penalties ? Why did she suffer ; why did she die ? There were some of these penalites which might have been advantageous to Mary and others which could not have been, replies the Franciscan Doctor. What advantage would there have been for her in the original stain ? It is quite another thing with the afflictions and sufferings of this life, as they are sources of merit. Jesus Christ could, therefore, fulfil His office of Redeemer in Mary's regard and yet leave her these kinds of penalties. This is a pregnant

idea in its apparent barrenness, and to develop it was necessary to compare it with the rôle of new Eve which belonged to Mary. In virtue of this rôle she had to be near the new Adam; to share in His destiny and, like Him, to suffer and die. But these temporal penalties are no more in the new Eve than in the new Adam the sign of original sin. It is nevertheless true to say with St. Augustine[1] that she died because of Adam's sin, *ex Adam mortua propter peccatum:* for this sin deprived human nature of the gift of immortality that it had received as its appanage in the person of the first man.

In all this, Duns Scotus has rather refuted the opponents of the Immaculate Conception of Mary than established the doctrine at the outset. However, he had appealed to authority by invoking two witnesses—St. Augustine, who says: 'Let there be no question of sin when we speak of Mary,' and St. Anselm, who says: 'It was expedient that the Virgin should shine with a purity without equal under God.' Hence having proved the possibility of the privilege, he sums up his opinion and enunciates it under this moderate form: 'The Blessed Virgin might not have been a single moment under original sin: she might have been a moment; and she might have been for some time. Which of these hypotheses took place. God knows . . . but if the authority of the Church or that of Scripture is not against it, it seems reasonable to attribute to Mary what is most perfect.' But the conviction of Scotus became accentuated with time: later on he distinctly asserted that the Mother of God was never at enmity with Him by reason of actual or original sin (which she would have been had she not been preserved). 'Est ibi etiam Beata Virgo Mater Dei, quae nunquam fuit inimica Dei actualiter ratione peccati actualis nec originalis (fuisset tamen nisi fuisset preservata).'[2]

To enter into the question[3] whether a theological

[1] Ennarat. in Psalm xxxiv. 3.
[2] Ll. iii., dis. xviii.
[3] Cf. *Tablet*, Nov. 5, 1904, where I believe I have conclusively proved that the discussion did take place.—A. E.

discussion took place in Paris in 1307, would lead us too far afield, and would interfere materially with the unity of our present study, but, as Father Bachelet says, whether it took place or not the triumph of Scotus is an historical fact, for as Bishop Ullathorne says :[1] 'It was Scotus who removed the great objection of St. Thomas. . . . And from this time the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception not only gained a vast deal of ground in the schools of the universities and became the common opinion, but the Feast of the Conception came to be established in Rome.' The struggle entered on a new phase. But to the glory of the Franciscans it must be confessed that they helped incalculably to bring about this change of front. This doctrine became the pet thesis of the Friars Minor, who in their teaching exempted the Blessed Virgin from all stain. Father Panfilo[2] thinks that the Scotistic school took its rise in Paris in 1387, when the Dominican John of Montson sustained some thesis in which he condemned the opinion of the Immaculate Conception as being contrary to faith. Then the Franciscans, in order to vindicate their pious opinion, closed their ranks under the banner of Scotus and took the name of Scotists ; whilst the Dominicans, who grounded their opinion on the authority of St. Thomas, were called Thomists.

Bibliographic lists of Franciscan authors have been drawn up by Wadding in his *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*.[3] The most famous of Scotus' disciples was Francis Mayronis, who wrote a treatise on the Immaculate Conception in which he developed his thesis by establishing three positions : *Potuit, decuit, ergo fecit*.[4] He lived at the period of the most numerous and intrepid upholders of the pious opinion. He defended it exhaustively in his commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard, in numerous treatises written in the scholastic style, and in a profusion of sermons and commentaries on the *Magnificat* and the *Missus*.

[1] *Imm. Conc.*, p. 146.
[2] *Storia Compendiosa d S. Francesco e di Francescani*, l. ii.
[3] Fr. Panfilo, *Supplementum ad Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*,
[4] P. Strozzi, S.J., *Controversia della Concezione della B.M.V.*, p. 241.

About the same time there lived Blessed Raymund Lulli, a Franciscan Tertiary—for he was born in 1235. He also entered the lists as Mary's intrepid champion and composed (*a*) *Liber de Conceptione Virginali*, (*b*) *Liber de Eremitarum disputatione super conceptu Virginali*, and (*c*) *Mariale Magnum Matris Vitae*. Many have not hesitated to say that the manifold persecutions raised against our Blessed are to be traced to his indefatigable zeal in spreading devotion to this glorious prerogative of Mary, so that what a writer of the seventeenth century said about Duns Scotus is equally applicable to him: 'The more the Franciscan opinion was countenanced by the Holy See the more his opponents strove to lessen his reputation for holiness. His opponents would not rest content until they had buried him in his own writings.' A fictitious bull was issued under the name of Gregory XI, condemning four or five hundred of Blessed Raymund's opinions, but the Bollandists,[1] referring to the bull, say: 'Neque ab Ecclesia, neque ab ejus capite Romano Pontifice unquam agnitam aut receptam.'

In 1325 the struggle entered on a new phase. A well-planned attack was made to crush out the movement. The opponents of the pious belief being persuaded that their opinion was in complete consonance with Holy Scripture, the principles laid down by the Fathers and the belief of the Church, wished to precipitate matters by an appeal to the Holy See. The moment could not have been more propitious, thought they, for Pope John XXII, then residing at Avignon, had had several sharp encounters with the Friars Minor (who were the chief upholders of this doctrine) relative to the question of evangelical poverty, and was incensed against them because some of their number had embraced the cause of Louis of Bavaria. It was hoped, as Mgr. Malou says,[2] that a deadly blow would be dealt and preference given to the contrary opinion. Accepting the rôle of arbitrator the Holy Father listened to the arguments of both sides during the debate, which

[1] T. xxvii. p. 671. [2] *L'Immaculée Conception*, vol. i. p. 55.

lasted for several days, and at the conclusion, to the discomfiture of their opponents, declared that the truth lay with the Franciscans, and moreover to emphasize his decision he ordained that the Feast of the Immaculate Conception should be celebrated in his chapel and in the town of Avignon with unusual pomp and display; nay, more, he even composed, according to Francis Martin, a *prosa* in honour of the mystery.[1]

It is easy to understand how much the Papal action helped to clear the atmosphere, but still the struggle went on. From the condemnation of John of Montson the Dominicans and Friars Minor took up sides diametrically opposed. United, as Othon de Pavie says, in the blessed memory of their saintly founders and by family traditions, they remained apart, as it were, on the question of the Immaculate Conception. In both camps a tender and filial devotion to the Mother of God was kept alive and no other object was sought than to give glory to the truth. It may be said that this long controversy was destined according to the plan of Providence, to enlighten the faith of those who, in ages to come, would be tempted to attack the dogmatic definition ; for in these disputes the question was examined thoroughly, and the dissertations of those days were providential answers to the objections inspired by the unbelief of to-day.

The next Pope who took up the question was Alexander V, a Franciscan, and though he only reigned ten months, he approved the opinion he had taught as doctor, and ordained that without injury to faith Mary could be held to be conceived Immaculate.

Then came the Council of Basle which lasted for two years, and which, in its thirty-sixth session, 1439, gave the following decision :—

Doctrinam illam asserentem gloriosam Virginem Dei Genitricem Mariam, praeveniente et operante divini muneris gratia singulari nunquam actualiter subjacuisse peccato originali sed immunem semper fuisse ab omni originali et actuali culpa

[1] Strozzi, *op. cit.*

sanctamque et immaculatam tamquam piam et consonam culti ecclesiastico, fidei catholicae, rectae rationi et Sacrae Scripturae ab omnibus catholicis approbandam fore tenendam et amplectendam definimus, declaramus nullique de caetero eicitum esse in contrarium praedicare seu docere.

But, alas! as is well known by this time it was nothing more than a conciliabulum. Hence its decree remained juridically void.

Thirty-seven years later—in 1476—the Franciscan Pope Sixtus IV, without referring to the decree just mentioned, inaugurated that series of official documents of the ecclesiastical magisterium, the ultimate outcome of which was the proclamation of the dogma. In his constitution *quum praecelsa*, he sanctioned the Mass and Office in honour of this privilege composed by Canon Leonard de Nagaroli, and enriched them with indulgences. The Mass *Egredimini* and the Office *Sicut lilium* permit no doubt as to the real meaning of the Feast. The *Invitatorium* was: *Immaculatam Conceptionem Virginis Mariae celebremus, Christum ejus praeservatorem adoremus Dominum*, and the second antiphon at Vespers was *Tota pulchra es, et macula originalis non est in te.* In 1481 he issued another constitution, condemning those who would dare to hold that the celebration of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception was a mortal sin, and at the same time restraining the over-zealous advocates of the privilege who would tax with heresy those who denied Mary's exemption from original sin.

The greatest orator of the fifteenth century, St. Bernardine of Siena, shed a new light on this mystery. In his sermons and especially in his *Tractatus de Conceptione Beatae Mariae Virginis*, he establishes its existence by seven testimonies of saints in favour of it, seven authorities of theologians, seven texts from Scripture, etc. And in another sermon he asks the following question: Was the Blessed Virgin conceived in original sin? To which he answers: The Church does not condemn that opinion, but it is more pious to believe she was not.

What the Council of Trent did in this respect has been

embodied in the bull *Ineffabilis Deus*, by Pius IX, and is familiar to all. It may be interesting to say that, according to Pallavicini, 103 distinguished Franciscans assisted at the deliberations from 1545-1563.

The Order of the Conceptionists was approved of at this period and placed under the jurisdiction of the Friars Minor. Cardinal Ximenez, that remarkable Franciscan, re-established the Archconfraternity of the Immaculate Conception at Toledo, re-wrote its statutes and built a magnificent chapel for it near his palace.

King Philip III sent Father Antony of Trejo, General of the Franciscans, whom he had made Bishop of Carthagena, to Rome to urge on the Holy Father Paul V the necessity of setting all doubts at rest on this privilege. The Bishop took with him the celebrated Franciscan annalist, Father Luke Wadding, who rendered yeoman service and wrote the history of this legation.

In his bull *Ineffabilis* of 30th March, 1588, Sixtus V, another Franciscan Pope, granted the Franciscans the privilege of saying their own office with an octave.

Bishop Ullathorne says[1]:—

> The Friars Minor in a General Chapter held in Segovia, in 1621, declared unanimously that they had honoured the Blessed Virgin as conceived without sin from the very beginning of their Order, and bound themselves by oath to teach the mystery in public and in private, and to promote devotion to it. Nay, more, in accordance with the permission of Urban VIII, they chose at their General Chapter, in 1645, at Toledo, the Immaculate Virgin as special patroness of the whole Order.

Hugh Cavellus (McCaghwell), Archbishop of Armagh, composed his *Rosarium Immaculatae Conceptionis*, which Benedict XIV caused to be reprinted with his own works. And in England, Francis a Sancta Clara, O.F.M., wrote a treatise *de Definibilitate Controversiae Immaculatae Conceptionis*.

St. Leonard of Port Maurice says, in his Resolutions, 'I shall always be most devoted to the mystery of the Immaculate Conception, and I will never abandon my

[1] *Op. cit.*, 149.

resolution to have it defined as an article of faith.' And in his letters[1] he tells how he interviewed Clement XII, and obtaining permission from his Holiness to approach the Cardinals, from one of whom, Cardinal Imperiali, he received the following advice :—

Some think that the Pope cannot define this mystery without the concurrence of a General Council. Well, without contradicting this opinion I will suggest a means of assembling a council without expense. You, Friars Minor, Conventuals, and Capuchins, who are dispersed throughout the entire world, get your Minister-General to write to their Provincials and tell them to ask the Bishops to send simultaneous petitions to the Holy See for this end. Be sure you will find them, with few exceptions, well disposed ; there you have a council ready made. Go to the ambassadors and try to get, by their means, the Catholic Sovereigns to imitate the example of the Bishops.

We know how this sagacious advice was followed, and how, on December 8th, 1854, to quote Dom Guéranger,[2] his Holiness, in defining the dogma, referred to it :—

When at length the great day of the Definition of the Immaculate Conception came, how justly merited was that grand audience which the Vicar of Christ granted to the Franciscan Order, and with which closed the pageant of that glorious solemnity ! Pius the Ninth received from the hands of the children of St. Francis a tribute of homage and thankfulness, which the Scotist School, after having fought four hundred years in defence of Mary's Immaculate Conception, now presented to the Pontiff.

In the presence of fifty-four cardinals, forty-two archbishops, and ninety-two bishops ; before an immense concourse of people that filled St. Peter's and had united in prayer, begging the assistance of the Spirit of Truth ; the Vicar of Christ had just pronounced the decision which so many ages had hoped to hear. The Pontiff had offered the Holy Sacrifice on the Confession of St. Peter. He had crowned the statue of the Immaculate Queen with a splendid diadem. Carried on his lofty throne, and wearing his triple crown, he had reached the portico of the basilica ; there he is met by the two representatives of St. Francis—they prostrate before the throne. The triumphal procession halts ; and first there advances the General of the Friars Minor Observantines, he presents to the Holy

[1] Letters, xxx. ss.
[2] *Liturgical Year*, p. 403.

Father a branch of silver lilies ; he was followed by the General of the Conventual Friars, holding in his hand a branch of silver roses. The Pope graciously accepted both. The lilies and the roses were symbolical of Mary's purity and love ; the whiteness of the silver was the emblem of the lovely brightness of that orb, on which is reflected the light of the sun ; for, as the canticle says of Mary, ' She is beautiful as the moon.' The Pontiff was overcome with emotion at these gifts of the family of the Seraphic Patriarch, to which we might justly apply what was said of the Banner of the Maid of Orleans : ' It had stood the brunt of the battle ; it deserved to share in the glory of the victory.'

In conclusion, after having imperfectly sketched some of the great services rendered by the Friars Minor in the cause of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, I may say, with Father Tyrrell, on the occasion of its Golden Jubilee :—

Ave gratia plena. Hail full of love full of beauty, *tota pulchra es et macula non est in te.* There is finitude, but there is no fault. There is finitude, but compared with ours it is infinitude fulness. Behold, O God, our defender, and look upon the face of Thy Christ. Behold, O Christ, our defender, and look upon the face of Thy Mother, our Mother. *Tota pulchra,* whose love costs Thee no pain, the only rose without a thorn.

ANDREW EGAN, O.F.M.

THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

AS the Jubilee of the Immaculate Conception is to be kept this month, it will not be considered inopportune to take a rapid survey of some among the theological discussions that prepared men's minds for the definition. Few studies are more interesting than that of tracing the course of the subjective evolution or better apprehension of a truth revealed in the beginning, than that of watching the gradual growth of knowledge under the guidance of the Holy Ghost which culminates in a dogmatic decree.

When in 1854 the Sovereign Pontiff Pius IX proclaimed the dogma of our Blessed Lady's immunity from original sin, his infallible utterance was hailed with transports of delight. Throughout the Catholic world, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, there was one feeling of exultation in all hearts at the definition of the Immaculate Conception. The Papal decision had indeed been desired and expected for centuries, and now it had come. If we search the history of dogma we find that in its entire course it has few events to record in connection with which there was such an exuberant manifestation of joy, as when in Ephesus the Virgin Mary was declared to be the Mother of God and when in Rome she was declared to be Immaculate. One declaration was the counterpart of the other. On June 22nd, 431, the heresy of Nestorius was crushed; and although he and others objected to the word *θεοτόκος*, their opposition only served to define its meaning more emphatically, and to consecrate its usage. On the memorable day, now nearly fifty years ago, when the '*Ineffabilis Deus*' was issued, the love and devotion of which the Blessed Virgin has ever been the object found its dearest and most legitimate anticipation fulfilled. A ray of glory from the Church Triumphant lit up the gloom of time, and there arose from this vale of tears to heaven one jubilant anthem of

praise, 'Tota pulchra es Maria, et macula originalis non est in Te!'

While theologians rejoiced in common with the simple faithful, they well knew that what was to be henceforward *de fide Catholica* had in the Western Church from the twelfth to the sixteenth century been more or less a subject of controversy. Though the truth regarding the Blessed Virgin's glorious privilege had been revealed to the apostles, by them delivered to the Church, and ever afterwards preserved in the *depositum fidei*, it had nevertheless, without any fault of theirs, remained unknown to many persons of eminent sanctity and learning. But in the end truth had triumphed, and without noise or clamour the dwelling-place of God Incarnate, inconceivably more beauteous than the temple erected by Israel's king, was seen on the heavenly Sion in all its peerless purity and splendour. Other dogmatic decrees had been elicited by the necessity of defence, heresy was the occasion to which they owed their existence; but this one was Rome's glad response to the spontaneous enlightened devotion of the faithful.

Considering this unique phenomenon from a professional standpoint, theologians such as Gigli (Master of the Sacred Palace), Passaglia, Perrone, Fabiani (Canon of St. Maria Maggiore, who composed the text of the '*Ineffabilis Deus*' which is regarded in Rome as a masterpiece), must have reflected that the gradual acceptance by all, of what was in the beginning of the long period referred to held only by some, afforded one of the most signal instances of the development of Christian doctrine. Perrone indeed remarks that a few bishops held out to the end, but it is needless to say that their obstinacy could not mar Catholic unanimity. And the definition intrinsically had a special importance, as being, so to speak, an object-lesson in Papal Infallibility. Without a General Council, Pius IX decided the question that had so long agitated minds within the Church. To employ the expressive language of scholastic theology, what was to be in 1870 defined *in actu signato* was in 1854 defined *in actu*

exercito. One was equivalent to the other. If teaching *ex cathedra* the Pope *did* speak infallibily, it was evident that he *could* be declared to speak infallibly. It is in fact said that at the time the far-seeing Roman theologians not only perceived, but prepared for, what was coming on.

And were we even to consider the Bull '*Ineffabilis Deus*' only in itself, we could not fail to observe that in it occasion is taken to emphasize and make prominent the great principle of non-accretive development. Speaking under correction, there was nothing of the kind to be found since a single sentence in the Acts of the Seventh General Council. The passage we refer to in it is this:—

Quam originalem augustae Virginis innocentiam cum admirabili ejusdem sanctitate præcelsaque Dei matris dignitate omnino cohærentem catholica Ecclesia, quæ a sancto semper edocta Spiritu columna est ac firmamentum veritatis, tamquam doctrinam possidens divinitus acceptam, et cœlestis revelationis deposito comprehensam multiplici continenter ratione, splendidisque factis magis in dies explicare, proponere ac fovere numquam destitit.

The victory was gained silently and sweetly. As the divinely appointed time for the definition approached, the discordant sounds of controversy by degrees were hushed and then died away, while the *sensus fidelium* became more and more perceptible. This was wonderful. Nothing was now heard but the unanimous expression of the most intense worship and love; though in mediæval times there had been on the part of more than one distinguished ecclesiastic, in respect of the *sententia pia*, either a decided hostility to it, or at least an absence of sympathy with it. Though to the faithful for countless generations the beautiful feast of the Conception had been a day of special devotion, a day sanctified by every manifestation of true Catholic sentiment, yet in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the introduction of the feast attracted the notice of some great Latin theologians, they looked at it with uneasy feelings and would have nothing to do with its celebration. Yet three of them were even among their contemporaries and compeers distinguished for their tender devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and were destined

to be canonized and to be made Doctors of the Church. Had they lived at a later period, they would have acted differently. They would have gladly illustrated the truth of the second part of Newman's words, as much as in their own day they unwittingly did that of the first. 'Before it (*the voice of Peter*) speaks, the most saintly may mistake; and after it has spoken, the most gifted must obey.'[1]

The writer of these few pages proposes to describe briefly the growth of theological opinion, from the establishment of the feast till the period immediately preceding the promulgation of the dogma. In the course of his remarks, particular attention will naturally be paid to those theologians whose judgment usually possesses greatest authority, and to those who played the most important part in the long discussion.

In contrast to the Latin, at a very early period the Greek Church kept the feast of the Conception on December 9th, the title strangely enough being 'The Conception of St. Anne, the mother of the Mother of God.' This means of course the active, not the passive, conception. The first testimony of indubitable authenticity and date is that found in the great canon drawn up by the celebrated preacher and poet, St. Andrew, Archbishop of Crete, about A.D. 675. The great canon consists of 250 strophes divided into nine odes, each of which is written in different metre, but all of which terminate with a *θεοτοκιον*, or strophe, in honour of the Mother of God. The relevant line of the canon is, 'December 9th: The conception of St. Anne, the mother of God's Mother.'[2] After him comes John of Eubea (*c.* 740), who tells us in his homily on the Conception, that there are ten great feasts which should be kept holy—that December 9th is the day appointed for the feast *of the Conception* (*της γεννεσεως της παναχραντου και θεοτοκου Μαριας*)—but that the solemnity is not observed by all.[3]

In the *Nomocanon* of Photius (883), the day is ranked

[1] *University Sermon.*
[2] Migne, P. G., xcvii. c. 1306.
[3] *Ib.*, xcvi. c. 1475.

among those which are to be kept not as half, but as whole holidays.[1] And a contemporary of the Patriarch, George of Nicomedia, in one of his four homilies on 'The Annunciation of the Conception of the Mother of God,' declares that the feast is neither of recent origin nor of a minor class. The *Menologion* or calendar for Constantinople, which was made by order of the Emperor Basil Porphyrogenitus (✠ 1025), also contains the feast,[2] and the Novella or edict of the Emperor Manuel Commenus, issued in 1166, shows clearly that it was then regarded as one of the chief solemnities of the year. From the fact that the Emperor did not reduce it to a lower rank, as he did so many others, it must, as Passaglia justly observes,[3] have been known to be ancient and it must have been held in great veneration.

The *Kalendarium Manuale* of Father Nilles, S.J., shows that the Greeks, Maronites, and Armenians keep the feast on the 9th December; the Copts on the 13th; and the Syrians and Syro-Chaldeans on the 8th. This particular agreement between different rites, all of them ancient and jealously preserved, cannot be explained but by the supposition that the common practice came down from a very remote period.

An Armenian poet, Gregory of Nareg (951-1003), addresses the Blessed Virgin as 'the ineffable glory of our first father when despoiled, the consolation and reparation of Eve when fallen, the sinless daughter of our first sinful mother.' And in a prayer he styles her 'Immaculate.'[4] Similar expressions are met with in the Coptic and Maronite liturgies.[5] The celebrated Syrian Bishop, James of Sarug (whose monophysitism has been discovered quite recently),[6] is equally explicit. He says that if a stain had ever touched the soul of Mary, the Son of God would not have chosen her for His Mother. And the following words of his now

[1] P. G., civ. c. 1070.
[2] *Ib.*, cxvii. 96.
[3] *De Imm. Conc.*, p. 1107.
[4] Le Bachelet, S.J., *L'Immaculée Conception*, p. 34: a useful little work to which the present writer is greatly indebted.
[5] *Ib.*, p. 35.
[6] See Duval, *La Littérature Syriaque*, p. 352.

form part of the Syrian liturgy : 'Rest in peace, O holiness ever undefiled, O justice never impaired, O thou second Eve who didst bring forth Emmanuel.'[1] Le Bachelet calls him a saint, and Bishop of Batnæ.

And other passages in the Syrian and Coptic liturgies (Office of the Assumption) which explain that the Blessed Virgin's death was not due to original sin shew clearly that the belief of these Churches was in perfect harmony with that of Constantinople. For a similar passage occurs in the Greek liturgy, and the same explanation of it is given by ancient Greek theologians.[2]

The theological expression of the truth thus honoured in these Eastern liturgies was that the Blessed Virgin is the second Eve, free from every taint of sin and corruption. Few points of doctrine are, by the Fathers, brought out more clearly or inculcated with greater insistence than this. It appears to be part of the Apostolic tradition, to be the counterpart and completion of what is said about the Second Adam in the writings of St. Paul. No one can forget how well the import and the value of the term was explained by Newman in his letter to Pusey. Some of the earliest and of the greatest Fathers might be quoted for the doctrine about the second Eve. St. Justin, St. Irenaeus, St. John Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, Theodotus of Ancyra, and several others discourse at length upon it.[3] For instance, St. Ephrem exclaims : 'Those two innocent, those two simple ones, Mary and Eve, had indeed been equal one to the other ; but afterwards one became the cause of our death, the other of our life.'[4] Then as regards her absolute sinlessness and ineffable holiness, the Fathers are equally explicit. Among them St. Ephrem may be quoted again. Of Christ he says : 'Verily indeed Thou and Thy Mother, alone are you, in being in every respect altogether beautiful. For in Thee, Lord, there is no spot, nor any stain in Thy Mother.'[5]

[1] Duval, *La Littérature Syriaque*, p. 24.
[2] *Zeitschrift fur Kath. Theol.*, October, 1904, p. 774.
[3] Schwane, *Dogmengeschichte*, ii. p. 536 ff.
[4] See for many other passages the admirable work by Fr. Livius, *The Virgin in the Fathers of the First Six Centuries*, chap. i., 'The Primitive Patristic Idea of Mary as the Second Eve.'
[5] Fr. Livius, *ib.* p. 232.

And a few similar passages not given by Father Livius may be quoted here. They seem to have a special value, because homilies by their authors are used in our Breviaries for the Office of the Immaculate Conception, and as these passages do not occur in them, they may be new to some of our readers. St. Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem (✠ 638), thus addresses the Blessed Virgin: 'Many before Thee have been holy,—but none has been as Thou full of grace,—none has been as Thou presanctified.' *Πολλοι μεν προ σου γεγονασιν αγιοι—ουδεις κατα σε μεμακαρισται—ουδεις κατα σε προκεκαθαρται.*[1] St. Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople (✠ 732), calls Mary 'the predestined one, the sanctified one, the rose amid the thorns.' And one of his successors, St. Tarasius[2] (✠ 806), says that 'she is the pure and spotless and immaculate offering of human nature, whom God predestined before the creation of the world and whom He chose out of all creatures to be His dwelling undefiled.' He adds, 'I venerate Thee, Immaculate lamb.' *Σε δοξαζω την αμιαντον αμναδα.*[3] After them the great St. Andrew of Crete utters these remarkable words: 'The Redeemer of the world who in order to form the first Adam took virgin earth, now decreeing to replace this primeval formation by a new creation, and with that purpose preparing for His Incarnation, *chose from the whole of nature, this pure and Immaculate Virgin.*' *την καθαραν τε και υπεραμωμον ταυτην παρθενον της ολης φυσεως εκλεξαμενος.*[4]

Nor can it be doubted that those writers who mention the *προαγιασμος* of the Blessed Virgin and call her *παναγια, υπεραγια, προκαθαρεισα*, are distinctly favourable

[1] P. G., lxxxvii. c. 3248.

[2] St. Sophronius as Patriarch saw himself forced to give up the holy city to the Caliph Omar; a portion of his homily is read on the Sunday within the Octave. St. Germanus, renowned for his opposition to the Monothelites and the Iconoclasts; a portion of his homily is read on the feast, and another portion on the seventh day within the Octave. St. Tarasius, also honoured for his opposition to the Monothelites, and for his action in the seventh General Council (787): a portion of his homily is read on the fifth day within the Octave.

[3] P. G., xcviii. c. 1493.

[4] *Ib.* xcviii. c. 816.

to the doctrine of her Immaculate Conception.[1] It is of course known that many other testimonies of the Eastern Church exist, but the few quoted are sufficient for our purpose.[2]

We may now pass to the Latin Church. How and when the celebration of the feast began in the West, it is perhaps impossible to ascertain. Passaglia[3] speaks of a calendar found in Naples, but of Greek origin or *provenance*, belonging to the ninth century as being the oldest evidence known to him. His learned confrère, Father Thurston, has shown in a most interesting article[4] that mention is made of the *day* in some Irish liturgical MSS. of the tenth century. These are, (1) a metrical calendar, of which the British Museum possesses three copies, one of them said to have belonged to King Athelstan (940). In this calendar the entry *Concipitur virgo Maria nomine senis* occurs opposite the sixth day before the Ides of May (*our 2nd of May*). (2) The *Martyrology of Tallaght*, written about A.D. 900. It has '*V. Nonas* (*Maias*), *Crucis Christi Inventio*, *Mariae Virginis Conceptio*.' (3) The *Calendar of Oengus the Culdee*, who lived at Tallaght, and who agrees with its Martyrology in putting the Conception on May 3rd.[5] The words are: '*Feil mar Muire uage*' ('the great feast of Mary the Virgin'). In the *Lebar Brecc* the form used is '*Feil mar Muire*' ('the great feast of Mary'). Father Thurston is inclined to think that the metrical calendar, in its original form, belongs to the ninth, or to the eighth century. The assignation of the commemoration to May,

[1] See Hergenröther, *Photius*, iii., p. 555 ff.

[2] It may be mentioned that the so-called 'Greek Church' of the present day has repudiated this ancient belief, as it has so many others. Living Russian, Roumanian, and Greek '*theologians*' deny the Immaculate Conception. The official contradictions of Leo XIII's *Orientalium dignitas Ecclesiarum*, by Basil, Archbishop of Smyrna, and the Patriarch Anthimos, as well as the Russian answer, proclaim as the doctrine of the eight orthodox General Councils that only the human nature of Christ was sinless. And the troublesome passages in the liturgy are to be expunged! (See Zeitschrift, *as above*.)

[3] *loc. cit.*, p. 1114.

[4] *The Month*, May, 1904.

[5] In *The Month* (1904, June, p. 642), Father Thurston states that Dr. Whitley Stokes now holds that the Calendar of Oengus was written either in the first half, or in the beginning, of the ninth century.

2nd or 3rd, a peculiarity which Fr. Thurston would account for by the supposed influence of the Coptic calendar, does not concern us now, but we are grateful to him for bringing under public notice that one of the first parts, if not the first part, of western Christendom known to have thus honoured the Blessed Virgin is our own country.

England began soon after to keep a feast properly so called, and appears to have been the first country to do so. In those golden days it well deserved its glorious title, 'The Dowry of Mary.' Before the Norman invasion the feast was kept in both Winchester and Canterbury.[1] And about the year 1128, owing to the zeal of St. Anselm's nephew and namesake the Abbot Anselm of St. Edmundsbury, the good custom had spread to St. Alban's, Westminster, Worcester, etc. According to Passaglia[2] an English Synod held in 1129, enjoined the celebration. Its words are : 'In synodo omnium episcoporum sententia decernitur, Deiparae virginis conceptionem solemni festo per universum Angliae regnum celebrandam esse.' And Passaglia refers to Michael Alford, (*Annal. Brit.*) for the statement 'episcoporum legem a Romano Pontifice fuisse confirmatam.' A London Synod of this year is mentioned by Labbe and by Hefele, but no details are given. When Haddan and Stubbs' work is brought down to this year, full information will be accessible. But meanwhile there is evidence to show that at the period referred to the feast was kept, though not *de precepto*. The Synod of Oxford in 1122, commanded the celebration of all feasts B.V.M., 'praeter festum Conceptionis, cujus celebrationis non imponitur necessitas.'[3] However this restrictive clause is not to be found in the 22nd canon of the Synod of Exeter, 1287.[4]

[1] Mr. Edmund Bishop, in *Downside Review*.

Father Thurston and Father Slater, S.J., have lately published (1904, Herder) a critical edition of the *Tractatus de Conceptione Sanctae Mariae*, which used to be ascribed to St. Anselm, but which they prove to be the work of the monk Eadmer of Canterbury, St. Anselm's secretary. Eadmer says that at an earlier period the feast was kept, and that afterwards it was suppressed.

In Paris, too, Maurice, who succeeded Peter Lombard as Archbishop (1154), suppressed the feast, but it was subsequently restored.

[2] *loc. cit.*, p. 1123. [3] Hefele, v. p. 405. [4] *Ibid.*

In the greater part of France, notwithstanding the determined opposition of St. Bernard, about which more anon, the feast was kept with every mark of honour. Writing in 1154, the year after the Saint's death, Prior Otto says, 'fere per totam Galliam devotissime ab omni populo celebratur.' And France appears to have been the first country to employ the symbol of the Immaculate Conception, with which everyone is now familiar, viz.: the Blessed Virgin depicted as crushing the serpent's head. It is worth our while to know that the representation is not of modern origin, though if it were, that circumstance would not diminish its devotional character or its truth. So far back as the middle of the fifth century, mention is made of the use of this symbol.[1] According to Dr. Ullathorne[2] the festival was solemnly kept throughout Spain in the tenth century. He also says that Julian, a writer in this period, ascribes its introduction to St. Ildephonsus who lived three centuries earlier, and that in the Mozarabic rite as revised by St. Ildephonsus in the seventh, and approved by Pope John X in the tenth century, the following words occur: 'May He who preserved His Mother from the contagion of corruption, keep our hearts immaculate from crime.' As regards Italy, two instances will suffice. It has always been the home of art, and in the words of a poet 'the Blessed Virgin's land,' hence we are prepared to find the symbolic representation of her Immaculate Conception in use at a very early date. Ballerini, S.J., in his *Sylloge Monumentorum*,[3] mentions the following instance. In 1047, the Archpriest, Hugo de Summo, made over a considerable amount of property to the church of St. Mary in Cremona, and in the deed of transfer gave a direction which is so interesting that no apology is needed for copying it in full[4]:—

Volo insuper, ut jam dicti Venerabiles Fratres mei de ordine

[1] In the life of St. Pulchronius, fourth Bishop of Verdun: *Acta Sanct.*, Feb. iii. 12.

[2] *Immac. Conc.*, p. 161.

[3] Quoted in the *Zeitschrift für Kath. Theol.*, October, 1904.

[4] It must be said that some writers do not regard the document as genuine.

cardinali hujus sanctae Mariae Matris de hac civitate Cremonae ordinent fieri intra spatium duorum annorum ab hac ipsa festivitate (sanctae et immaculate Conceptionis Beatae Virginis Mariae) computandum, unam nobilem et pulchram statuam de ligno incorruptibili sive de marmore pro eodem oraculo, quae repraesentet imaginem Sanctae Mariae Matris nostrae coronatae duodecim stellis, in cujus ampla superveste sint sol et luna, et sub pedibus ejus habente (*sic*) antiquum serpentem, cui in paradiso terrestri a Deo dictum est : Inimicitias ponam inter te et mulierem, et semen tuum et semen illius : ipsa conteret caput tuum et tu insidiaberis calcaneo ejus. Volo autem, ut serpens ita sit sculptus, ut frustra virus inermis videatur vomere et nequissimum ejus caput sic Beata Virgo forti pede conterat, uti decet illam, quae gratia Filii ab originali labe anticipata redemptione praeservata semper fuit tam anima tam corpore integra et immaculata.

The second instance belongs to a later period. A well known hagiographer, Bartholomew of Trent, O.P.,[1] writes as follows : ' Conceptio Matris Dei a plerisque solemniter celebratur, sicut ipse, praesente Romana curia nec inhibente, in ecclesia cathedrali Anagniae fieri vidi.'[2] For obvious reasons this testimony about the action of the Papal court is of rare value. And Passaglia, it may be remarked, quotes also evidence to prove that the Avignon Popes themselves kept the feast.

The earliest instance of legislation in Ireland about the feast that has come under the present writer's notice is a decree of the Provincial Synod of Dublin, A.D. 1351. At that time Dublin was subject to Canterbury where a similar enactment had just been made, and this apparently accounts for the fact that, so far as we know, the ecclesiastical Province of Dublin was the first part of Ireland to keep the feast. The prelates in the Synod were : John of St. Paul, Archbishop of Dublin ; Richard Hulot, Bishop of Kildare ; Richard Ledred, O.S.F., Bishop of Ossory ; William Scharnel, O.P., Bishop of Ferns.

The decree thus begins :—

The star of the world, Mary, the Mother of our Redeemer,

[1] *c.* 1230 : he was a witness in the canonization process of St. Dominic.

[2] From Passaglia, *loc. cit.*, p. 1123.

who by the glorious brightness of her sublime sanctity illumines the universe, is to be honoured by every Christian above all the Saints of God : and though we on earth cannot pay her all the veneration that is her due, nevertheless it is fitting that we should celebrate in every way that is possible to us the praises of her who continually intercedes for us with her Son in heaven. We therefore enjoin that the Feast of the Conception of the glorious Virgin Mary be celebrated as a double in this Province (Dublin, Kildare, Leighlin, Ossory, and Ferns) for ever ; and we enjoin on our subjects of this Province that they hear Mass and attend devotions in their parish churches, that with all their hearts they pray to God and to the said glorious Virgin for the remission of their sins, and that they abstain from all servile works on this feast as they do on that of her Nativity —with, however, the substitution of the word 'Conception' for 'Nativity.'

With this extract the present article may suitably end ; in the next one we shall see how some theologians of the Latin Church viewed the introduction of the feast.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

[*To be continued.*]

CANON LAW REFORM

III.—FINANCE

I TAKE for granted the Catholic doctrine that the kingdom of Christ on earth is not so spiritual as to have no need of money; that it is capable of possessing and does possess property of many kinds. I take it also as at least the best opinion,—an opinion which I myself regard as certain,—that some of this property belongs to the Church at large; other part to the various local corporations, such as national churches, dioceses, parishes, confraternities duly erected. Bishops and priests are entitled under the canon law to the custody and administration of goods of this kind, but they are trustees and administrators, not owners in any other sense; the real owners are the various bodies—corporations, moral personalities—for whose benefit the property must be held and administered. Moreover, these various corporations are independent of one another, to this extent at least, that the goods belonging to one may not without injustice be handed over for the benefit of another; unless, indeed, for very special reasons the Supreme Ruler—to whom all Christians are subject, whether individuals or corporations, with all their property—should interfere in the common interest and authorise the trustee to make a transfer, as the state does now and then for the common weal.

Assuming all this, I wish to raise the question of alienation, as well as what is perhaps the more important question as to the account which the true owners, the members of the various ecclesiastical corporations, have a right to receive of the administration of their property. This will lead to certain practical suggestions.

I. Alienation means in the canon law the handing over to another of the ownership of a piece of Church property,

whether by way of onerous contract or of free gift. We need not contemplate the case of gifts at the expense of ecclesiastical corporations, as in respect of them the existing law needs no reform, as far as I know.

Moreover, it is needless to say that there should be some means of empowering trustees to dispose of ecclesiastical property by sale, when either there is serious danger of depreciation or money is wanted to meet special emergencies ; the same applies to other contracts, such as leasing and hypothecating. On the other hand, experience teaches that trustees should not have an absolutely unrestricted right of sale whenever they deem it expedient ; that they should be required to go through certain forms, either of asking advice or of obtaining permission to sell. Property held in trust under the Court of Chancery and the Board of Charitable Bequests is tied up in this way ; and rightly so, as every prudent man will allow.

Similar restrictions have been provided by the canon law in respect of ecclesiastical property. In the year 1468 Paul II promulgated the constitution *Ambitiosae*, which requires all administrators of ecclesiastical goods of any considerable value to apply to the Holy See for permission to alienate, let for a lengthened period, or hypothecate the same : and this under pain of nullity of the contract in question. The penalty of excommunication also was attached to violation of this decree.

Although the censure is retained in the constitution *Apostolicae Sedis*, it is not certain that the law binds in places where the custom has been to make these sales and other contracts without applying to the Holy See for permission. As far as I know, bishops and other administrators of Church property in Ireland do not think of making any such application ; whilst it is well known that ecclesiastical property of considerable value is often sold.

Apart altogether from the effect of doubt on the binding force of the law, where such a custom exists, I cannot find it in me to attach blame to the bishops for not conforming to the letter of the constitution *Ambitiosae ;*

especially in modern times when the organs of the Curia Romana have been so much crippled. For a society like the Catholic Church, which extends over the whole world and holds a vast amount of property everywhere, it seems bad business to have to wait for a reply from Rome before, let us say, a house or piece of land in Sydney or California could be leased for five years; or before thirty or forty pounds worth of railway or other stock could be sold. What grounds, other than a report from the local authorities,—that is, from the bishop,—can officials in Rome have for deciding whether it is advisable to sell a lot in San Francisco? And seeing that the cathedral chapters appear to have everywhere lost their ancient right to be consulted on matters of this kind, what means have they at Rome of checking the reports of bishops of distant dioceses on the necessity of a sale or similar transaction? Accordingly, I regard the provisions of the constitution *Ambitiosae* as of little practical value; I do not regret the existence of the custom against it, and am not anxious that the law should be restored to its pristine vigour.

I am convinced, nevertheless, that things should not be allowed to remain as they are at present, when every bishop can do, practically, what he pleases,—sell out or hypothecate diocesan property; sink it in building houses, convents, churches; contract diocesan debts; and authorise the sale of goods owned by any ecclesiastical corporation within the diocese. In the interest of sound finance it would be well, I think, to require bishops, before entering on important transactions of this kind, (1) to take counsel with some body that might be expected to have knowledge of local needs; and (2) to submit their proposals, together with the advice received in this way, for the approval of some national tribunal.

(1.) 'There can be no doubt,' says Benedict XIV, 'that even now, according to the provisions of the canon law, the members of the cathedral chapter are, by their office, bishops' counsellors (*consiliarii nati episcoporum*),

so that a bishop may not without consulting them undertake anything of importance.'[1] The canon law, as it is at present found in the Decretals, distinguishes between cases in which it is enough for the bishop to consult the chapter, and cases in which he must obtain their consent; and canonists are agreed that the latter class comprises alienation of temporal goods, pledging, going surety for others, and loans that would impose a considerable burthen on diocesan property. This is the law as found in the *Corpus Juris* and interpreted by the canonists.

I am well aware of what is also provided by the law and taught by the canonists,—that this right of the cathedral chapter may be lost by prescription; nor do I plead that, owing to the condition of the Irish Church for more than three hundred years, our cathedral chapters were not in a position to withstand prescription by claiming their rights. The question is not whether bishops are or are not actually bound at present to obtain the consent of the chapter before entering on transactions such as have been described; but only whether it is necessary in the interest of sound finance that the law should be modified so as to require them to do so in future. I advocate a reform of the law in that direction, believing that sound finance requires that important pecuniary interests should not be committed to the practically unrestricted charge of individuals here and there; that, as the people of the diocese participate in the ownership of the diocesan property, they have a right to be heard before important changes are made; and that the least that should be done in this direction is to take the opinion of a properly elected cathedral chapter. This was the old canon law,—a wise one, as I think, which it would be well to revive if we wish the people on whom we depend for funds to retain respect for our financial system.

(2.) It is suggested, moreover, that there should be some

[1] 'Profecto ambigi non potest quod etiam hodie, jure Decretalium, canonici ecclesiae cathedralis sunt consiliarii nati episcoporum, adeo ut non liceat episcopo aliquid gravis momenti aggredi et deliberare inconsulto capitulo.'—*De Synodo*, L. 13, cap. 1, n. 5.

national ecclesiastical tribunal, analogous to the Board of Charitable Bequests, whose office it would be to receive, and approve or disallow, all projects of sale or other kindred transactions submitted by the local authorities. The reasons for establishing such a tribunal are (*a*) that the principles of sound finance require that public funds should be so tied up as to secure more careful consideration than would be likely to be given in every case if administrators could proceed without restriction. (*b*) This principle is embodied in the Board of Charitable Bequests, as also in the Local Government Board, to which no one in Ireland has any other objection than that they are independent of the control of the Irish people. Whenever we are allowed to govern ourselves, they will be retained, no doubt, but made to depend on the will of the people of Ireland. (*c*) In the canon law the constitution *Ambitiosae* is based on the same principle. And though this constitution is of no practical value, as has been said, nevertheless its principle should be maintained, and the law so modified as that the central bureau should exercise real and not merely nominal control. As long as there is but one such tribunal for the whole world, it cannot be expected to exercise anything like real supervision; the remedy, however, is, not to do away with the bureau altogether, but to diminish the area of its jurisdiction. (*d*) Finally, in case local bodies, such as cathedral chapters, should get any voice in the control of ecclesiastical property, conflicts of opinion may be expected, and there should be within the nation some tribunal to which those who find themselves aggrieved, whether bishops or chapters or simple laymen, might have recourse for protection.

I have already suggested, in dealing with ecclesiastical trials, that there should be some national or provincial court of appeal; and I should be content if this tribunal, whatever it be, were endowed with jurisdiction such as I now contemplate. I think, however, it would be for the interest of the Irish Church to have the national ecclesiastical property in charge of some official or board whose special care it would be to keep an eye on finance and

safeguard the temporal interests of the national Church. This official or board might be selected by the bishops in general meeting.

II. I come now to the more important, as well as more difficult, question, as to the account which the true owners of Church property, the members of the various ecclesiastical corporations, are or should be entitled to receive from those who administer it in their name and for their benefit. This in reality comprises at least two important questions—(1) statement of accounts. and (2) audit.

1. It is a serious thing that, as ecclesiastical business is managed at present, no one, with the exception of the bishop, has any practical means of ascertaining the extent of the diocesan property. The statement does not apply to churches, schools, and presbyteries; but it does apply to moneys invested in government stocks, loans, and the shares of public companies. The people of a parish often have some vague idea that there is a fund of some kind left by some one for certain purposes; but how many know or have any practical means of knowing the amount of the fund or the precise purposes for which it was intended? Is this business? How long would a civil government, city corporation, county or district council, be allowed to keep the people in the dark in this way?

By the law of the land, it is true, the Board of Charitable Bequests is empowered to inquire into the condition and administration of many of these funds, and will supply particulars on application received from any one claiming an interest; it would, however, be a nice question to decide whether the canon law allows such applications; and, except in very extreme cases, few Catholics, I imagine, would think of making them. The faithful might, of course, ask the ecclesiastical administrators themselves for particulars, and, in case of refusal, apply to the bishop, or even appeal to the metropolitan. This, however, supposes that they are entitled to receive a statement; and, if so, why not furnish it without putting them to the

unpleasant necessity of taking these unusual proceedings.

Take, again, the question of salaries. Is there any means of ascertaining, even approximately, what the people pay to clergymen,—bishops, parish priests, and curates? I do not complain that the amount realised by extraordinary payments such as stole fees, paid to individual priests on occasions of special service, is not ascertainable; the keenest men of business have no means of determining the income of physicians, lawyers, and commercial agents; though they, too, are paid by the public for special services. Regular salaries are different; and just as the business community expects that either they themselves or some body commissioned by them and in whom they trust, should know the exact amount of the salaries paid to public officials; it would seem to me more business-like if the regular salaries paid to clergymen were known, either to the people who pay or to some committee or body in whom they have confidence. In most parishes in the United States the parishioners receive once a year an exact account of the money received and spent for parochial purposes; in many places this account is printed in the form of a balance-sheet and handed to every member of the congregation. This is business. I can see no reason why something similar should not be done everywhere; why, for instance, in Ireland, every diocese, parish, confraternity, should not receive an annual report of income derived from all sources—permanent endowments and regular or occasional collections; as also of salaries paid, repairs executed, and similar items of expenditure.

Fas est ab hoste doceri. The Protestant Church of Ireland may not have much to boast of in the way of theological acumen; but it comprises a number of excellent men of business, who, as I think it is admitted, have managed its finances admirably. Now, if you take up the 'Church Directory' you will find after each man's name in the list of clergymen, the amount of salary to which he is entitled. At the general and diocesan synods, also, I notice the publication of financial statements, from which every member of the Church or diocese can learn the exact

financial condition of the body to which he belongs. That is business; why should not we do likewise?

I know that the Protestant Churches, by their constitution, are liberal or democratic, as compared with ours, which is a sort of limited monarchy wherein the rulers derive no authority from the people, who are to pay and to be ruled, not to elect or direct the rulers. Yet, in a sense, ours is the more democratic form of government,—more democratic certainly than the Episcopalian or even the Presbyterian Church in Ireland,—inasmuch as we have no state endowment and must depend altogether on the gifts of the people. Now, abstracting from the question whether in monarchies, limited or unlimited, the people have any form of right to receive an account of the public revenue and how it is spent,—and I do not see that such a right of necessity implies authority over the rulers,—is it not good policy, at least, to take the people into our confidence, seeing that it is they who pay and that it is on their generosity Church activity depends?

In the admirable paper which Father Finlay read last June before the Maynooth Union, he discusses the measures that might be taken to cultivate in the laity a more practical interest in temporal matters connected with the Church; and asks whether 'it would not be desirable, if at all possible, to form everywhere mixed committees of laity and clergy, by whom the selection of sites and plans, the giving of contracts, the collection and disbursement of funds, the whole responsibility for the control of such material affairs might be exercised.' That is something like business: how can we expect laymen to take an interest in providing us with temporalities, if their only office and responsibility in connection therewith is to pay as much and as often as others determine? And if it should be thought too risky at first to entrust mixed bodies with the collection of funds, might we not begin with published statements of accounts such as I have suggested?

This policy is not without support in the canon law, which knows of such bodies as the *matricularii ecclesiae*, gives the faithful a right to be consulted when there is

question of uniting or dividing parishes, and requires a list of foundations to be posted in some public place connected with the Church, so that it may be read by everybody. It may be that the faithful have no right to these concessions, as certainly they have no authority to enforce them; all the same, however, the concessions in question would seem to be sound policy, which, especially in these democratic times, it might be well to pursue as far as possible, in all that concerns property and taxation or collections.

2. Not less important than the statement of accounts is the question of audit: who can tell how ecclesiastical and pious funds are spent in Ireland? It is true, indeed, that when making visitation of parishes, once every two or three years, bishops are empowered and expected to inquire whether public funds have been properly expended; I doubt, however, whether this means a proper audit in every case; whilst there does not seem to be any practical means, provided by the canon law, of checking the expenditure of the funds that lie in the hands of bishops.

I hope that in saying all this I may not be taken to express any doubt as to the capacity or the honesty of those by whom Church funds and pious bequests are at present administered; or to imply in any way that Irish Catholics have begun to entertain suspicions. As far as I have any reason to know, the people of Ireland have as little doubt of the integrity and ability of their bishops and priests as they had at any time for the last three hundred years; and, as for myself, I have more than once publicly expressed my conviction that, taking the clergy of Ireland merely as public servants, there is no body of officials that can compare with them for honesty, ability, work done, or smallness of remuneration.

I hope, however, that with the growth of freedom and wealth, habits of business also will develop among the Irish Catholic body; that they will take a more lively interest in public income and expenditure,—of local councils, creameries and other co-operative societies,

corporations of towns and cities, and even of the central government ; that they will keep a sharp eye on all those bodies and see that the money they expend is spent judiciously. This is business, and we should be all pleased, I fancy, to observe any signs of development of the national character in that direction. Unless I am very much mistaken, the process of development is already well advanced and has begun to tell on private affairs, which are being run more and more on business lines,—though, of course, here as elsewhere it is the early movements that take most time and are least noticeable. It is all part of the regeneration of the Irish people. Do you think, however, that men who have learned to run their private concerns on business lines, and who expect the same methods to be applied to public receipts and expenditure, will remain satisfied with the rule of thumb in ecclesiastical finance, in which also they have a vital interest ? I have no such hope nor wish. It would, I think, accelerate the process of regeneration of our race, if in ecclesiastical as in secular affairs strict business methods were employed, and if Church funds were everywhere so administered as to be object-lessons in financial neatness.

However this may be, experience seems to teach that it is only children or fools who do not exact a strict account of the expenditure of any considerable sums of money they may have entrusted to the management of others ; as it is only fools or knaves who undertake the management of other people's affairs except on condition of a strict account being rendered. The best way to guard against suspicion in matters of this kind is to keep open books ; and if we wish to retain the people's confidence and qualify for receiving their money in trust for religious and charitable purposes,—a matter of the utmost importance for the well-being of the Church,—it will be advisable to adopt such methods of finance as will not only make us secure from actual suspicion, but raise us above the possibility of being suspected.

III. To what practical suggestions does all this lead ?

The canon law, as we have seen, provides a central bureau without whose sanction bishops and other administrators have no authority to dispose of ecclesiastical property,—that is, of capital, as distinguished from income, destined for religious or charitable purposes. Besides this central bureau, which has its offices at Rome, there are at last three local bodies known to the law and charged to some extent with the care of the property of the Church : the *matricularii*—what we call the committee—in the parish, and for the diocese the cathedral chapter and the synod. When I say that these bodies are provided by or known to the canon law and have been charged by the same with the care of ecclesiastical property, the meaning is that, considering the law as it is found in the *Corpus Juris*, this is so ; though, of course, it is freely admitted that the decrees in which these provisions are contained have largely, if not altogether, gone into desuetude,—not without reason. What I propose for consideration is, whether, in the interest of sound finance and good government, it would not be wise to re-enact these laws, modifying them, in so far as it is necessary and consistent with their efficient working, so as to do away, as far as possible, with the inconveniences that may have arisen from their observance in the past. This means :—

1. The erection in every parish of a committee which would safeguard the parochial capital ; receive every year statements as to the sums collected for salaries paid to the clergy and other officials, as well as for all other parochial purposes ; and receive also an auditor's certificate as to the proper administration of the income of the various parochial funds.

2. The restitution to the cathedral chapter of its ancient right to watch over the property of the diocese ; so that no portion of the parochial or diocesan capital should be alienated, even by the authority of the bishop, except with the consent of the majority of the canons ; or, at least, without giving notice to the chapter, so that it may be in a position to oppose the alienation before the central bureau, whose erection is supposed to be necessary in any case.

3. The investing of the diocesan synod with the right to receive a financial statement showing the amount of the diocesan property, together with at least the general heads of expenditure of all income derived either from capital invested or collections made for parochial, diocesan, or any other public purpose in the diocese. This statement should be accompanied by an auditor's certificate, and published so as to be within the reach of all the faithful.

4. The erection of a central national bureau, which should possess the same rights over the Church property of the nation as were reserved to the Holy See by the constitution *Ambitiosae* of Paul II.

5. The appointment in every diocese, by the bishop and chapter, of a chartered accountant to audit every year the accounts of all foundations and collections for ecclesiastical or pious purposes; the auditor's report and certificate to be handed, as already specified, to the various bodies entitled to receive it;—that is, to the parochial committee, in case of parochial funds; and to the bishop, chapter, and diocesan synod, in case of all funds whatsoever, parochial or diocesan. This does not mean that the committee and the synod would have a right to ascertain the various items of expenditure; unless, indeed, the auditor were to disallow any item, when the matter should be brought before the committee or synod, as the case might be, which would then refer it for decision to the proper tribunal.

May I be allowed to add one word in conclusion. Should any of those who may have read these papers be inclined to regard my proposals as revoluntionary, let them bear in mind that the change I advocate makes for the establishment of the old ecclesiastical system,—that it is a reaction rather than a revolution in the ordinary sense of the word. The ancient bodies provided by or known to the canon law,—metropolitans, provincial and diocesan synods, chapters, parochial committees,—have lost their power; not without

advantage to religion, and yet not without danger. The danger is that as the laity and the lower order of the clergy are provided, settled, and done for, as if they were children, they may develop the carelessness and lack of business habits that characterise the child. This charge has been actually made against them by the enemies of their religion ; and there are but three lines, as far as I can see, on which to conduct the defence. You may maintain either (*a*) that our present system of government makes for manliness, initiative, self-reliance ; or (*b*) that, though it fails and must fail to develop these qualities, it has compensating advantages in other directions ; or (*c*) one may frankly admit that it is defective on the whole and in need of reform, as is likely to be true of all things that are living and subject to development. This last seems to me the true line of defence ; and the only point about which I feel anxious is whether we are called upon to make changes so extensive as have been outlined in these papers.

Recent events, comprising the publication of certain books that have been widely read even by the Catholic laity, seem to me to show that the time is ripe for reform, —that the Church in Ireland has again grown or will soon have grown to manhood, and that the paternal system of government which was good enough for children and serfs, will not be tolerated by a self-ruling and self-respecting people. I think it likely that as Irish Catholics become accustomed to scrutinise the accounts of the various parts of the civil government, they will develop a curiosity as to the state of the parochial, diocesan, and national church funds ; and though I do not at all mean that the people have the same right in ecclesiastical as in civil matters, I do believe that in ecclesiastical affairs they are not without rights. The laity, it is true, are not entitled to elect the administrators of Church property ; but they have a right that due care should be taken of the capital and the income of the body corporate to which they belong ; nor does it seem unreasonable on their part to suppose that measures of caution which experience proves to be necessary in worldly matters, should be adopted by

churchmen in affairs of a similar kind of which they have the administration.

I do not, however, insist on this aspect of the question; but ask you to consider merely whether what I have proposed or something like it would commend itself to business men. Is it business? If not, there is nothing to be said in its favour; but if it is, I submit that clergymen have no dispensation from the duty of conducting business affairs of vast importance according to strict business methods.

W. McDONALD, D.D.

IRISH LEXICOGRAPHY [1]

THE rapid progress which the Irish Language movement has made within the past few years has probably surprised its friends quite as much as its enemies. The prophets and wiseacres have been utterly at fault. The growth of the movement in its various aspects cannot be dwelt upon here. Amongst the evidences of the progress that has so far been achieved only a few can be glanced at.

The publication of our ancient literature proceeds apace. The foundations of a future literature have been already laid. Irish education in its various grades is being slowly, but surely, revolutionised. Nothing less Irish than Irish education as it was ten years ago can well be conceived. From a national point of view it is yet by no means ideal; but nevertheless solid and substantial progress has been made. We have advanced so far in the right direction that, if things continue to move as they have been doing, it may reasonably be hoped that, in another decade, Irish education will be national in reality as well as in name.

Irish is now being taught very generally in the primary and secondary schools. In the Gaelic League classes throughout the country there are thousands of earnest students of the language, and there are thousands of private students likewise.

This welcome activity in regard to Irish studies has led to a corresponding, if not proportionate, activity in

---

[1] *English-Irish Dictionary* (Foclóir Béarla-Gaeḋilge). Compiled from the most Authentic Sources. By T. O'Neill Lane. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers & Walker. London: David Nutt.

Foclóir Gaeḋilge agus Béarla. An Irish-English Dictionary. Being a Thesaurus of the Words, Phrases, and Idioms of the Modern Irish Language, with explanations in English. Compiled and Edited by Rev. P. S. Dinneen, M.A. Dublin: Published for the Irish Texts Society. By M. H. Gill & Son, Ltd., 50, Upper O'Connell-street; the Gaelic League, 24, Upper O'Connell-street. London: David Nutt, at the Sign of the Phœnix, 57-59, Long Acre. 1904.

the publication of Irish text-books. Those who can recall the difficulties that confronted students, even Irish-speaking students, of the national language twenty-five or even fifteen years ago, may well envy the students of the present day the advantages they possess. No one will, of course, urge that even now the student's equipment is nearly perfect, but a wonderful advance has been made. The latest evidence of this advance is furnished by the recent publication of an English-Irish Dictionary and likewise of an Irish-English Dictionary. For the former the Irish public is indebted to private enterprise; for the latter to the initiative and energy of the Irish Texts Society.

I

The want of two such works, of moderate size, accurate and reliable, sufficiently full and comprehensive, conforming to recognised lexicographic principles, and offered at a reasonable price, has long been felt, and the want has been constantly growing more acute. Until about a year ago there was practically no English-Irish dictionary to be had. The O'Begley-MacCurtin *English-Irish Dictionary*, published in Paris, in 1732, could scarcely be procured. Copies were very rare, and when at long intervals a copy was offered for sale the price, for the ordinary student, was prohibitive. Even if the work could be obtained easily and at a moderate price, it would be found wholly inadequate for present needs. Admirable in some respects, and abounding in examples, it has very serious defects. Though a bulky volume, and even at its original price a costly one, it covers very little ground. The large type from which it was printed and the ample spacing, explain why a work of such imposing proportions should be found to contain so little matter. The number of English vocables given is comparatively small and entirely insufficient. To make matters worse, many of those vocables are now obsolete. But the words that are given are usually well explained, and the various uses of the Irish equivalents copiously illustrated by examples.

Connellan's *English-Irish Dictionary* was published in

1814. Only by a stretch of courtesy is it entitled to be styled a dictionary. It is little more than a brief English-Irish glossary, put together in the most unscientific way, and lacking all the necessary grammatical and lexicographic particulars. It contains only about eight thousand English words. The Irish equivalents are inadequate, and often unreliable. No attempt is made to classify them, to give their principal inflections, or to indicate the gender of nouns ; and no examples are given. The work has long been out of print ; and when a copy is occasionally offered for sale, it can only be procured at a price out of all proportion to its intrinsic value.

Foley's *English-Irish Dictionary*, published in 1855, is in some respects a decided improvement on its predecessors ; but in some important respects it is much inferior to the O'Begley-MacCurtin work. It gives a very large number of English vocables, but even in this respect it is hardly comprehensive enough to adequately serve its purpose. The Irish equivalents are numerous,—indeed it contains many genuine Irish words not found in any other printed dictionary, whether English-Irish or Irish-English,—but one cannot always accept it as reliable. Not only are the Irish words not properly classified, but classification is not even attempted. No grammatical details are given ; and, worst of all, no examples are given. The student is, therefore, not afforded an opportunity of seeing the Irish words in their setting. This work, too, is out of print, is rarely offered for sale, and then only at a fancy price.

Something more than a year ago an English-Irish Dictionary was published by the Celtic Association. This work is, for its size and scope, accurate and satisfactory. It does not pretend to completeness. But it is a useful work, and, for a publication of the kind, is sold at a moderate price. It is doubtful if, notwithstanding its undoubted and acknowledged short-comings, it does not yet hold the field. So much for the English-Irish dictionaries published prior to the end of 1903.

In respect of Irish-English dictionaries those who have

interested themselves in Irish studies have not been much more favourably circumstanced. O'Brien's *Irish-English Dictionary*,[1] published in Paris in 1768, has long been out of print.[2] Though useful to scholars, this work, even if it could easily be obtained, would not be of much use to ordinary students. Its etymologies and philological speculations are fanciful in the last degree, but its definitions are usually accurate. It lacks the grammatical details now found, as a matter of course, in every good dictionary, and which are vital to the student's progress. In addition to this, the student will seek in vain within its pages for vast numbers of words of ordinary occurrence in later Irish literature and in the spoken language. A new edition of this work, revised and somewhat enlarged by Robert Daly, was published in Dublin in 1832. To this second edition what has been said of the first may be applied with but little modification.

O'Reilly's *Irish-English Dictionary* was published in Dublin in 1821. The original edition is now very rare. Far larger than O'Brien's work, it contains a vast number of Irish vocables. These words are in many cases archaic ; indeed, it is not uncommon to meet the same words in both their older and more modern forms. Seeing that O'Brien's work was one of O'Reilly's admitted sources, it is not a little curious to find in the former words not given in the latter. This, however, is not so true of the original edition: it applies rather to the edition of 1832, which appeared later than the original edition of O'Reilly.

Except that it contains more words, O'Reilly's work is no better than O'Brien's ; in some respects, indeed, it is not as good. O'Brien gives examples occasionally, although not very many ; O'Reilly gives none. The latter

[1] In 1707, Edward Lhuyd, a Welsh antiquary, published, in his *Archæologia Britannica*, a short Irish-English glossary.

[2] On a fly-leaf of a copy of this work in the Library of Maynooth College is found the following entry: "Ar na cumaḋ re Seaġan Ua Briain, earbeġ Chluana Uḟa, i gCúigeaḋ Muṁan, MDCCLXVIII.

Dóṅ ṙaġarc Míchil Ó Dioġbuiḋ an focalóir ro.

Ó Láiṁ Sheaġain Mhic an tShaoir, Árdeasboġ Áṫa Cliaṫ, Duiblinne, agus Príomṁaiḋ Éireann, agus do coiṁeaġaḋ do'n tShaoi rin Domnaċ Cincíse, an treas Lá do Iún, MDCCLXX. It seems that the entry is in the handwriting of Dr. Carpenter, Archbishop of Dublin, and it is stated that he was consecrated on Whit Sunday, June 3, 1770.

frequently sets down oblique cases of nouns as if they were independent words. He frequently gives variants without cross-references, and wastes much space by repeating exactly the same words, with a slight difference of spelling. As regards helpful grammatical particulars, his work is quite as defective as O'Brien's.

Coney's *Irish-English Dictionary*, published in 1849, was the first printed work of its class compiled on recognised lexicographical lines. Within the limits assigned to it, it is very satisfactory. All the required details are given, as well as occasional examples and numerous references. The work is, however, very circumscribed in its scope. It claims to be little more than a glossary to the Irish Bible. It has long been out of print, and it is now practically impossible to procure a copy, even at two or three times the original price.

A new edition of O'Reilly's work was published in Dublin in 1877. Copies can still be obtained, and at a price which, considering the bulk of the volume, is extremely moderate. It is not a mere reprint. The words found in the Supplement to the original edition, have, in the new edition, been transferred to the body of the work. Very frequently the definitions have been considerably expanded, although this expansion is sometimes a doubtful advantage. No attempt is made to differentiate between the literal equivalents of the Irish vocables, and those that are so only in a transferred sense, and in idiomatic usage. To do this satisfactorily would often necessitate examples, which are not given.

A large collection of words made by O'Donovan, some archaic and drawn from ancient manuscripts, others noted by him in his travels throughout the country and still living on the lips of Irish speakers, is included in a special Supplement. This Supplement is valuable. Within its compass, it is a much better specimen of Irish lexicography than the body of the work. Abundant examples are given; and in regard to living words, the name of the locality in which each word was noted is recorded.

The way has now been made straight for the considera-

tion of the two works whose publication has occasioned the writing of this article. That the time was more than ripe for the appearance of two works of their class is beyond all question. If found really suited to their purpose, sufficiently full, accurate and comprehensive, they could not fail to command an enormous sale. The announcement that they were in preparation excited widespread interest. Their appearance has been looked forward to with the greatest eagerness. They have now at length issued from the press. Do they adequately supply the want that has been so long and so keenly felt? How do they compare with their predecessors? To what extent and in what respects, if at all, have they improved upon them? These are questions in which not only many readers of the I. E. RECORD, but Irish Ireland and the public generally, must be interested. It is proposed to discuss them at some length.

II

By priority of publication Lane's *English-Irish Dictionary* is entitled to first place. With one possible exception, it may at once be admitted that this work is, if not in all, certainly in most respects, superior to any previous work of the kind. That it is better, all things considered, than the English-Irish Dictionary issued by the Celtic Association in 1903, is by no means clear. It is certainly a larger work, and a dearer. Its publication was heralded by a greater flourish of trumpets. Much stronger claims were urged on its behalf, and the public were led to form high expectations. Whilst, however, the Celtic Association's publication is by no means thoroughly satisfactory, far from it, such comparison of the two works as we have so far been able to make, strongly inclines us to the view that the smaller and less pretentious work reveals a far truer and more scientific grasp of the science of lexicography.

This is scarcely pertinent, however, for just now our concern is with Mr. O'Neill Lane's work. The volume contains a very considerable number of English vocables,

probably about the same number as Foley's volume. The Irish equivalents are fairly well classified; and this seems to constitute its great excellence as compared with Foley's work. Grammatical details are also given, and so also are examples illustrating some of the uses of many words, and showing them in their actual setting. All this is so far satisfactory, and the compiler is entitled to full credit for it. The work is well printed, and the proof-reading seems to have been, in the main, fairly well done.

But is the work even fairly satisfactory of its class? Is it sufficiently full, accurate, and comprehensive for the student, and is it likely to meet all his reasonable requirements? Is it value for the price at which it is being sold? With all the good-will in the world, it is to be feared that only a reply in the negative can possibly be given to these questions. The work, for its size and price, we have found to be gravely disappointing. The type selected gives the work a deceptive appearance: it is not suitable for a dictionary. The number of English vocables given is by no means so large as the bulk of the volume would led one to expect; and experience will probably show it to be wholly inadequate. If printed from type of the size usually employed in printing dictionaries, the bulk of the volume might easily have been reduced by half or more. In this way, without increasing the size, space could be found for a much greater amount of matter, for a larger number of English vocables with their equivalents, as well as for the needful illustrative quotations. The price of the work is excessive, and would be excessive even if it were much more complete and comprehensive than it is.

These are serious drawbacks, but there are others of a still graver character. Even within its present limits the work has serious defects. Frequently the definitions are uncritical and betray a want of real knowledge of the language, whilst very frequently they are grossly inadequate. Equivalents of more than doubtful authenticity are given for many English words, whilst oftentimes genuine and very obvious equivalents are not to be found.

These points cannot be discussed very fully; neither

can they be wholly passed over. The strictures which have been made, and which have had to be made, demand justification, even at the risk of tediousness.

Take the word 'get' for example. How is it dealt with? The equivalents set down opposite it are geibim and faghaim. There is no such word as geibim. It should be do-geibim or geibim. But do-geibim or geibim is not an equivalent for 'get,' any more than geibim. The equivalent of 'get' is faghaidh, fagha, or faig; whilst the equivalent of do-geibim or geibim is 'I get' or 'I find.' Except in restricted local usage, faghaim is not an equivalent for 'get,' nor for 'I get,' but for 'let me get' or 'let me find,' although ní faghaim equates with 'I do not get,' or 'I do not find.' This is very elementary Irish Grammar, indeed. The treatment of 'give' is worse, and worse still the treatment of 'see.' These are but a few examples of the deplorably uncritical character of the work in this particular respect.

As an example, quite typical, of equally uncritical work of another kind, attention may be called to the manner in which the word 'nincompoop' is dealt with. Many Irish equivalents might very easily have been given. Instead of giving even one, a long explanation of the word is given in Irish: 'duine baoth, bog, filte, fiaoilleánta gur mar amadán do dhéanamh de.' Of what use is this to the student? If the book were exclusively designed for Irish speakers engaged in the study of English, the method pursued in this instance would be praiseworthy. Such, however, is not the case. From the very nature of things it is mainly intended for students of Irish. What they want is not Irish definitions of the things which the English words denote but the actual working equivalents of the English words themselves,—not that such definitions might not be occasionally useful to somebody or other, but they should not be allowed to elbow out what is much more important in existing circumstances. Many Irish equivalents at once start to the lips—amaidm, bheall, bheallrún, bheillice, búirte, baothán, etc. Why are not some of them given, or some others in their stead, at least one or two?

It has been said that the Irish equivalents are oftentimes inadequate. It is impossible, of course, to do more than call attention to a few instances of this. Why have not bacla and bacóg been given under 'armful'? One would expect to see ceallṫair under 'raiment,' and surely callṫar (collṫar) and roc are not synonymous. Is there any sufficient authority for including teaġlaċ (old Irish, teġlaċ) under 'hearth' along with tealleċ (old Irish, tenlaċ)? Why is not comḟluaṫar (Aran) given under both 'family' and 'household'? Is not éigniuġaṫ an equivalent for 'violation' as well as ṙáruġaṫ, and in the same sense? Under 'covert' cúim should surely be cuim. Why are leaṙg and leiṙgeaṁail missing under 'reluctant'? Does cuing mean 'yoke' only in the restricted sense assigned to it by the compiler; and, if so, what about cuing ċráḃaiṫ? One will look in vain under 'purposely' for ṫ'éan-am, ṫ'éan-ġnó, and ṫ'éan-turar; and 'designedly,' under which both these and ṫ'éan-toiṙg should have been given, is not to be found. How is one to account for the omission of meaḃrán under 'diziness (megrim),' and of the same word, as well as méarán and miaḃán, under 'vertigo'?

It is impossible to go on longer in this strain. There would be no end. The following, selected almost at random but covering the entire work, are given as typical examples of omissions noted almost in every page: afflicted, teiṙeóil; anguish, ṙorlá; attentively, go gruinn; babbling, briorg-ġlórać; band (troop or company), tíorma, ṙonnṙa; barren (desiccated), tíorg; branch, (bough, or limb, of tree), beangán; breast, bruinne, cliaḃ, cliaṫ (surely ṙine, wrongly written ṙíne, and cíoċ are not synonymous); careful, ṙríocnaṁaċ; chirping, briosarnaċ; clamorous, callóideaċ, gairḃeasceaċ; conspiracy, uiṙge ṙa ċalaṁ (is not the proper meaning of ceannairc, given under 'conspiracy,' sedition, a mutiny, an emeute, a riot, a brawl, a broil?); corn (on foot), ṙealḃ; cream, cróċ (Clare); crisis (of sickness), ṙráil (E. Munster and Kilkenny); cruel, borb, tíṙgir; crumb, ṙṙúille, ṙṙúilleóg, brúire; cunning (keen), ṙṙaṫainneaċ; curate, ṙaġart ṙreasrail,

ꝛaꝝaꞃꞇ óꝝ, ꝛéꞃꝉíneaċ; depressed (dejected), ꝺuaiḃꝛeaċ; difficulty, ꝺócaṁal; displeasure, ꝺíomḃuaiꝺ; dissatisfied, ꝺoiꞃḃ; distress, ḃuaiꝺꝛeaꝺ, aṁꝝaꞃ, anꝺóꝝ, anꝺó; dweller, áiꞇꝛeóiꞃ, áiꞇꝛeaḃaċ; excellent, ꝺeaꞃꝼꝝnaiꝺ, ꝛeaḃꝛaċ; fierce, ꝺíꝼꝝiꞃ; flesh-fork (óiꞃníꞃ ꝛeóꝉa ꝺo ꞇóꝝḃáil a cuꞃcán.—Gloss), aꝺal; flummery, caċḃꞃuiċ (Ulster); foreigner, eaċꞇꞃann; frog, ꝉuiꝼꝝeann; gest (deed), éaċꞇ, ꝝaiꝼꝝeaꝺ; German, Allmáineaċ (a much more common word in Irish literature than that given); gift, ꞇioꝺꝉaiceaꝺ (correct form of word, not ꞇioꝺꝉacaꝺ; gloomy, ꝺuaiḃꝛeaċ; hardship, ꝺócaṁal (not ꝺócaṁail); hissing, ꝛoꝝaꞃo; ill-turn (ill-treatment), ꝺroiċꝺíol, ꝺroċ-ċóꞃ, ꝺroċ-aoiꝺe; indignation, ꝺíomḃuaiꝺ; inhabitant, áiꞇꝛeóiꞃ; kid, meannán (not meanán), mionnán (minnꝛeaċ or mínꝛeaċ is not a kid, but a she-goat); leaning (lolling), leaċluiꝝe; lukewarm, leaṁꝛuaꞃ; madness (rage, wrath), aċṁaoiꞇaꞃ, ꝺíḃꝛeaꞃꝝ; melancholy, ꝺuaiḃꝛeaċ; mercy, ioċꞇ; mortification (of one's self, of passions), claonṁaꞃḃaꝺ; mouth (wry), ꝛeannc; nape (of neck), baic; niggard, ꞇꞇiocaiꞃe, cníoꝼaiꞃe, ꝼꝼíonnlóiꞃ, ꝼꝼíonnlóꝝ, ꝼꝼíonnlóiꝝín, cꞃuaꝺálaiꝺe; oar, maiꝺe ꝼáṁa; peevish, ꝺoiꞃḃ, caꞃꞇlaċ; perfect, ꝼoiꞃḃċe, ꝺeaꞃꝼꝝnaiꝺ; plunder (spoil, booty) éaꝺóil; present (gift), ḃꝛionnꞇanaꞃ, ꞇioꝺꝉaiceaꝺ, aiꝝge; quarrelsome, ꝺoiꞃḃ, caꝺꝛánaċ, clampaꞃaċ; quail, ꝝaiꞃꞇéan (ꝝuiꞃꞇéan); rage, conꝼaꝺ, ꞇonnꝝaiꝉ, ꝼuaꞃnaꝺ, ꝛíoċ; railing (denunciation), ꝝéaꞃaiꝺeaċꞇ; rash, ꝺioꞃꝼaiꝼꝝ, (hot-headed) ceannuaiꝼꝝneaċ; reconciliation, ꝛéiꝺꞇeaċ, aċṁuinnꞇeaꞃaꞃ; refuse, dregs, ꝺaoꝼꝝaꞃ (ꝺaoꝼꝝaꞃ na ḃꝛeaċꞇaċ), ꝺꝛíoꝺaꞃ; reprobate (dissolute), éiꝺeaꞃḃċa; reproof, imꝺeaꞃꝝaꝺ, aiꞇḃeaꞃ (not aiꞇḃiꝺꝛaꝺ, which is a verbal), aiꞇiꞃ; sad, ꝺéaꞃaċ (not ꝺeaꞃaċ), cuṁaċ, imꝼníomaċ, imniꝺeaċ; sadness, ꝺuḃaċaꞃ, cuṁa, (dejection, depression) ꝺuaiḃꝛeaċꞇ; separately, ꝛa ꝛeaċ does not mean 'separately,' but 'alternately' or 'by turns'; separation, leiꞇꝛeaċaꞃ; shreds (fragments), ꞃliꝝꝛeaċ, ꝝꝛeamanna, oiꞃneaċa, bloꝺa, bloꝺanna, bꞃúꝼꝝaꞃ, ꝼꝼꞃuꝺaꞃ, ꝼꝼꞃuaꝺaꞃ, bꞃuꞃ, ꞃimꝺiꞃíní; silly, leaṁ, éiꞇꝛeóꞃaċ; sorceress, banꝺꞃaoi (not beanꝺꞃaoi); sparkle, ꝼꞃaꝺ; sprig (twig), buiꞃneán; steadfast (of look), ꝝꞃinn; sting, caiꝉ, caiꝉ (the use of ceaiꝉ in this sense, though not lacking authority, does not seem

correct); stubble, connlaċ; tumult, cíṁéir; temples (of head), camógа aṁa; tormentor, céarṫúnaċ means an 'executioner,' and is scarcely correct here; twilight, caṁaoir, ṫuailleaċt crapuirgail, crapfolar (feargar means 'evening'); uneasy, imṁníomaċ; unsavoury, díomblarta; vehement, deanaċdaċ; veil, falaċ, caille; verdure, glasraḋ; vineyard, fíneaṁain; vision, físe, taiḃḃre; volume (book), imleabar; vulture, preáċán garḃ, preáċán ingneaċ; wizard (sorcerer, magician), fáirtineaċ, geardóir, gruagaċ, agarlaiḋe; yard (farm-yard), maċa, mannraċ, maimneaċ.

Tedious though these details must be, they are absolutely necessary. When a book has to be so severely criticised as that which is now under review, mere assertion, unsupported by conclusive evidence, cannot be allowed to go before the public. Much more might be said, very much more, but let this suffice.

The prepositions throughout are very unsatisfactorily and inadequately dealt with; and yet no portion of the matter of a dictionary requires fuller and more careful treatment. To deal with them properly would require abundant examples. Not alone here, however, but throughout the entire work, the examples given are wholly insufficient. This is one of the greatest defects of the book. The necessity of giving examples has been practically recognised by the compiler, but the extent to which he has carried the process is of very little use. An English-Irish dictionary lacking examples may to some extent meet the requirements of advanced students, those especially who have always spoken the language; they consult such a dictionary, as a rule, merely to recall a word. The ordinary student is in a very different position. He requires not only to be furnished with the words of which he is in quest, but to be shown how to employ them correctly. Examples, and plenty of them, will alone enable him to do this. To be of real use to him an English-Irish dictionary must partake largely of the character of a phrase-book. Unfortunately Mr. Lane's work scarcely attempts to reach this ideal. Such examples as are given appear to be drawn in the main from the O'Begley-MacCurtin Dictionary. Very little effort

appears to have been made to secure helpful examples by means of independent research.

The work is disappointing. It is in no sense adequate for the purpose which its compiler must have had in view. To make it reasonably satisfactory, merely to add to it will not suffice; it needs drastic revision almost as much as enlargement. If sold at about half the price at present being charged for it, it would continue to perform a useful office, no matter how imperfectly, until a satisfactory work can be procured; but even in this modest rôle, it will have a formidable rival in the dictionary issued by the Celtic Association.

M. P. O'H

[*To be continued.*]

ADOPTION IN IRELAND OF THE ROMAN PRONUNCIATION OF LATIN

AT the General Meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland held in Maynooth College on Tuesday, October 11th, 1904, the following Resolution was passed unanimously :—

> That in the opinion of the Bishops the time has come when it is desirable on many grounds, that the Roman pronunciation of Latin should be, as far as possible, generally adopted in the Ecclesiastical Seminaries and Colleges of Ireland.

In pursuance of this Resolution the assembled Prelates requested the undersigned to draw up some General Rules for this pronunciation, so as to facilitate its speedy adoption in all the Colleges and Seminaries.

It will be seen from the perusal of these Rules that very little has to be altered, and a month's steady application of them would imperceptibly effect the transformation.

✠ N. DONNELLY,
Bishop of Canea.

ROMAN PRONUNCIATION OF LATIN

THE Italian language, it is admitted, approaches nearer to perfection in orthography and pronunciation than any other in Europe. In it there are no silent letters. Every letter is pronounced, and each letter, however it may be combined with others, is always articulated distinctly with the sound that is peculiarly its own. It is this principle applied to the Latin language that gives the latter that distinctness, clearness, and intelligibility which constitute the peculiar charm of Latin as spoken and pronounced by a Roman. Take for example the word *Créatórem*. In these countries the accented vowels—*e* in the first syllable and *o* in the third syllable—will be sure to receive their due meed of attention ; but it will be difficult for the

listener to decide what vowels are sounded in the unaccented syllables. The *a* and the second *e* being unaccented are obscure in comparison with those which are accented, and are still further obscured and rendered undistinguishable by the careless manner in which they are so frequently slurred over. On the tongue of a Roman there is no danger of this ever occurring. Each vowel receives its own distinct and distinguishable sound, and whilst the accents are correctly observed, the unaccented vowels are not disregarded.

What has just been said, directly regards the speaking and reading of Latin, but it applies with tenfold force to Latin that has to be chanted or sung.

General Rules.

VOWELS.

A. This vowel is pronounced as *a* in *far*, e.g., *cá-put*, *má-nus*, etc.

E. is pronounced as *ay* in *say*, never as *ee* in *bee*. Care must be taken, however, especially in singing, not to add another vowel to the *e*, as sometimes we hear Ky-ri-e-*i*. Misere*i*re.

I. always and under all circumstances should be sounded as *ee* in *bee*; never and under no circumstances as the English personal pronoun 'I.' This is one of the vowels most sinned against in English-speaking countries. Outside of the latter such a pronunciation is never heard.

O. is pronounced substantially as we have been accustomed to pronounce it hitherto.

U. This is the vowel which needs most attention. In English we make a diphthong of it and speak of it as *yoo*. In Latin it is a simple vowel, and whether in the beginning, middle, or end of words should be sounded as *oo* in *coo*, *moon*, etc. Hence *ut* = *oot*, not *ut* as in the English word *ut*ter; *u-trúmque* = *oo-tróom-que*, *mí-ssus* = *mí-ssoos*,

sénsu = sé-nsoo ; se-nsoo-oom de-fe-ctoo-ee it should be in the *Tantum Ergo.*

One mispronunciation of this vowel when preceded by the letter *t* constantly occurs amongst us, though it rather affects the *t* than the *u.* Why, for instance, do we pronounce *tuus* or *tuum,* as if they were written *tch-úus* or *tch-úum* ? The correct reading is *too-oos, too-oom.* This malpractice is especially objectionable when it is sung in the response to *Dominus vobiscum.*

J. is considered as a vowel or kind of prolonged or double *i.* In the beginning or middle of a word it is pronounced as *y,* in the words *yield, year, young.* Hence the Holy Name Jesus is pronounced *Yá-ysoos ; é-jus = áy-yoos, cú-jus = cóo-yoos,* etc.

Diphthongs.

In Italian there are properly speaking no diphthongs, in Latin *two* are recognised.

AE, OE, both pronounced alike as *ay* in *say*; thus *sáepe = sáy-pay, moeróre = ma-yró-ray.*

EI, is never a diphthong, each vowel must be sounded separately, consequently *é-i = á-yee, méi = má-yee,* and never *I* or *my.*

Similarly in AU, the two vowels are separately but rather quickly spoken, like *ou* in *loud.*

EU, the two vowels are separately sounded. Thus in the word *éuge,* the pronunciation is *é-oo-ge.*

N.B.—A vowel at the end of a word is always pronounced as a distinct syllable, and every vowel preserves its proper sound independently of the consonants which accompany t.

Consonants.

C. The Roman pronunciation of this consonant in Latin is distinctively Italian, though some try to give it a classic pedigree. Hitherto we have been accustomed to sound it,

when it comes before certain vowels, as *s*; thus we say *say*lum, for coelum; *si*vitas, for civitas, etc. Now, it is a distinct consonant from *s*, and is entitled to its own proper sound. The Romans never sound it as *s*, but before the vowels *e*, *i*, *y*, *ae*, *oe*, it is pronounced as *ch* in *child*, *chess*, *chief*, consequently *ceperunt=chepéroont*, *civitas = cheeveetas*, *cygnus = cheegnoos*, *caetera = chaytera*, *coelum = chayloom*.

Followed by *a*, *o*, *u*, it is pronounced like *k* or *ch* hard, thus *caput = kaput*, *codex = kodex*, *cupio = koopio*.

H in the beginning of words is pronounced as in English, in the middle of words somewhat as *ch* hard or *k*; thus *nihil = nichil* or *nikil*.

Double Consonants.

CC. Where they precede *e* or *i* they are pronounced as *ch* in word *achieve*, that is the first *c* is pronounced like *t*, the latter retaining its ordinary sound, thus *accedere = at-che-dere*.

CH, before *e* or *i*, are pronounced like *k* or *ch* in the English word *chemist*, e.g., *Chersonesum = Ker-so-ne-sum*.

GN, in the syllables *gna*, *gne*, *gni*, *gno*, *gnu*, have a liquid sound similar to that of *ni* in such words as dom*i*nion p*i*nion, *o*nion; consequently *Agnus Dei* becomes *A-nyoos* Dei, *pignore* becomes *pi-nyore*.

SC. Before *e* or *i* they sound like *sh* in *shape* or *ship*; thus *sceptrum=she-ptroom*, *scire=shee-re*. Followed by *a*, *o*, *u*, they are pronounced as *sk*; thus *scandalum=ska-nd-aloom*.

There remains only the oft-disputed word *excelsis*. *Eggshells*, as a phonetic equivalent for the two first syllables, is to be rejected, equally so *ex-chel*; *ekshelsis* seems to be the nearest approach to the Roman sound.

The adoption of the Roman pronunciation of Latin now ordered for all colleges and seminaries by the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, besides bringing us into line with the

pronunciation actually prevailing in most Catholic countries,[1] has the additional important advantage, that when visiting Rome, whether for business, study, or pleasure, we shall be enabled to enter into familiar oral intercourse with people there, and not be condemned to silence as hitherto by employing a pronunciation which rendered us unintelligible however our phrases might be otherwise grammatically or rhetorically correct.

[1] Even France in many instances has adopted it.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

NEW LEGISLATION ON THE ACCEPTANCE AND CELEBRATION OF MANUAL MASSES

In the I. E. Record of November we explained the new legislation contained in the decree *Ut debita*, in so far as it concerns the acceptance of Manual Masses, their celebration within stated times, and the obligation of sending to the Ordinary unsatisfied honoraria. We now proceed to explain the remaining provisions of the decree.

(6) *Transference of honoraria to others* :—The decree speaks of the lawfulness of transferring to others the obligations attached to honoraria :—

5. Qui exuberantem missarum numerum habent, de quibus sibi liceat libere disponere (quin fundatorum vel oblatorum voluntati quoad tempus et locum celebrationis missarum detrahatur), posse eas tribuere praeterquam proprio Ordinario aut S. Sedi, sacerdotibus quoque sibi benevisis, dummodo certe ac personaliter sibi notis et omne exceptione majoribus.

6. Qui missas cum sua eleemosyna proprio Ordinario aut S. Sedi tradiderint ab omni obligatione coram Deo et Ecclesia relevari.

Qui vero missas a fidelibus susceptas, aut utcunque suae fidei commissas, aliis celebrandas tradiderint, obligatione teneri usque dum peractae celebrationis fidem non sint assequuti ; adeo ut si ex eleemosynae dispertione, ex morte sacerdotis, aut ex alia qualibet etiam fortuita causa in irritum res cesserit, committens de suo supplere debeat, et missas satisfacere teneatur.

According to these paragraphs of the decree a priest may transfer superfluous honoraria, which he is free to dispose of without interfering with the wish of the founder or the donor, not only to the Ordinary and to the Holy See, but also to other priests provided these be personally known to him and of good character.

According to some commentators on the decree *Ut*

debita the first paragraph quoted is a relaxation of the previous article which deals with the obligation of giving unsatisfied honoraria to the Bishop. We think that there is not sufficient foundation for this view. We agree with those who maintain that there is question in this article of masses which no obligation at present urges to hand over to the Bishop. That this is the correct view seems clear on the one hand from the fact that the decree *Vigilanti* speaks absolutely of the obligation of giving to the Bishop at the end of the year unsatisfied honoraria, and on the other hand from the fact that the present article speaks only of those honoraria of which the priest has the free disposal according to the will of the founders or the donors. We believe then that the present paragraph does not make any relaxation in the previous article, but merely indicates the persons to whom honoraria may be lawfully transferred.

When the end of the year has passed, during which masses should have been celebrated, they may not be transferred to other priests. They may be transferred to the Ordinary alone. In the case of a small number of masses, or of any number of masses to be celebrated in a short time according to the will of the donors, the obligation of giving them to the Ordinary does not urge till the end of the year according to the decree *Vigilanti*, even though the available time for celebrating them may have elapsed. The Bishop may, in this case, determine what is meant by 'end of the year.' During the interval before the end of the year they must be said *quam-primum* by the priest unless the time were fixed by the donors *ad obligationem finiendam*. They can also be transferred to other priests provided the will of the donors permit this. If the time were fixed *ad obligationem finiendam* the honoraria must be returned to the donors.

There are many canonists who maintain that the decree *Vigilanti* does not oblige a priest to hand over to the Ordinary all the unsatisfied honoraria when this would deprive him of all honoraria, because he could immediately claim back some for himself. This view is not devoid

of probability. All canonists, however, hold that a priest could not retain any honoraria for his friends. So it would not be lawful in such circumstances to transfer these honoraria to other priests, no matter how high a character they may bear.

In this connection it is well to discuss a case of frequent occurrence. A priest has lawfully accepted a number of honoraria. He subsequently finds that his ordinary duties require him to say more masses than he expected. Or it may be that he, for a very special reason, wishes to say masses for some private object. Can he transfer to other priests the former honoraria? According to the decree he can do so, provided this be not against the wish of the donors. Hence, if convenient, he ought to find out the wish of the donors, if he does not already know it. Frequently it will be very inconvenient, if not impossible, to ask the donors themselves what their wish is. Can he in this case presume on the will of the donors to transfer the honoraria to other priests? It is necessary for the priest to judge from all the circumstances of the case whether the required permission to transfer them be present or not. If the circumstances give no indication of the will of the donors we think that the priest is justified in presuming on their will to transfer the masses to other priests of good character, provided they be said within a reasonable time. This seems to be true when there is a very special reason for not fulfilling personally the obligation already undertaken. If there were not such special reason present, the priest could not in this way presume on the consent of the donors. There would be no justification for not fulfilling the obligation already undertaken.

According to the decree *Ut debita* masses, of which the priest has the free disposal, can be given to the Ordinary or to the Holy See. They can also be given to other priests provided these other priests be personally known to the priest transferring the masses and above suspicion. The end of this law is to secure the due celebration of these masses. This end is secured if the priest to whom they are transferred be of well known integrity, even though

he be not personally known to the priest who transfers the masses. In such a case we do not think that the exact letter of the law need be urged. It is sufficient if the priest transferring the masses be certain of the integrity of the priest to whom he transfers them.

In face of this law it would not be competent for the Ordinary to forbid priests to transfer honoraria to priests outside the diocese. There is a well known principle of theology that the Ordinary has no power to limit the freedom of subjects in matters with regard to which the common law gives liberty. In this case the common law does give liberty. Hence the Ordinary can at most see that the will of the donors be fulfilled.

If the masses be transferred to the Ordinary or to the Holy See the priest is freed from all responsibility. If on the other hand the masses be transferred to other priests, the priest transferring them is not freed from all responsibility until he has received documentary evidence that the masses have been celebrated. So that if, for any reason, the masses have not been celebrated, he is bound to celebrate them. We think, however, that this obligation of obtaining documentary evidence must not be urged too far. If in any way the priest has obtained certain knowledge that the masses have been celebrated he is not bound to seek the further evidence which arises from documentary proof. The end of the law has been secured.

(7) *Obligation of Ordinaries to provide for the celebration of masses given to them* :—The decree next speaks of the obligation of Ordinaries with regard to masses received :—

7. Ordinarii dioecesani missas quas, ex praecedentium articulorum dispositione coacervabunt, statim ex ordine in librum cum respectiva eleemosyna referent, et curabunt pro viribus ut quamprimum celebrentur, ita tamen ut prius manualibus satisfiat, deinde iis quae ad instar manualium sunt. In distributione autem servabunt regulam decreti Vigilanti, scilicet : ' missarum intentiones primum distribuent inter sacerdotes sibi subjectos, qui eis indigere noverint ; alias deinde aut S. Sedi, aut aliis Ordinariis committent, aut etiam si velint, sacer-

dotibus extra-dioecesanis, dummodo sibi noti sint omnique exceptione majores,' firma semper regula art. 6 de obligatione, donec a sacerdotibus actae celebrationis fidem exegerint.

The first duty of a Bishop who has received honoraria by reason of the regulations of this decree is to inscribe these masses in order, with their respective honoraria, in a book. He must then try to have them celebrated as soon as possible. He must first get the manual masses in the strict sense celebrated, and afterwards the masses *ad instar manualium*. The masses he must first distribute amongst the priests who are subject to him, and whom he knows to be in want of honoraria. If there be no such priests in his diocese he may then give the honoraria to the Holy See, or to other Ordinaries, or even to priests who are outside his diocese, provided they be known to him and be of high character. He must, however, obtain from these priests documentary evidence that they have celebrated the masses, just as ordinary priests are bound to obtain similar evidence, before he is freed from all responsibility.

Whilst speaking of the duty of a Bishop, it is well to mention that in a subsequent part of the decree *Ut debita* it is indicated that it is the duty of a Bishop to see that in the churches of his diocese there be kept, besides a table of the perpetual onera of the church and a book in in which the masses given by the faithful are entered with their respective honoraria, a book in which the discharge of these onera and masses is duly recorded. One book will suffice for these different objects. It is also mentioned by the decree that it is the duty of the Ordinary to watch over the faithful carrying out of all the regulations of the decree.

(8) *Traffic in masses* :—The decree *Ut debita* lays down stringent rules with the object of preventing serious abuses arising from traffic in masses. Though the text of the decree is long our readers will pardon us if, on account of its clearness, we quote the whole text :—

8. Vetitum cuique omnino esse missarum obligationes et

ipsarum eleemosynas a fidelibus vel locis piis acceptas tradere bibliopolis et mercatoribus, diariorum et ephemeridum administratoribus, etiamsi religiosi viri sint, nec non venditoribus sacrorum utensilium et indumentorum, quamvis pia et religiosa instituta, et generatim quibuslibet, etiam ecclesiasticis viris, qui missas requirant, non taxative ut eas celebrent sive per se sive per sacerdotes sibi subditos, sed ob alium quemlibet, quamvis optimum, finem. Constitit enim id effici non posse nisi aliquod commercii genus cum eleemosynis missarum agendo, aut eleemosynas ipsas imminuendo ; quod utrumque omnino praecavere debere S. Congregatio censuit. Quapropter in posterum quilibet hanc legem violare praesumpserit aut scienter tradendo missas ut supra aut eas acceptando, praeter grave peccatum quod patrabit, in paenas infra statutas incurret.

9. Juxta ea quae in superiore articulo constituta sunt decernitur, pro missis manualibus stipem a fidelibus assignatam, et pro missis fundatis aut alicui beneficio adnexis (quae ad instar manualium celebrantur) eleemosynam juxta sequentes articulos propriam, nunquam separari posse a missae celebratione, *neque in alias res commutari aut imminui*, sed celebranti ex integro et in specie sua esse tradendam, sublatis declarationibus, indultis, privilegiis, rescriptis sive perpetuis sive ad tempus, ubivis, quovis titulo, forma vel a qualibet auctoritate concessis et huic legi contrariis.

10. Ideoque libros, sacra utensilia vel quaslibet alias res vendere aut emere, et associationes (uti vocant) cum diariis et ephemeridibus inire ope missarum, nefas esse atque omnino prohiberi. Hoc autem valere non modo si agatur de missis celebrandis, sed etiam si de celebratis, quoties id in usum et habitudinem cedat et in subsidium alicujus commercii vergat.

Hence it is forbidden to dispose of honoraria for masses by sending them to booksellers, merchants, directors of journals and reviews, or any other intermediaries, whether clerical or lay, whose object is, not to celebrate the masses personally or by priests who are their subjects, but to obtain them for some other purpose however good in itself. The end of this law is to prevent all danger of abuse in the future. It is forbidden also to accept masses in these circumstances. Whoever send or accept masses in this way incur serious penal ties which we shall afterwards mention.

The law also prohibits the transfer of masses to others without a transfer of the whole honoraria which have been received from the faithful. If any part of the offering

has been given not exactly for the celebration of mass but rather for the personal use of the priest he can lawfully retain that part for himself, in accordance with the will of the donor. He can also retain reasonable expenses.

This legislation does not allow the exchange for masses, celebrated or to be celebrated, of subscriptions to journals and reviews, of books, of church furniture, or of any other merchandise. The words: 'quoties id in usum et habitudinem cedat et in subsidium alicujus commercii vergat.' show that occasions might arise when exchange of books, church furniture, etc., for masses is not forbidden. This happens, according to the decree, when the exchange is not habitual and does not flavour of commerce. Thus, for instance, a priest may accept church ornaments on the condition of celebrating some masses for the donor. A priest may also receive oil-stocks on the condition of saying masses for the repose of the soul of the former possessor. In such exceptional cases there is no taint of trafficing in masses.

In a subsequent article (14) the decree makes a temporary concession in favour of agreements already entered into with directors of reviews, etc. These transactions may be carried on till the end of the year for which the agreements were made. Of course this supposes that there is question of contracts hitherto lawful.

(9) *Retention of honoraria in Sanctuaries* :—The decree on this subject says :—

> 11. Item sine nova et speciali S. Sedi venia (quae non dabitur nisi ante constiterit de vera necessitate, et cum debitis cautelis), ex eleemosynis missarum, quas fideles celebrioribus Sanctuariis tradere solent, non licere quidquam detrahere ut ipsorum decori et ornamento consulatur.

The decree *Vigilanti* (7) forbade Bishops to retain any part of honoraria given by the faithful to Sanctuaries, without an indult from the Holy See permitting this retention. The present decree recalls this provision to mind, not for the purpose of relaxing it, but rather for the purpose of making it more strict by invalidating all previous concessions. It declares that a new and special

indult is necessary in the future to permit the practice of retaining any part of the offering for the benefit of the Sanctuary. This new permission will not be given without proved necessity. Those who, whether they be Bishops or priests, in violation of this law, retain a part of the offering for the Sanctuary, when transferring the honoraria, incur the penalties subsequently mentioned. This law does not interfere with the explicit or implicit wish of the donors to have a portion of the offering retained for the Sanctuary.

The decree (14) makes a temporary concession in favour of Sanctuaries. Indults already obtained can be used till the end of the current year.

(10) *Penalties* :—The decree next mentions the penalties incurred by the violation of articles 8, 9, 10, 11 :—

12. Qui autem statuta in praecedentibus articulis 8, 9, 10 et 11, quomodolibet aut quovis praetextu perfringere ausus fuerit, si ex ordine sacerdotale sit, suspensioni *a divinis* S. Sedi reservatae et ipso facto incurrendae obnoxius erit ; si clericus sacerdotio nondum initiatus, suspensioni a susceptis ordinibus pariter subjacebit,et insuperin habilis fiet ad superiores ordines assequendos ; si vero laicus, excommunicatione latae sententiae Episcopo reservata obstringitur.

13. Et cum in const. Apostolicae Sedis statutum sit excommunicationem latae sententiae Summi Pontifici reservatae subjacere ' colligentes eleemosynas majoris pretii, et ex eis lucrum captantes, faciendo eas celebrari in locis ubi missarum stipendia minoris pretii esse solent ' S. C. declarat, huic legi et sanctioni per praesens decretum nihil esse detractum.

Hence the crimes which we have already mentioned in connection with articles 8, 9, 10 and 11 of the decree are punished by severe penalties. Priests who are guilty *ipso facto* incur suspension simply reserved to the Holy See. Clerics who are not priests are in the same way suspended from the use of Orders already received. They are also inhibited from the reception of higher Orders. The laity who are guilty incur excommunication reserved to the Bishop. This excommunication is *latae sententiae*.

The decree *Ut debita* states that it leaves in full force the constitution of the *Apostolicae Sedis* which is quoted.

This constitution imposes excommunication *latae sententiae* against collectors of masses who profit by getting them celebrated in places where the honoraria are accustomed to be smaller. This penalty is simply reserved to the Holy See. Both clergy and laity are subject to the excommunication. To understand the nature of the crime which is thereby punished it is necessary to carefully examine the words of the decree.

Colligentes eleemosynas :—Hence it is only those who *ex industria* ask the faithful for honoraria incur the excommunication. Those who accept honoraria spontaneously offered by the faithful do not incur the penalty. It is probable that the excommunication is not incurred by those who seek honoraria from only one or two people, because that could scarcely be called collection of honoraria. Neither, for the same reason, does the penalty fall on those who ask only a few offerings.

Pro missis :—Manual masses are here understood. Foundation masses attached to a church and masses attached to a benefice are not affected by the Encyclical of Benedict XIV, or by the *Apostolicae Sedis* of Pius IX, which merely renewed the Benedictine law.

Et ex eis lucrum captantes :—Hence, mere collection of masses does not incur the excommunication. Moreover, only those masses are affected by the penalty with regard to which it is not lawful to retain part of the offering. Therefore, those who retain merely the part of the honoraria which was given to themselves personally do not incur the excommunication. Neither do they incur the penalty who retain merely such part of the honoraria as may be required to defray reasonable expenses. This excommunication probably does not affect those who retain a part of the honoraria for pious uses. They are probably not *lucrum captantes*.

Faciendo eas celebrari . . . . solent :—It was decided by the S. Inq., 13th January, 1892, that they who get the masses celebrated in the same place where they have been collected are subject to the excommunication.

It must be borne in mind that although this excom-

munication of the *Apostolicae Sedis* be not incurred it does not follow that the transference of masses is lawful. This is clear from the explanation which we have already given of the decree *Ut debita*. The decree forbids many things that are not affected by this legislation of the *Apostolicae Sedis*.

(11) *Honorarium to be transferred with foundation masses and masses attached to a benefice* :—The decree finally speaks of the honorarium to be transferred with masses :—

15. Denique quod spectat missas beneficiis adnexas, quoties aliis sacerdotibus celebrandae traduntur, Eminentissimi Patres declarant ac statuunt, eleemosynam non aliam esse debere quam synodalem loci in quo beneficia erecta sunt.

Pro missis vero in paroeciis aliisque ecclesiis fundatis eleemosynam, quae tribuitur, non aliam esse debere quam quae in fundatione vel in succesivo reductionis indulto reperitur in perpetuum taxata, salvis tamen semper juribus, si quae sint, legitime recognitis sive pro fabricis ecclesiarum, sive pro earum rectoribus, juxta declarationes a S.C. exhibitas in Monac. 25 Julii, 1874, et Hildesien. 21 Januarii, 1898.

We have already seen that the whole honorarium for manual masses must be transferred with the masses, except in those cases where some extrinsic reason exists which gives a title to a part of the offering. The present article speaks of masses attached to benefices and of foundation masses attached to parochial or other churches. When masses attached to a benefice are transferred to other priests for celebration the honorarium to be given with them is the ordinary honorarium of the place where the benefice is erected. The honorarium to be transferred with foundation masses attached to a church is the honorarium indicated in the original foundation, or in subsequent indults of reduction. Rights, however, legitimately recognised according to the declarations of S.C. (1874 and 1898) are left intact. According to these declarations only the ordinary honorarium of the place must be given with the mass whenever the foundation takes the place of parochial revenue (1874). When the foundation itself or any legitimate title has sanctioned the retention of a part of the revenue arising from the foundation, for the

ministers and assistants of the church, that part can be retained when the masses are transferred (1898).

Such are the provisions of the decree *Ut debita* for the acceptance and celebration of masses. Their faithful observance will ensure the fulfilment of the reasonable wishes of the donors of honoraria.

J. M. HARTY.

LITURGY

BLESSING OF DOLOUR BEADS. PRIVILEGED ALTAR

REV. DEAR SIR —Would you kindly answer the following questions in your next issue :—

1°. Is the faculty to bless Dolour beads included in the ordinary faculties from Rome to bless beads and pious objects, etc.?

2°. A person who has the faculty of a personal privileged Altar three times a week from Rome is attached to a sodality whose members enjoy the same privilege three times a week. Does such a person enjoy the privilege six times a week?—
Yours, etc., C.C.

As many doubts usually occur in relation to the subject matter of our correspondent's question, and to others of a kindred character, we shall lay down a few principles that may be helpful in deciding these difficulties whenever they may arise.

I.—I. Priests who have obtained from Rome, either directly, or indirectly through their Bishops, faculties for blessing beads, can certainly impart to any form of Rosary, and, therefore, to the Dolour beads, the Apostolic and Brigittine Indulgences, and this without using any form but simply making the sign of the Cross over the object.

II. To attach to the Dolour beads the Indulgences specially granted to the Servites of Mary the *formula* given in the Appendix to the Roman Ritual is necessary.

III. To the Bishops in missionary countries the Propaganda grants extensive faculties, with powers of subdelegation, for enrolling in all sodalities and confraternities approved by the Holy See, for blessing the scapulars and

beads peculiar to these associations, and for communicating to the members all and every indulgence and privilege with which these societies have been enriched.[1] The only confraternity, whose full privileges they cannot impart without reference to the General of the Order, or to the Holy See, is that of the Rosary. Now, if the faculties delegated to Priests enable them to enrol persons in the Confraternity of the Seven Dolours, these faculties, also, cover the blessing of the Dolour beads, and the imparting to them of all the Indulgences. This is true, at least as far as members are concerned. But can a Priest bless the Dolour beads and bestow on them those same Indulgences for persons who are not members of the Confraternity? In the Propaganda formula referred to the faculties for blessing beads, scapulars, etc., seem to be subsidiary to those for enrolling members. On the other hand, the Propaganda would appear to confer all the faculties possessed by the General of the Servites, and he certainly can grant to the Dolour beads of non-members the full Indulgences.[2] The same appears to be the opinion expressed in the I. E. RECORD in the article already referred to.

2. We are glad to be able to say, in answer to our correspondent's second query, that a Priest who enjoys a privileged Altar on different titles can avail of each separate concession, provided there is nothing to the contrary in the Indults conferring the privileges. The question was asked of the Congregation of Indulgences whether a Priest who had the right of a personal privileged Altar might also enjoy, in addition, a similar privilege attaching to membership of an association into which he was received. The response was :—'*Affirmative, dummodo in indultis, de quibus mentio fit in ipso dubio, aliter expresse non disponatur.*'[3]

ANTICIPATION OF JUBILEE FAST

REV. DEAR SIR,—If a person, through mistake, makes the black fast a few days previous to the time appointed for the

[1] *Cf.* Formulam Prop. apud I. E. RECORD, November, 1895, p. 1041.
[2] Beringer, *Les Indulgences*, vol. i. p. 372.
[3] Decr. Auth., 27 Maii, 1839.

Jubilee, can that fast be made available for the Jubilee provided the other conditions are fulfilled within the proper time? —Yours, etc.,

SACERDOS.

No. The period within which the Jubilee may be gained and, consequently, all its conditions fulfilled, must be fixed by the Ordinary, and no one may anticipate the time so appointed. Our correspondent will get ample information on these points in the April, and subsequent issues of the I. E. RECORD.

RECITAL OF EXEQUIAL OFFICE BY RELIGIOUS NOT PRIESTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Can a Religious, who is not a Priest, assist at a public Office for the Dead with the clergy if he wears his habit, has good knowledge of Latin, and is acquainted with the Office? Kindly answer in an early issue of the I. E. RECORD. A RELIGIOUS.

The privilege of saying the Divine Office as a work of the Church is co-extensive with the obligation of the recital. Now, three classes of persons are bound to the Office by the law of the Church—(*a*) Clerics holding a benefice to which this duty is attached; (*b*) persons in major orders, and (*c*) religious professed for the service of the choir. It is only persons belonging to these classes that are deputed by the Church to pray in her name, and, consequently it is only these that can offer up public prayers with that measure of enhanced efficacy that comes from the Church's delegation. As we presume that the religious in question does not belong to any of these classes there can be no question of his qualification for the acceptance of a *honorarium* for the Office. But may he join in the Exequial Office with the Priests either out of devotion, or for the purpose of increasing the number who recite it, and thus contributing to the greater efficiency of the chanting? As far as we know there is nothing to prevent his doing so, provided it is permitted by the Constitutions of his Order.

We have heard it is the custom for a choir novice, not in Holy Orders, to act as Sub-deacon in a case of necessity, but he may not wear the maniple. With lesser deordination, then, may a religious perform the still simpler act of joining in the recitation of the Exequial Office.

CRUCIFIX 'DE LA BONNE MORT'

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly give your views on the following matter in the pages of the I. E. RECORD, and oblige.

When waiting for the audience graciously granted by the Holy Father, to those who took part in the Catholic Association pilgrimage of April last, it was said by many of the Priests present, that the Holy Father would, if asked, attach the blessing *in articulo mortis*, and that *toties quoties* to any curicfix intended for a priest. All the Priests then made up their minds, I presume, to ask for the blessing *in articulo mortis* and that *toties quoties*. A little later it was announced that Archbishop Stonor had already asked for this blessing and that there was no need to ask it again. But to make assurance doubly sure, some Priests held up their Crucifixes as the Holy Father passed round, and said the words *toties quoties*, and the Holy Father blessed the Crucifixes, saying audibly *toties quoties*.

Now, supposing the aforesaid Crucifixes have attached to them the Apostolic Blessing *in articulo mortis, toties quoties*, what does it practically mean ? Is the blessing imparted without any ceremony other than the kissing of the Crucifix ? And thirdly, may a Priest who has such Crucifixes about him consider himself dispensed from going through the Ritual for imparting the last blessing to a dying person ?

ONE CONCERNED.

The Crucifix of which our respected correspondent is the possessor must be carefully distinguished from another which is blessed for the faithful, and also enriched with a Plenary Indulgence in the hour of death. The former is specially blessed for priests, and avails for the gaining of the Indulgence by all those to whom the Priest presents it in their last moments—hence the words *toties quoties;* while the latter is privileged only for the particular persons

for whom it has been blessed. The following things must be borne in mind concerning the Crucifix :—

1. It is to be used exclusively by the Priest for whom it was intended. He alone may carry it to the sick, present it to them to be handled and kissed, and, if he chooses, leave it with them till they expire,

2. He may not lend it to another Priest. If he does, it will not avail the latter. Neither may it be given away after the owner's death, as its efficacy then ceases. In other words, its use is reserved exclusively for the Priest for whom it was blessed, and he alone must act as the intermediary in imparting by means of it the Plenary Indulgence.

3. To confer this Indulgence no form whatsoever is required, but of course it is assumed that the dying person has all the requisite dispositions. These are, Confession and Communion, or in case these are impossible, the invocation of the Holy Name, commendation of the soul to God, and acceptance of death with resignation to His will.[1]

4. If a Priest, then, has an Indulgenced Crucifix of the kind we have described, and if he has also the necessary Episcopal authorisation for granting the Apostolic Benediction *in articulo mortis*, he is free to employ either method in conferring the Indulgence. If he uses the Crucifix then, as we have said, no form is necessary. But if he dispenses with the Crucifix he must use the formula prescribed by Benedict XIV.[2]

'BENEDICTIO IN ARTICULO MORTIS'; INVOCATION OF HOLY NAME AND SOURCE OF ITS OBLIGATION

REV. DEAR SIR,—Am I right in holding that when the *Benedictio in articulo mortis* is given by a Priest, the regulations laid down by Benedict XIV do not require the invocation, even mentally, by the dying person of the Name of Jesus ? An answer will much oblige.—Yours faithfully,

A SUBSCRIBER.

[1] Beringer, *Les Indulgences*, pp. 345-347.
[2] *Cf.* Beringer, *loc. cit.*

Our esteemed correspondent is, of course, quite aware of the fact that there have been authentic declarations of the Congregation of Indulgences[1] about the necessity of the invocation, either orally or mentally, of the Holy Name, as a condition essential for the gaining of this Plenary Indulgence *in articulo mortis*, when given by a duly authorised Priest. The purport, then, of the question proposed is, we assume, to ascertain whether this requirement arises out of the regulations laid down by Benedict XIV, or rather whether it is not demanded by subsequent legislation of the Holy See through some of its Congregations. We have read carefully the Constitution *Pia Mater*, of Benedict XIV, and have failed to discover any trace of the condition requiring the invocation of the Holy Name, even mentally. Theologians and Liturgists who advocate the necessity of the invocation of the Sacred Name rely for their reasons, not upon the Bull of Benedict XIV, but upon the Decree of the Congregation of Indulgences (September, 1775). For instance, De Herdt, after enumerating the requirements demanded by the Constitution *Pia Mater*, says :—'Praecedentes conditiones in constitutione Benedicti XIV requiruntur, sed praeterea aliae atque aliae imponi possunt et etiam imponuntur, in indultis,' etc. Then he mentions the invocation. Similarly Van Der Stappen :—'In Indultis . . . semper praescribitur etiamsi de hoc in formula Ben. XIV specialis mentio non fiat.'[2] Finally, the Congregation of Indulgences, answering in the affirmative the question addressed to it in 1892 about the necessity of the invocation, bases its reply upon the previous decision of 1775, and not upon anything stated in the original Bull of Benedict. It will also be in the memory of our readers that in the controversy which was carried on in the pages of the I. E. RECORD[3] about the necessity of invoking the Holy Name for the validity of this Indulgence, the main

[1] *Cf.* Decr. Auth. S.C. Ind., 23 September, 1775, and 22 September, 1892.

[2] *Cf.* Aertuys, n. 208 ; De Herdt, v. iii. n. 308 ; Van Der Stappen, *De Sacr. Adm.*, 243.

[3] Anno 1892, pp. 276, 362, 446, 1032, *et seq.*

argument on the negative side was the absence of any reference to this requirement in the Bull *Pia Mater*.

For these reasons, therefore, we believe that looking to the Constitution of Benedict XIV as it stands, our correspondent is quite within his right in maintaining that the invocation, even mentally, of the Name of Jesus is not required. Soon after 1747—the date of the issue of the Constitution *Pia Mater*—in some of the Indults, conferring upon Bishops powers to sub-delegate Priests to give the blessing, the Holy See inserted a clause requiring mention to be made of the Holy Name for the validity of the Indulgence. This practice led to the question being put to the Congregation of Indulgences in 1775, the reply to which constitutes an *interpretatio extensiva* of Pope Benedict's regulations.

P. MORRISROE.

DOCUMENTS

USE OF IMAGES OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

LICET DEGLUTIRE IMAGINES B.M.V., AD SANITATEM IMPETRANDAM, DUMMODO VANA OMNIS OBSERVANTIA REMOVEATUR

Romae, ex S. Officio, die 3 *Augusti*, 1903.

Illme. ac Rme. Domine,

Supplicibus litteris die 11ª Martii huius anni signatis, quaerebat Amplitudo Tua num pro licito habendum esset parvas imagines chartaceas B.M.V. in aqua liquefactas vel ad modum pillulae involutas, ad sanitatem impetrandam, deglutire.

Re ad examen vocata, in conventu habito die 29 Iulii p. p., Sacra haec Suprema Congregatio S. Officii, durante vacatione S. Sedis Apostolicae specialiter delegata, respondendum decrevit :

Dummodo vana omnis observantia, et periculum in ipsam incidendi removeatur, licere.

Valeas in Domino diutissime.—Joannes Baptista Lugari, *Adsessor S. O.*—Fr. Thomas Maria, Archiep. Seleuciae, *Con. Gen. S. O.*

R. P. D. Archiepiscopo S. Iacobi de Chile.

FAST AND ABSTINENCE FOR AUSTRIAN SOLDIERS

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

CIRCA DISPENSATIONEM A LEGE ABSTINENTIAE ET IEIUNII PRO MILITIBUS AUSTRIAE, QUI ACTU INSERVIUNT IN CASTRIS VEL PRAESIDIIS

Beatissime Pater,

N. N. Cardinalis Archiepiscopus Viennensis ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae provolutus haec exponit :

In libello supplici de die 2 Novembris 1898 Archiepiscopus Pragensis, piae memoriae Cardinalis Schönborn, Sanctitati Vestrae humillime exposuit, Episcopos Austriae intuiti acerrimi officii militiae stabilis (id est militiae subsidiariae, ad defendendos patriae limites destinatae), quae in iure subditur curae cleri civilis, aequum existimare, ut eidem militiae stabili talis ieiunii et

abstinentiae a carnibus venia detur, qualis a Sancta Sede Apostolica militiae vagae concedi solet.

Ea de causa supranominatus Archiepiscopus nomine Episcoporum Austriae humillime petiit, ut militia stabilis praecepto ieiunii et abstinentiae eodem, quo vaga militia, modo possit exsolvi.

Super hac petitione resolutio altissima Sanctitatis Vestrae hactenus non devenit.

Quum militia stabilis in exercitationibus at itineribus militaribus necnon in aliis officiis suis adimplendis easdem ac militia vaga defatigationes subire teneatur et iuxta communem probatissimorum auctorum doctrinam milites, sive in castris sive in stativis commorentur, ratione laboris a servanda lege ieiunii excusentur, Orator nomine Episcoporum Austriae devotissime petit, ut Sanctitas Vestra militiae stabili in ditione Austriaca eamdem ieiunii et abstinentiae a carnibus veniam, quae militiae vagae dari solet, gratiosissime concedat, videlicet Episcoputui Austriaco tribuere dignetur facultatem dispensandi personas militiae stabili adscriptas a praecepto ieiunii et abstinentiae Quadragesimae aliisque anni temporibus et diebus excepta Feria VI. Parasceve et Vigilia Nativitatis D. N. I. Ch.

Feria VI, die 7 Septembris 1900.

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo, Divina Providentia Papa XIII, in solita audientia R. P. D. Adsessori S. Officii impertita, audita relatione suprascripti supplicis libelli una cum suffragiis RR. DD. Consultorum et Eminentissimorum ac Reverendissimorum DD. Cardinalium, in rebus fidei et morum Generalium Inquisitorum, benigne indulsit, ut singuli Reverendissimi PP. Domini Episcopi Austriae, pro eorum prudenti arbitrio et conscientia, ad septennium dispensare valeant ab abstinentiae lege milites, *qui actu inserviunt in castris vel praesidiis*, duobus tantum diebus exceptis, nempe pervigilio Nativitatis D. N. Iesu Christi et feria VI in Parasceve. Quoad dispensationem autem a ieiunii lege nihil obstare, quominus Reverendissimi Domini Episcopi sequantur doctrinas probatorum auctorum super exemptione militum ab ea lege ratione laboris. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

L. ✠ S.

I. Can. MANCINI, *S.R. et U.I. Not.*

CERTAIN DOUBTS ABOUT THE EXPOSITION, PRESERVATION, AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

ORDINIS FRATRUM MINORUM PROV. PORTUGALLIAE

DUBIA SUPER EXPOSITIONE, ASSERVATIONE ET DISTRIBUTIONE SS. SACRAM., NEC NON SUPER CRUCIS COLLOCATIONE AD ALTARE

Reverendus Pater Dominicus Consalves Sanchez, Seraphicae Provinciae Portugalliae olim Minister Provincialis er Calendarista, ut in functionibus ecclesiasticis omnia ex ordine procedant iuxta Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae praescripta, hisque adversantes consuetudines tamquam abusus omnino tollantur, de consensu sui Reverendissimi Procuratoris Generalis, sequentia Dubia Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi humillime proposuit, nimirum :

I. Mos invaluit pluribus in Ecclesiis, etiam in Capellis ubi Sanctissimum Eucharistiae Sacramentum non asservatur, frequenter Festa Domini, Beatae Mariae vel Sanctorum celebrandi cum eiusdem Sanctissimi publica expositione in ostensorio etiam perdurante Missae celebratione ad maiorem solemnitatem, praehabita Ordinarii licentia, quae semper concedi solet. Saepe vero contingit quod in Capellis, ubi Sanctissimum non asservatur, pyxis non adsit ; ideoque sacra Hostia pridie consecranda, in quadam tabernaculi specie inter corporalia asservetur, ibique deinde reponatur, ut sequenti die in Missa celebranda consumetur. Quaeritur, an huismodi usus saltem tolerari possint ?

Et quatenus affirmative ad primum et ad primam partem :

II. An praedicta expositio Sanctissimi in Ostensorio adhuc fieri possit ante Missam solemnem celebrandam, in qua Communio puerorum vel aliorum fidelium solemniter ministranda sit ?

III. An tantummodo a tempus quo Missa celebrari permittitur, Communio Christifidelibus misistranda sit, iuxta Decretum 2572, ad XXIII[1] ; aut etiam ultra praedictum tempus, nempe usque ad occasum solis ministrari liceat ?

[1] En verba Decreti *Tuden.* sub num. 2572 : ' XXIII. An die magna concursus ad Indulgentiam Plenariam vel Iubilaeum possit ministrari sacra Eucharistia fidelibus aliqua hora ante auroram et post meridiem ?...Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio...censuit respondendum : ... Ad XXIII. *In casu de quo agitur, Affirmative a tempore ad tempus, quo in illa Ecclesia Missae celebrantur ; vel ad formam Rubricae, vel ad formam Indulti eidem Ecclesiae concessi...* Die 7 Septembris, 1816.'

IV. An Crux cum imagine Crucifixi, in medio altaris inter candelabra collocanda, etiam in altari, ubi Sanctissimum asservatur, collocari possit immediate ante eius tabernaculum; aut super ipsum vel in postica eius parte collocari debeat ?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque mature perpensis, rescribendum censuit :

Ad I. Quoad primam partem, id passim ne fiat, et cum venia Ordinarii in singulis casibus obtenta. Quoad alteram partem nempe quod deficiente pyxide, sacra Hostia inter corporalia asservetur, huismodi abusus est omnino eliminandus.

Ad II. Non licere.

Ad III. Affirmative ad primam partem. Negative ad secundam.

Ad IV. Crux collocetur inter candelabra, nunquam ante ostiolum tabernaculi. Potest etiam collocari super ipsum tabernaculum, non tamen in throno ubi exponitur Sanctissimum Eucharistiae Sacramentum.

Atque ita rescripsit, die 11 Iunii 1904.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S. ✠ D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen.. Secret.*

BEATIFICATION OF DOMINICAN MARTYRS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

TUNQUINEN.—DECRETUM

BEATIFICATIONIS SEU DECLARATIONIS MARTYRII VEN. SERVORUM DEI FRANCISCI GIL DE FEDERICH, MATTHAEI ALONSO LEZINIANA, HYACINTHI CASTANEDA, ET VINCENTII LIEM A PACE, SACERDOTUM ORDINIS PRAEDICATORUM, AB IDOLORUM CULTORIBUS IN ODIUM CATHOLICAE RELIGIONIS INTERFECTORUM

SUPER DUBIO

' *An constet de martyrio eiusque causa, itemque de signis, seu miraculis, in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur ?* '

Catholicae Fidei nostrae, penes multos nutanti propter diuturnas ei structas insidias congestasque criminationes, magnum profecto robur accedit ex martyrum invicta constantia usque ad cruentam vitae iacturam pro Christi causa tuenda.

'*Armantur enim filiorum animi dum patrum recensentur triumphi*'[1] Utque habet Cyprianus : '*Virtus est tanta martyrii, ut per eam credere etiam ille cogatur, qui voluit occidere.*'[2] Haec exempla fortitudinis eademque incitamenta virtutis pluries profecta sunt a strenuis Dominicianae Familiae alumnis, qui sacris expeditionibus cum fructu exaequante labores tamdiu operam navant. Eorum hodie Institutum nova martyrum acies illustrat ad Beatorum Caelitum honores propositorum. Hi sunt Ven. Dei Servi Franciscus Gil De Federich, Matthaeus Alonso Leziniana, Hyacinthus Castaneda et Vincentius Liem a Pace.

Horum priores duo, Franciscus Gil De Federich et Matthaeus Alonso Leziniana, Hispani ambo et in ipsa patria Fratrum Praedicatorum Ordinem adhuc adolescentes professi, ac vehementi desiderio accensi longinquas easque barbaras terras peragrandi, ut erroris caligine obcaecatis Evangelii lucem afferrent, votique tandem compotes effecti ad religiosam provinciam SSmi. Rosarii in Insulas Philippinas transiere. Tunquinense dein iter aggressi in tot pericula se coniecerunt, tot adversa tulere, ut sententiam confirmarent, '*vix martyres effici nisi eos, qui a Deo multis prius aerumnis sunt exerciti et quasi praeparati ad martyrium.*'[3] Christiana religione iampridem in Tunquino proscripta, prior ethnicam crudelitatem expertus est Franciscus, diutius tolerato squalore carceris, vinculorum pondere militum contumeliis diuturnisque vexationibus. Eum. brevi Matthaeus est consequutus, cuius in appetenda poena capitis singularis extitit aemulatio. Damnatus enim perpetuo carcere firmissime obstatus est velle sese adiung, Francisco cum eoque obtruncari. Cuius voti ubi compos factus est, ambo Crucem manu gestantes ad supplicii locum tracti sunt. Ibi, Christi fidem iterato professi caeterosqu- adhortati ut eidem sincere adhaererent, unico ensis ictu decollati ceciderunt XI Cal. Februar. an. MDCCXLV.

Sex lustris ab hoc triumpho nondum exactis, aliud nobile par Dominicianae Familiae Fratrum, Hyacinthus Castaneda, Hispanus, et Vincentius Liem a Pace, Tunquinensis, novis coronis Ordinem suum Ecclesiamque decorarunt. Horum alter Hyacinthus, quum annos quinque Apostolicum munus in

[1] Eucher. Lugdun., *Hom. de SS. Petro et Paulo.*
[2] Lib. v., ep. 1.
[3] Corn. a Lap., *in Ep. ad Hebr.* xii. 2,

Tunquino impigre sancteque obivisset, tandem comprehensus ac biduo cibi potusque expers, huc illuc pertractus ad magistratum adducitur. Inde in arundineam caveam tam arctam depressamque detruditur, ut neque standi locus esset neque cubandi. Haud ita multo post captus etiam laborum eius passionisque socius VINCENTIUS, non dissimili immanitate in similem foveam coniectus est. Mox ad regem deducti, in eiusque conspectu catholicam Fidem invicto animo professi, capitali poena plectuntur. Ac HYACINTHUS quidem, elevata Cruce fusis precibus et recitato Apostolorum symbolo, capite truncatus est VII Id. Novembr. ann. MDCCLXXIII. VINCENTIUS autem, cui in eadem causa constituto oblata evadendi opportunitas fuit, quod capitalis illa lex indigenas non afficeret, sociae mortis aemulatione incensus, pari exitus genere eodemque die Apostolatus sui cursum felicissime sonsummavit. De quibus Pius Pp. VI paulo post, in allocutione habita Idibus Nov. MDCCLXXV, palam professus est, *ex aequali causa, ex aequali supplicio aequalem consummati Martyrii palmam esse ab utroque reportatam.*

Quatuor horum sacerdotum sanctitatis gloriosique interitus fama cito pervulgata, quum prodigiorum etiam iubar accessisset, super eorundem martyrio instituta est actio et canonicae inquisitiones, cum ordinaria, tum Apostolica auctoritate confectae. Quibus absolutis habitisque legitimis et validis, Summi Pontificis venia, peculiari PP. Cardinalium coetui commissa est Causa, cum voto etiam Consultorum Officialium ut suam in re sententiam aperirent. Quo in conventu, habito undecimo Cal. Apriles volv. anni a Rmo. Cardinali Raphaële Pierotti proposito Dubio : '*An constet de martyrio eiusque causa, itemque de signis, seu miraculis in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur ?*' omnes qui aderant Rmi. Cardinales et PP. Consultores, suo quisque suffragio constare censuerunt. Beatissimus Pater, audita a Rmo. Cardinali Aloisio Tripepi S.R. Congregationi Pro-Praefecto de omnibus relatione, decretoriam sententiam suam aperire distulit, divini luminis praesidium a Patre luminum impensius deprecaturus.

Tandem hodierna die Dominica secunda post Pascha quae nomen habet a recurrente Evangelio : *Ego sum Pastor bonus*, idem SSmus. Pater, sacro pientissime litato, nobiliorem aulam Vaticanam ingressus ac pontificio solio assidens, ad se accersivit Rmos. Cardinales Seraphinum Cretoni S.R. Congregationi Praefectum eiusve vice et loco Aloisium Tripepi ipsius S.R.C.

Pro-Praefectum et Raphaëlem Pierotti Causae Relatorem, una cum R.P. Alexandro Verde S. Fidei Promotore meque infrascripto Secretario, iisque coram solemniter edixit: '*Constare de martyrio eiusque causa, itemque de signis seu miraculis Ven. Dei Servorum* FRANCISCI GIL DE FEDERICH, MATTHAEI ALONSO LEZINIANA, HYACINTHI CASTANEDA *et* VINCENTII LIEM A PACE *in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur.*'

Hoc autem Decretum publici iuris fieri et in acta SS. RR. Congr. referri iussit die decimo quinto Cal. Maias anno MDCCCCIV.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secret.*

FRANCISCAN STUDENTS FOR MISSIONS IN AMERICA

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

ORDINIS MINORUM

CIRCA TRANSLATIONEM ALUMNORUM MINORITICARUM PERTINENTIUM AD COLLEGIA MISSIONUM, IN AMERICA

Beatissime Pater:

Nonnulli Superiores Collegiis Missionum in America Seraphico Fratrum Minorum Ordini commissarum praefecti ad Sanctitatis Tuae pedes humillime provoluti, sequentia exponunt:

Apostolicae Litterae in foma Brevis, quibus Summus Pontifex Pius IX sub die 12 Iunii anno 1877. Missiones Minoriticas in America existentes voluit esse regendas, sub titulo: '*De Missionariis in Collegio admittendis et dimittendis*' num. LXI permittunt Religiosis, qui in aliquo Collegio professionem religiosam tamquam eiusdem filii emiserunt, ut post decennium ab eorum solemni professione vel ordinatione sacerdotali transactum, prouti respective de Laicis vel Clericis sermo habeatur, possint, servata Constitutionum Generalium forma, ad aliud Missionum Collegium, vel ad aliam Instituti Seraphici Provinciam transmeare. In numero autem LXIV ipsius Apostolicae Bullae edicitur, ut nemo qui Collegium Missionum quacumque ex causa et quandocumque dereliquerit, valeat ad Collegium redire, nisi perrogata Patrum Discretorum Collegii sententia, duas saltem ex tribus suffragiorum partibus orator sibi favorabiles reportarit.

Nihilominus, quum novissimae, (antiquioribus hac in re

consonae) Constitutiones Generales Fratrum Minorum, ab Apostolica Sede iam die 15 Maii 1897 approbatae, sub Cap. II, Paragr. XII, num. 83, inhibeant Religiosis agendam in aliena Provincia incorporationem, nisi vel expressa Ministri Generalis facultate muniantur, vel biennium saltem in nova eiusmodi Provincia transegerint; hinc graviores a multis difficultates excitantur super filiis Collegiorum, qui etsi alibi moram trahant, nihilominus ante biennium expletum sive ante definitivam in alieno Collegio seu Provincia incorporationem, reverti ad Collegium, cuius adhuc secundum generales Ordinis leges sunt filii, aliquando postularent. Itaque humillimi Oratores enixe Sanctitatem Tuam rogant, ut omnium concordiae efficacius hac in re obtinendae, sequentia eisdem resolvere Dubia dignetur.

I. Utrum suffragia a Patribus Discretis Collegii unice sint ferenda pro eiusdem filiis, qui iam *definitive* in alio Missionum Collegio sive in alia Provincia incorporati, ad suum Collegium reverti petant; an etiam pro filiis ad suum redire Collegium exoptantibus, qui licet in alieno Collegio seu Provincia moram traxerint, nondum tamen *definitivam* illic adscriptionem impetrarunt?

II. Et quatenus affirmativa detur ad utramque prioris Dubii partem responsio: Si Religiosus, reditum implorans, duas favorabiles ex tribus suffragiorum partibus non retulerit, cuinam Collegio vel Provinciae tunc adscriptus esse censeatur?

Et Deus etc.

Sacra Congregatio Eminentissimorum et Reverendissimorum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalium negotiis et consultationibus Episcoporum et Regularium praeposita, attentis expositis, super praemissis Dubiis respondendum censuit, prout respondet:

Ad I. '*Affirmative, ad primam partem; Negative, ad secundum.*'

Ad II. '*Provisum in I.*'

Datum Romae e Secretaria eiusdem Sacrae Congregationis, hac die 1 Martii, 1904.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praef.*

L ✠ S.

PHILIPPUS GIUSTINI, *Secret.*

CONCESSION TO THE CAPUCHIN ORDER

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

ORDINIS MINORUM CAPUCCINORUM

EXTENDITUR MISSIONARIIS ORD. CAPUCC. LICENTIA CELEBRANDI SABBATIS PER ANNUM MISSAM VOTIVAM DE IMMAC. CONC. B.M. VIRG.

Ad fovendam pietatem ac studium devotionis erga Virginem Deiparam primaevae labis expertem, ac totius Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum caelestem Patronam, Rmus. Pater Fr. Jucundus a Montonio, ejusdem Ordinis Procurator Generalis, Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum Pium Papam X, humillime rogavit, ut privilegium, anno 1886 concessum ab Apostolica Sede, quo in Ecclesiis tantum ad eum Ordinem pertinentibus, singulis per annum sabbatis, Missam votivam de Immaculata B.M.V. Conceptione Sacerdotibus ipsius Ordinis licet celebrare, ad Sacerdotes quoque Capulatos, qui inter infideles, vel haereticos aut schismaticos, Missionariorum munere perfunguntur, in quavis Ecclesia, vel publico aut privato Oratorio Sacrum facturos benigne extendere dignaretur. Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio, utendo facultatibus sibi specialiter ab eodem Sanctissimo Domino Nostro tributis, precibus benigne annuit; dummodo in Ecclesia vel publico Oratorio non legatur alia Missa de Officio occurrente: exceptisque sabbatis juxta Rubricas privilegiatis, necnon duplicibus primae, vel secundae classis, et quolibet Deiparae Virginis festo: servatis Rubricis. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Die 26 Martii 1904.

SERAPHINUS Card. CRETONI, *S.R.C. Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secret.*

BEATIFICATION AND CANONIZATION OF THE CURE OF ARS

BELLICEN.—DECRETUM

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

BEATIFICATIONIS ET CANONIZATIONIS VEN. SERVI DEI IOANNIS BAPTISTAE VIANNEY, PAROCHI VICI ARS

SUPER DUBIO

'*An, stante approbatione duorum miraculorum,* TUTO *procedi possit ad solemnem eiusdem Ven. Servi Dei Beatificationem?*'

E sacerdotalis ordinis viris, quorum '*laus in Ecclesia Dei est*,' plures pastorali ministerio sanctissime functi ac saluberrime, tam insigni fama claruerunt, tam alta sui vestigia signarunt, ut in memoria et in ore populi adhuc quasi vivi versentur. Quominus autem hi lucerent '*quasi lucernae ardentes in caliginoso loco*' non obfuit aut humilis ipsorum atque adbita vita, aut circumscriptis eorumdem industriae et alacritati campus, aut studia partium furoresque civiles, aut invidia aemulorum, aut prava iudicia insectantium quidquid religioni benevertat.

Talem scilicet pastorem admirata Gallia est superiore saeculo, IOANNEM BAPTISTAM VIANNEY, exigui quidem gregis ducem ac magistrum, sed aequantem animo magnitudinem Apostolis. Is, media in illa caligne, quam turbulentissimae tempestates induxerant, vere iubar extitit longe lateque diffusum, quo ducti lumine fideles turmatim ac per annorum seriem haud mediocrem, ad Vicum Ars vel ab remotissimis locis confluxerunt. Erat enim in Venerabili Dei Servo cum singulari vitae sanctimonia et gravitate coniuncta mira suavitas, qua paene innumerabiles omnis ordinis et conditionis homines allecti, facile ipso usi sunt et indefesso poenitentiae ministro et magistro pietatis prudentissimo. Concionator assiduus, fervidus, caelestium rerum contemplationi semper intentus, castigator sui corporis acerrimus, de se humillime sentiens, egenis, pupillis, afflictis, perfugium atque solatium, curae suae concreditos filios '*pavit in innocentia cordis sui, et in intellectibus manuum suarum deduxit eos*' (Ps. lxxvii. 72).

Harum fama virtutum post Ven. Servi Dei obitum confirmata, non modo diuturnis peregrinationibus ad sepulcrum eius gloriosum, sed variis etiam prodigiis, causa iterum agitata est riteque instituta actio super duobus miraculis, quo de utroque Sanctissimus D. N. PIUS PAPA X constare decrevit nono cal. Martias hoc ieunte anno.

Unum supererat, iuxta sacri huius Fori statuta, ut inquireretur, utrum Beatorum Caelitum honores Venerabili Dei Servo IOANNI BAPTISTAE VIANNEY *Tuto* decerni possent. Itaque in coetu universo sacrae huius Congregationis, habito coram Sanctissimo Domino Nostro octavo Idus Martias huius anni, Rmus. Cardinalis Franciscus Desideratus Mathieu discutiendum dubium proposuit: '*An, stante approbatione duorum miraculorum,* TUTO *procedi possit ad solemnem huius Venerabilis Servi Dei Beatificationem.*' Omnes qui aderant, quum Emi Cardinales,

tum huius S. Rituum Congregationis Patres Consultores, latis suffragiis, unanimi consensu TUTO procedi posse affirmarunt ; Sanctissimus vero Pater supremum iudicium suum distulit in alium diem, admoniutque ut in re tanti momenti supernum lumen implorarent.

Tandem hodierna die Dominica II post Pascha, qua Christus in evangelio exhibetur exemplar et forma boni Pastoris *qui animam suam dat pro ovibus suis*, Beatissimus Pater, sacro devotissime peracto, Vaticani nobiliorem aulam ingressus et pontificio solio assidens, ad Se accivit Rmos Cardinales Seraphinum Cretoni S. R. Congregationi Praefectum, eiusve loco et vice Aloisium Tripepi ipsius S.R.C. Pro-Praefectum et Franciscum Desideratum Mathieu Causae Relatorum una cum R. P. Alexandro Verde S. Fidei Promotore meque infrascripto Secretario, iisque adstantibus rite pronunciavit : ' TUTO *procedi posse ad solemnem Venerabilis Servi Dei* IOANNIS BAPTISTAE VIANNEY *Beatificationem.*'

Hoc autem Decretum publici iuris fieri et in acta SS. RR. Congregationis referri, Litteras Apostolicas in forma Brevis de Beatificationis solemnibus in patriarchali Basilica Vaticana ubi primum licuerit celebrandis expediri iussit decimoquinto Cal. Maias an. MDCCCCIV.

SERAPHINUS Card. CRETONI, *S.R.C. Praefectus.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ DIOMEDES PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., S.R.C. Secret.*

BEATIFICATION AND CANONIZATION OF THE VEN. SERVANT OF GOD, MARIA DE MATTIAS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

ROMANA SEU ANAGNINA.—DECRETUM

BEATIFICATIONIS ET CANONIZATIONIS VEN. SERVAE DEI MARIAE DE MATTIAS, FUNDATRICIS CONGREGATIONIS SORORUM PRETIOSISSIMI SANGUINIS D. N. I. C.

Providis Institutis elapso saeculo exortis ut Christi fides et pietas in societate civili et domestica praesertim per institutionem puellarum revirescerent, merito accensenda est Congregatio Sororem a Pretiosissimo Sanguine D. N. I. C. quae Dei Famulam Mariam De Mattias filiali affectu agnoscit appellatque matrem ac fundatricem, quaeque eodem tempore cum eodem

titulo et ab uno eodemque charitatis spiritu effluxit ac Congregatio sacerdotum sacris expeditionibus operam dantium, auctore et patre Ven. Gaspare Del Bufalo, cuius vestigiis atque virtutibus veluti filia institit ipsamet devota Virgo. Haec in lucem edita die 14 Februarii anno 1805 in oppido Valle Curtia, Caietanae dioeceseos, ab honestis piisque parentibus Ioanne et Octavia De Angelis, adhuc puellula inter fratres virtute excellebat, aure animoque studiose intenta factis et documentis percipiendis quae, ipsa rogante, pater ex historia sacra libenter enarabat. Decennis sacro chrismate confirmata Sancti Spiritus charismata gustare coepit. Frequens in templo, assidua in oratione, de coelestibus rebus audire et loqui valde delectabatur. Ad mensam Angelorum admissa perfectiorem vitae statum excogitavit, ad quem suscipiendum quotidie incitamenta sentiebat tum ex solitudinis quiete tum ex coelestium rerum contemplatione cum qua et muliebres labores et pia colloquia consociabat praesertim cum puellis, quas ad fidei legisque christianae rudimenta tradenda apud se congregare consueverat. Ita piisima Virgo ad Marthae ac Magdalenae officia in novo statu explenda se disponebat aetate ac virtute iam florens, cum anno 1822 Ven. Gaspari Del Bufalo Vallem Curtiam cum aliquot sodalibus adeunti ut sacris missionibus populum in religione confirmaret, ipsa suum propositum aperuit se totam Deo in monasterio mancipandi. Quod propositum Ven. Servus Dei, non absque divino lumine, paullulum deflexit, eidem suadens non omnino intra claustra esse ab ea Deo deserviendum, et probatissimo sodali Ioanni Merlino qui paulo post cum aliis sociis ibidem domicilium constituit, ipsam regendam tradidit. Huius ductu rogante Ferentino Praesule et patre annuente, anno 1834 Dei Famula exordia ac fundamenta Sodalitii iecit Acutii, ubi puellarum scholae erant instituendae illasque instituit primum angusto in loco, deinceps, anno 1840 favente senatu populoque Acutino, in aede satis ampla, adnexa templo Deiparae Virgini Immaculatae sacro, quae eius pia industria atque oppidanorum opera restaurata fuit. Hisce auxiliis auspiciisque suffulta Institutum Sororum fundavit quod a Pretiosissimo Sanguine D. N. I. C. appellare voluit, statuta sodalibus una cum regulis habitus forma. Incoepto operi Deus ea dedit incrementa ut in plerisque oppidis ac civitatibus domus atque scholae erectae fuerint, primum in Italia centrali et meridionali, dein alibi etiam in remotis Americarum regionibus. Servae

Dei Romam advenienti Summus Pontifex Pius IX fel. rec. plures scholas concredidit una cum hospitali domo ab Immaculata B.M.V. Conceptione et a Sancto Aloisio Gonzaga nuncupata. Uberrimi fructus quem Institutum hucusque protulit, praeter caetera, praeclarum atque authenticum patet testimonium ex decretis tum laudis tum approbationis quibus ab Apostolica Sede ipsum est cohonestatum. Tandem quum Maria De Mattias sodalitatem suam de christiana et civili societate benemerentem conspiceret, diuturno ac lethali morbo consumpta in quo patientiae et subiectionis divinae voluntati praebuit exempla, Ecclesiae sacramentis refecta spiritum Deo reddidit Romae die 20 Augusti anno 1866, aetatis suae sexagesimo primo. Eius corpus sacro ritu populique frequentia ad parochialem ecclesiam SS. Vincentii et Anastasii delatum, solemni funere rite peracto, duplici in capsa includitur, adiectis Dei Famulae nomine et titulo fundatricis, atque in sepulchro quod praelaudatus Pontifex Pius IX pro illius sodalitate in Agro Verano exstrui curaverat, reconditur. Interim fama sanctimoniae quam Serva Dei sibi in vita comparaverat, post obitum adeo in dies clarior enituit ut super ea duo Processus Ordinarii Informativi instituti fuerint, unus Romae cui accessit Processiculus Rogatorialis Hydruntinus, alter vero in ecclesiastica Curia Anagnina. Quum vero Scripta eidem attributa, ad tramitem iuris essent revisa, in elencho descripta et decreto die 11 Augusti 1901 ita probata ut nihil obstaret quominus ad ulteriora procedi posset, Rmus. Dnus. Aloisius Ermini Causae Postulator Apostolicam dispensationem ab interventu et voto Consultorum et a lapsu decennii expetivit atque obtinuit die 5 Maii, hoc vertente anno. Tandem rogante eodem Postulatore una cum Moderatrice Generali et Universo Instituto Sororum a Pretiosissimo Sanguine D.N.I.C., attentisque Litteris Postulatoriis plurimum Emorum. S.R.E. Cardinalium, Rmorum, Sacrorum Antistitum, ac Praepositorum Generalium Ordinum et Congregationm, Emus, et Rmus. Dnus. Cardionlis Hieronymus Gotti huius Causae Ponens seu Relator in Ordinariis Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis Comitiis subsignata die ad Vaticanum habitis, sequens dubium discutiendum proposuit : '*An signanda sit Commissio Introductionis Causae in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur ?*' Et Emi. ac Rmi, Patres Sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, post relationem ipsius Cardinalis Ponentis, audito etiam voce et scripto R.P.D. Alexandro Verde Sanctae Fidei Promotore

omnibusque sedulo perpensis rescribendum censuerunt: *Affirmative seu signandam esse Commissionem, si Sanctissimo placuerit*, die 2 Decembris 1903.

Facta postmodum de his Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papa X per subscriptum Sacrae Rituum Congregationis Secretarium relatione, Sanctitas Sua Rescriptum Sacrae eiusdem Congregationis ratum habuit et confirmavit, propriaque manu signare dignata est Commissionem Introductionis Causae praedictae Ven. Servae Dei Mariae De Mattias, Fundatricis Congregationis Sororum Pretiosissimi Sanguinis D. N. I. C. die 9, eisdem mense et anno.

S. Card. Cretoni, *S.R.C. Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. Panici, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secret.*

CANONIZATION OF THE BLESSED ALEXANDER SAULI

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

ALERIEN. seu PAPIEN.—DECRETUM

CANONIZATIONIS B. ALEXANDRI SAULI, E CONGREGATIONE CC. RR S. PAULI BARNABITARUM, EPISCOPI ALERIENSIS ET POSTE. PAPIENSIS

Super Dubio

'*An et de quibus miraculis constet in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur?*'

Recens adhuc memoria viget honorum, quibus Apostolica Sedes adscitum inter sanctos Caelites prosequuta est Antonium Mariam Zaccaria, quo patre legifero gloriatur inclyta Congregatio, de religione deque omni humanitate optime merita, Clericorum S. Pauli Regularium, qui vulgo Barnabitae appellantur. Augent hodie illius decorem Familiae totiusque Ecclesia laetitiam supremi honores decreti Filio, paternae sanctitatis haeredi dignissimo, Beato Alexandro Sauli.

Insignis hic Mediolanensis civis, divinae gratiae ubere copia praeventus, vias Domini vel a teneris annis sic arripuit eaque alacritate cucurrit, ut et domesticis virtutibus 'perfectus homo Dei' iure sit habitus, et vehementi studio procurandae hominum salutis divinitus datus esse videatur. Sacri enim ministerii paene formam omnem expressit, sive magisterio ad optimam sacri ordinis alumnorum institutionem, sive scriptis editis doctrina et pietate refertis, sive coniuncta cum episcopis opera in chris-

tianae plebis regimine, sive in administrata naviter sancteque universa familia, cuius institutum primo in flore iuventutis fuerat amplexus. Quibus ex omnibus facile coniici poterat, qualis futurus esset episcopus, si quando ad id muneris, expugnata eius modestia, vocaretur. Res autem opinionem omnem, non comprobavit, sed vicit. Nam et Aleriensi sedi datus antistes eo ardore restinctam insulae pietatem excitavit, sic efferatos mollivit mores, ut insulae Cyrnaeae Apostolus meruerit appellari ; inter Papienses vero sic est versatus, ut haud facile iudicaveris, pastoralisbusne magis industriis, an veri nominis prodigiis gregem suum confirmaverit. Quae signa, quum longe clarius et crebrius viri sancti tumulum illustrassent, Benedictum XIV permoverunt ut Beatorum Caelitum honores ipsi decerneret. Mox autem instantibus adhuc Sodalibus a S. Paulo, ut fastigium honoribus imponeretur, id est ut in sanctorum album Beati Alexandri nomen accenseretur, presertim quod bina vulgarentur eo suffragante patrata miracula, Sedis Apostolicae venia diligenter in illa inquisitum est tabulaeque a SS. Rituum Congregatione recognitae et probatae sunt.

Primum ordine propositionis miraculum contigit Modoetiae, anno MDCCXLI. Carolus Riva, annum et ultra diuturna paraplegia miserrime divexatus motuque omni destitutus, vehiculo trahebatur a filiis per vias urbis quaeritans stipem. Solemnia forte habebantur Alexandro Sauli, beatorum caelitum honoribus recens aucto. Ad ea ductus aegrotus, triduo post inchoatam supplicationem, illico et penitus a morbo convaluit, quem aut omnino insanabilem iudicaverant medici, aut longi temporis curam postulantem.

Alterum accidit miraculum Bastiae in insula Cyrnaea anno MDCCCXCIX. Maria Canessa annos iam tredecim affectione strumo-tuberculari laborabat, quae, pluribus vulneribus membra depascentibus, ad usque textus osseos pervaserat. Ob contractionem vero sinistri cruris impotem standi, iamque a triennio lectulo iacere coactam, inspecta morbi gravitate ac pertinacia, medici ferme reliquerant. Fortunatus illuxit miserae dies XIX mensis Martii, quo die novendialium precum extremo, quas ad B. Alexandrum demerendum susceperat, temporis momento sanata est, fruiturque adhuc optima valetudine.

De utroque miraculo rite instituta actio est, primum in antepraeparatorio Conventu quarto nonas Septembres anno MDCCCCII indicto penes Rmum Card. Lucidum Mariam

Parocchi cl. mem. Causae Relatorem ; iterum in praeparatorio coetu ad Vaticanum coacto decimo quarto Calendas Iunias anno MDCCCCIII ; tertio denique in generalibus Comitiis coram SSmo Domino Nostro Pio Papa X habitis in aedibus Vaticanis octavo Idus Martias volventis anni ; in quibus Rmus Cardinalis Hieronymus Maria Gotti suffectus in Causae Ponentem et Relatorem dubium proposuit : ' *An et de quibus miraculis constet in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur.*' Rmi, Cardinales sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi et PP. Consultores unanimi consensione de utroque miraculo constare censuerunt. Quorum exceptis omnium suffragiis, SSmus. Dominus a suo aperiendo iudicio supersedit, quod aspirante Deo quamprimum Se prolaturum sperare dixit, Rmorum. Cardinalium ac PP. Consultorum votis plane consonum.

Hodierna autem die Dominica II post pascha, qua die ab Ecclesia proponitur Evangelium Boni Pastoris Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Eucharistica Hostia religiosissime litata, ad se arcessiri iussit Rmos. Cardinales Seraphinum Cretoni S. RR. Congregationi Praefectum, eiusve vice et loco Aloisium Tripepi ipsius S. RR. Congregationi Pro-Praefectum, et Hieronymum Mariam Gotti Causae Relatorem una cum R. P. Alexandro Verde S. Fidei Promotore meque infrascripto a secretis, hisque adstantibus solemniter edixit : ' *Constare de duobus miraculis :* de primo : *Instantaneae perfectaeque sanationis Caroli Riva a diuturna et gravi paraplegia e mielite chronica transversa exorta ;* de altero : *Instantaneae perfectaeque sanationis Mariae Canessa a gravi et diuturna affectione strumotuberculari.*'

Hoc autem Decretum evulgari et in SS. Rituum Congregationis acta referri iussit decimoquinto Cal. Maias anno MDCCCCIV.

Seraphinus Card. Cretoni, *S.R.C. Praefectus.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ Diomedes Panici, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secret.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

MUSICAL EDUCATION. By Alfred Lavignac, Professor of Harmony at the Paris Conservatoire. Translated from the French by Esther Singleton. London: D. Appleton & Co. 1903. 8 × 5 in.; viii. + 447 pp.

MUSICAL education is receiving more and more the attention it deserves. Hence a book like the present, surveying the subject as a whole, will be welcome to many. Professor Lavignac's work contains a large amount of useful information and sound advice. It is, moreover, written in a bright style, many points being illustrated by little anecdotes, which makes the book very pleasant to read.

The book is divided into six parts, of which the first is devoted to 'General Remarks.' Here we get some good ideas about Natural Aptitudes, Indications of Musical Talent in Young Children, Proper Age to Begin the Study of Music, the Proper Course of Preparatory Studies, the Proper Length of Time for Daily Study, etc. The author is of opinion that nobody should be made to study music who has not a real talent for it. 'I hold,' he says, 'those parents very guilty who, simply for the sake of conforming to the present stupid fashion that demands that everybody shall be more or less of a musician, exact such efforts from their children without having assured themselves beforehand that they have at least strong chances of success.' Great stress is laid, here and in later parts of the book, on the importance of a proper course in 'Solfeggio,' which we might translate by Tonic Sol-fa. Very good sense is displayed in the remark that 'one must not demand sustained attention to the elementary study of music from the child for more than half-an-hour (even a quarter of an hour at the beginning) at a time; more would be lost time, the mind being no longer on the work.'

The Second Part, dealing with the Study of Instruments, opens with an instructive chapter on the Proper Age to Begin, and Choice of a Teacher. 'I shall never advise,' the author says, 'allowing a child that is not to be exhibited as a phenomenon at shows and circuses, to study any musical instrument

whatever before the age of six *at the earliest.* It seems to me a most barbarous practice, and I will not be a party to it. *Solfeggio*, if you like ; an instrument, never.' We should think that two or three years later it would be quite time enough to begin. We even heard a good piano teacher say that the age of twelve would be very suitable for the beginning of piano playing. By all means, however, let the ear be thoroughly trained early by a good course of Tonic Sol-fa, including ' ear tests ' and time ' exercises.' On the art of practising the author has many good remarks, of which we will quote only two. ' The advent of fatigue must not be taken as a sign for the momentary cessation of work ; this would be too late ; you must . . . know when to stop even before it makes itself felt.' ' Never work, even for a few minutes, without thinking of what you are doing, the end to be attained.' On the choice of a teacher it is interesting to find the author saying : ' Whenever there is a chance of getting a woman for the elementary instruction of young children, I am for the woman ; ' and, ' parents are always the very worst teachers.'

The chapters on the study of the various instruments are interesting reading on account of the author's æsthetic estimate of their musical qualities. Special importance is given to the piano. Here the author shows himself unacquainted with the Virgil Clavier Method of teaching the piano, which we should consider as an eminently educational method. But he has some good remarks. ' Generally speaking, people work too much, but in general also they work badly . . . the principal thing is to bring a sustained attention to that which we are doing.' Proper stress is laid on the cultivation of the memory. ' From the moment that you are able to play correctly and properly any piece whatsoever . . . you should learn it by heart.' No better advice could be given except we adopted the plan of the Virgil schools, which is to commit to memory everything before you begin practising it.

As to the study of singing, to which a whole part is devoted, the author strongly advocates that singing lessons should be given, both to boys and girls, from the time they are nine. We cannot agree with him, however, when he lays down that there should be a complete cessation of singing lessons during the period of imitation, with boys from the fourteenth to the twentieth, with girls from the thirteenth to the sixteenth year.

No doubt, as during this transition period the voice is particularly tender, special care should be taken with it, and anything like a strain on it cautiously avoided. But with such care no harm need be anticipated from training it during those years.

Part the Fourth deals with the Various Studies Necessary for Composers, and the Fifth Part is on the Means of Rectifying a Musical Education that has been ill-directed at the beginning. Finally, Part the Sixth considers Various Kinds of Instruction : Individual, Class, and Conservatory Instruction, embodying a lot of interesting information on nearly all the important music schools of Europe and America.

The translation is, on the whole, satisfactory, and the publishers' part leaves nothing to be desired, except that, personally, we hate books bound without being cut.

H. B.

Journal of the Co. Louth Archæological Society. Established 1904. Vol. I., No. 1.

Louth, so famous in early Irish history, ecclesiastical as well as profane, has at last awoke to a sense of its duty to the past, and, following the lead of Cork, Kildare, Waterford, and Galway, has established its Archæological Society with its Archæological Journal.

The Society was formally established on the 8th September, 1903, and the inaugural meeting took place in the Town Hall, at Dundalk, on 1st January, 1904, when an exceedingly interesting address was delivered by the well-known antiquarian—himself a Louthman—Mr. J. R. Garstin. The objects of the Society are briefly set forth in the Appendix of the present volume. They are : (1) To preserve, examine, and illustrate all ancient monuments and memorials of County Louth and adjoining districts ; (2) To study the arts, manners, and customs of the past to which these monuments belong ; (3) To find out all that is ascertainable about the history of Louth and surrounding districts ; (4) To establish a museum or museums in the County, where objects of antiquarian interest may be preserved. The first President of the Society is Joseph T. Dolan, M.A., Ardee.

The present number of the *Journal* contains many interesting papers and items of information relating principally to

County Louth. Amongst the rest we might be allowed to specially mention the 'Inaugural Address' of J. R. Garstin, 'Early Legends of Louth' by J. T. Dolan, 'Tara Brooch' by Henry Morris, 'Souterrains of Louth' by Rev. J. Quinn, C.C., Knockbridge, and 'Monasteries of Louth' by Mr. Laurence Murray. The first effort does great credit to the Louth Society, and we are confident that it is only the herald of better and more perfect work.

We wish the Society and the *Journal* every success. It was badly wanted, and, as far as we can see, is being developed on the right lines. We trust that the number of their supporters, especially in the ranks of the clergy, will increase day by day and year by year. It would be a shame if it could be said, with any shadow of foundation, that Irish Catholics, especially Irish priests, are not interested in what concerns them so specially. We know that in the past this reproach could not be levelled at the Catholics or clergy of Louth, and we feel still more confident for the future since the establishment of this Society and the publication of the *Louth Archæological Journal*.

J. MacC.

LIFE OF VENERABLE GABRIEL POSSENTI, of the Congregation of the Passion. By Rev. N. Ward, C.P. Dublin, 1904.

THE little work, for which his Eminence Cardinal Gibbons has written an Introduction, is a readable and interesting account of the saintly member of the Passionist Order, Gabriel Possenti. The wonderful miracles wrought at his grave in the year 1892 helped to make public the sanctity of a life till then little discussed. In 1895 Cardinal Gibbons, in company with Cardinals Parocchi and Vaughan, petitioned the Holy See for Gabriel's beatification. Similar petitions were afterwards presented to the Holy Father by twenty-nine Cardinals, and by many of the Bishops. The Holy Father yielded to such representations, and in consequence the present life has been given to the public. We can highly recommend it as an interesting and useful spiritual work.

J. MacC.

EADMERI TRACTATUS DE CONCEPTIONE S. MARIAE, olim S. Anselmo attributus, nunc primum integer ad codi-

cum fidem editus a P. H. Thurston, S.J., et P. T. Slater, S.J. Herder. 1904.

In this dainty little book we have presented to us for the first time the full text of the earliest treatise in defence of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady. The editors have taken their text from MS. 371, in C.C.C., Cambridge. This is the oldest known manuscript of the work, and in all probablity it dates from the first half of the twelfth century; moreover, as Father Thurston shows, it was written in the monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, during the lifetime of its author, or shortly after his death. Other manuscripts in the British Museum and in the Bodleian Library have been collated for the work, and we may hope that now we have a satisfactory text of this interesting and beautiful little treatise.

Father Slater in a short preface gives us a brief outline of the influence which the treatise exercised on the controversy concerning the dogma of the Immaculate Conception; and Father Thurston discusses, and in our opinion settles, the question of authorship.

A number of documents belonging to the same period as the treatise itself are added in an Appendix, which will enable the reader to form his own opinion as to how far back the celebration in England of a Conception Feast goes. Several of these documents are now given to the public for the first time in full.

We heartily recommend every priest and every aspirant to the priesthood to buy a copy of the book and to read it as a preparation for the coming celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the definition of the Immaculate Conception.

Summula Philosophiae Scholasticae in usum Adolescentium Seminarii Beatae Mariae de Monte Melleario, concinnata. Vol. II. Cosmologia et Psychologia. Dublini: Browne et Nolan, Ltd. Price 4s. net.

In the I. E. Record of January, 1903, we had occasion to notice the first volume of the above Philosophy—the volume containing Logic and Ontology. There still remains to be published a third volume on Natural Theology and Ethics. We trust it will soon appear. When the gifted author has completed his work he will have written a handbook of philo-

sophy which, if we are to judge from the two volumes already published, we candidly think it would be hard to excel. All the qualities that have recommended the first volume to us are equally in evidence in the second. It is clear and simple in its expositions, convincing in its proofs, and candid in its treatment of difficulties. It is sufficiently copious in its doctrine, even for the more advanced student. It illustrates and clears up many of the more obscure and difficult questions by its copious wealth of footnotes and quotations from the most approved and up-to-date sources. By these and by its numerous references to recent philosophical literature it puts the student in a position to extend the sphere of his studies with the least expenditure of labour and the very best results.

The appearance of such a text book at the present time will give a new impetus to the study of Scholastic Philosophy on modern scientific lines, and its introduction into Catholic schools cannot fail to facilitate and to lighten the work of the student.

P. C.

GREGORIAN MASS (Missa de Angelis). In Staff and Tonic Sol-Fa Notation. With Gregorian 'O Salutaris' and 'Tantum Ergo.' Edited by a Catholic Priest. Dublin: Browne & Nolan, Ltd, Price 1*d.* net.

WE have much pleasure in bringing under our readers' notice this admirable, and necessary pennyworth of Gregorian chant, according to the edition of Solesmes. In the new state of things created by our present Pontiff's action with reference to choirs throughout the world, our boys must be everywhere trained to sing at least the Ordinary of the Mass in the solemn functions which occur sometimes in almost every church. Our people, too, silent almost since the Reformation, are at last to be allowed to join in those same chants which their ancestors sang through all the ages of Faith. A handy book, clear, authentic, portable, and cheap, is the very thing we could have wished for in the circumstances, and with singular promptitude the reverend editor has perfectly supplied our wants. We trust that the success of this first instalment of Solesmes chant will encourage him to do something similar for the Benediction Service on the same lines.

P. S.

STORAGE

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
3 1262 08300 908 3

274.1505
I 68
Ln 4
V. IV